

GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE.

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SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GERMAN
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A. E. COWLEY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of the twenty-sixth German edition of this grammar, originally prepared by the Rev. G. W. Collins and revised by me, was published in 1898. Since that date a twenty-seventh German edition has appeared; and Prof. Kautzsch was already engaged on a twenty-eighth in 1908 when the English translation was becoming exhausted. He sent me the sheets as they were printed off, and I began revising the former translation in order to produce it as soon as possible after the completion of the German. The whole of the English has been carefully compared with the new edition, and, it is hoped, improved in many points, while Prof. Kautzsch's own corrections and additions have of course been incorporated. As before, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. Dr. Driver has again most generously given up time, in the midst of other engagements, to reading the sheets, and has made numerous suggestions. To him also are chiefly due the enlargement of the index of subjects, some expansions in the new index of Hebrew words, and some additions to the index of passages, whereby we hope to have made the book more serviceable to students. I have also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages. בן חכם ישמח אב. Many corrections have been sent to me by scholars who have used the former English edition, especially the Rev. W. E. Blomfield, the Rev. S. Holmes, Mr. P. Wilson, Prof. Witton Davies, Mr. G. H. Skipwith, and an unknown correspondent

at West Croydon. These, as well as suggestions in reviews, have all been considered, and where possible, utilized. I am also much indebted to the Press-readers for the great care which they have bestowed on the work.

Finally, I must pay an affectionate tribute to the memory of Prof. Kautzsch, who died in the spring of this year, shortly after finishing the last sheets of the twenty-eighth edition. For more than thirty years he was indefatigable in improving the successive editions of the Grammar. The German translation of the Old Testament first published by him in 1894, with the co-operation of other scholars, under the title *Die Heilige Schrift des A Ts*, and now (1910) in the third and much enlarged edition, is a valuable work which has been widely appreciated: the *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A Ts*, edited by him in 1900, is another important work: besides which he published his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* in 1884, two useful brochures *Bibelwissenschaft und Religionsunterricht* in 1900, and *Die bleibende Bedeutung des A Ts* in 1903, six popular lectures on *Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des A Ts* in 1902, his article 'Religion of Israel' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (1904), pp. 612-734, not to mention minor publications. His death is a serious loss to Biblical scholarship, while to me and to many others it is the loss of a most kindly friend, remarkable alike for his simple piety and his enthusiasm for learning.

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Sept. 1910.

FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

THE present (twenty-eighth) edition of this Grammar,¹ like the former ones, takes account as far as possible of all important new publications on the subject, especially J. Barth's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, pt. i, Lpz. 1907; the important works of C. Brockelmann (for the titles see the heading of § 1; vol. i of the *Grundriss* was finished in 1908); P. Kahle's *Der masoretische Text des A T's nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accidence from a Babylonian MS. at Berlin); R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lpz. 1905 f., 2 vols. (discriminating between certain, probable, and proposed emendations; see § 3 g, end); Th. Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904; Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Studien* (for the titles of these striking works see § 2 r). The important work of J. W. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, &c. (see also § 2 r), unfortunately appeared too late to be used. The two large commentaries edited by Nowack and Marti have been recently completed; and in P. Haupt's Polychrome Bible (*SBOT.*), part ix (Kings) by Stade and Schwally was published in 1904.

For full reviews of the twenty-seventh edition, which of course have been considered as carefully as possible, I have to thank Max Margolis (in *Hebraica*, 1902, p. 159 ff.), Mayer

¹ The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (202 pp. small 8vo); twelve more editions were published by W. Gesenius himself, the fourteenth to the twenty-first (1845-1872) by E. Rüdiger, the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth (1878-1910) by E. Kautzsch. The first abridged edition appeared in 1896, the second at the same time as the present (twenty-eighth) large edition. The first edition of the 'Übungsbuch' (Exercises) to Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1881, the sixth in 1908.

Lambert (*REJ.* 1902, p. 307 ff.), and H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 373 ff.). For particular remarks and corrections I must thank Prof. J. Barth (Berlin), Dr. Gasser, pastor in Buchberg, Schaffhausen, B. Kirschner, of Charlottenburg, (contributions to the index of passages), Pastor Köhler, of Augst, Dr. Liebmann, of Kuczkow, Posen, Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Pastor S. Preiswerk junior, of Bâle, Dr. Schwarz, of Leipzig, and Prof. B. Stade, of Giessen (died in 1906). Special mention must be made of the abundant help received from three old friends of this book, Prof. P. Haupt, of Baltimore, Prof. Knudtzon, of Kristiania, and Prof. H. Strack, of Berlin, and also, in connexion with the present edition, Prof. H. Hyvernât, of the University of Washington, who has rendered great service especially in the correction and enlargement of the indexes. I take this opportunity of thanking them all again sincerely. And I am no less grateful also to my dear colleague Prof. C. Steuernagel for the unwearying care with which he has helped me from beginning to end in correcting the proof-sheets.

Among material changes introduced into this edition may be mentioned the abolition of the term *šewâ medium* (§ 10 d). In this I have adopted, not without hesitation, the views of Sievers. I find it, however, quite impossible to follow him in rejecting all distinctions of quantity in the vowels. It is no doubt possible that such matters may in the *spoken* language have worn a very different appearance, and especially that in the period of nearly a thousand years, over which the Old Testament writings extend, very great variations may have taken place. Our duty, however, is to represent the language in the form in which it has been handed down to us by the Masoretes; and that this form involves a distinction between unchangeable, tone-long, and short vowels, admits in my opinion of no doubt. The discussion of any earlier stage of development belongs not to Hebrew grammar but to comparative Semitic philology.

The same answer may be made to Beer's desire (*ThLZ.* 1904,

col. 314 f.) for an 'historical Hebrew grammar describing the actual growth of the language on a basis of comparative philology, as it may still be traced within the narrow limits of the Old Testament'. Such material as is available for the purpose ought indeed to be honestly set forth in the new editions of Gesenius; but Beer seems to me to appraise such material much too highly when he refers to it as necessitating an 'historical grammar'. In my opinion these historical differences have for the most part been obliterated by the harmonizing activity of the Masoretes.

.

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,
July, 1909.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 42, line 13 from below, *for* note 1 *read* note 3.

Page 63, § 15 *p.* [See also Wickes, *Prose Accentuation*, 130 f., 87 *n.* (who, however, regards the superlinear, Babylonian system as the earlier); and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 76, 78. In Ginsburg's *Hebrew Bible*, ed. 2 (1908), pp. 108 f., 267 f., the two systems of division are printed *in extenso*, in parallel columns—the 10 verses of the superlinear (Babylonian) system consisting (in Exodus) of v. 2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17 (as numbered in ordinary texts), and the 12 verses of the sublinear (Palestinian) system, consisting of v. 2-3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13-16.17.—S. R. D.]

Page 65, note 1, *for* מִן־לְךָ *read* מִן־לְךָ (as § 105 *a*).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of מִן־לְךָ , and the 6 of מִן־לְךָ , Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as מִן־לְךָ) in Gn 50¹⁷, Ex 32³¹, ψ 116¹⁶, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as מִן־לְךָ) in 2 K 20⁸=Is 38⁸, Jon 1¹⁴, 4², ψ 116⁴, 118^{25,25}, Dn 9⁴, Ne 1¹¹, except that in ψ 116⁴ Ginsburg has מִן־לְךָ .—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s.* *before* הִרְיֶהוּ *insert* exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39¹² *add* ψ 52⁵; *and for* Ez 9⁶ *read* Ezr 9⁶.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20¹³; also on Jer 39¹², and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Hayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39¹², Pr 11²¹, 15¹, ψ 52⁵, Ezr 9⁶.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, *for* הָיָה *read* הָיָה .

Page 123, § 45 *e.* *add*: cf. also מִן־לְךָ followed by מִן־לְךָ , Is 13¹³, Am 4¹¹ (§ 115 *d*).

Page 175, § 67. See B. Halper, 'The Participial formations of the Geminat Verbs' in *ZA W.* 1910, pp. 42 ff., 99 ff., 201 ff. (also dealing with the regular verb).

Page 177, at the end of § 67 *g* the following paragraph has been accidentally omitted:

Rem. According to the prevailing view, this strengthening of the first radical is merely intended to give the bi-literal stem at least

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs פ"ב , as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaisierenden Formen der Verba ע"ע im Hebr.' in *Oriental. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag Th. Nöldekes*, 1906, p. 771 ff. It is there shown (1) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often serves to emphasize a particular meaning (cf. יָגֵר , but יִגְרֹהוּ , יָחַל and יַחַל and יָסַב and יָסַב , יָשַׁם and יָשַׁם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגֵר , יָדַל , never יָגֵר , יָדַל , &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

Page 193, the second and third paragraphs should have the marginal letters *d* and *e* respectively.

Page 200, § 72 z, line 2, after Est 2¹⁸ add 4¹⁴.

Page 232, § 84^a s, add שִׁמְכָה 2 S 13²⁰.

Page 236, § 85 c, add הַנִּזְקָה Ezr 4²².

Page 273, § 93 qq end, add מִלְכָּרוֹת Jer 5⁵, רַבָּעִים , שְׁלֹשִׁים Ez 20⁵, שִׁמְכָה Is 49⁸, שִׁמְכָה La 1¹⁶ (cf. König, ii. 109).

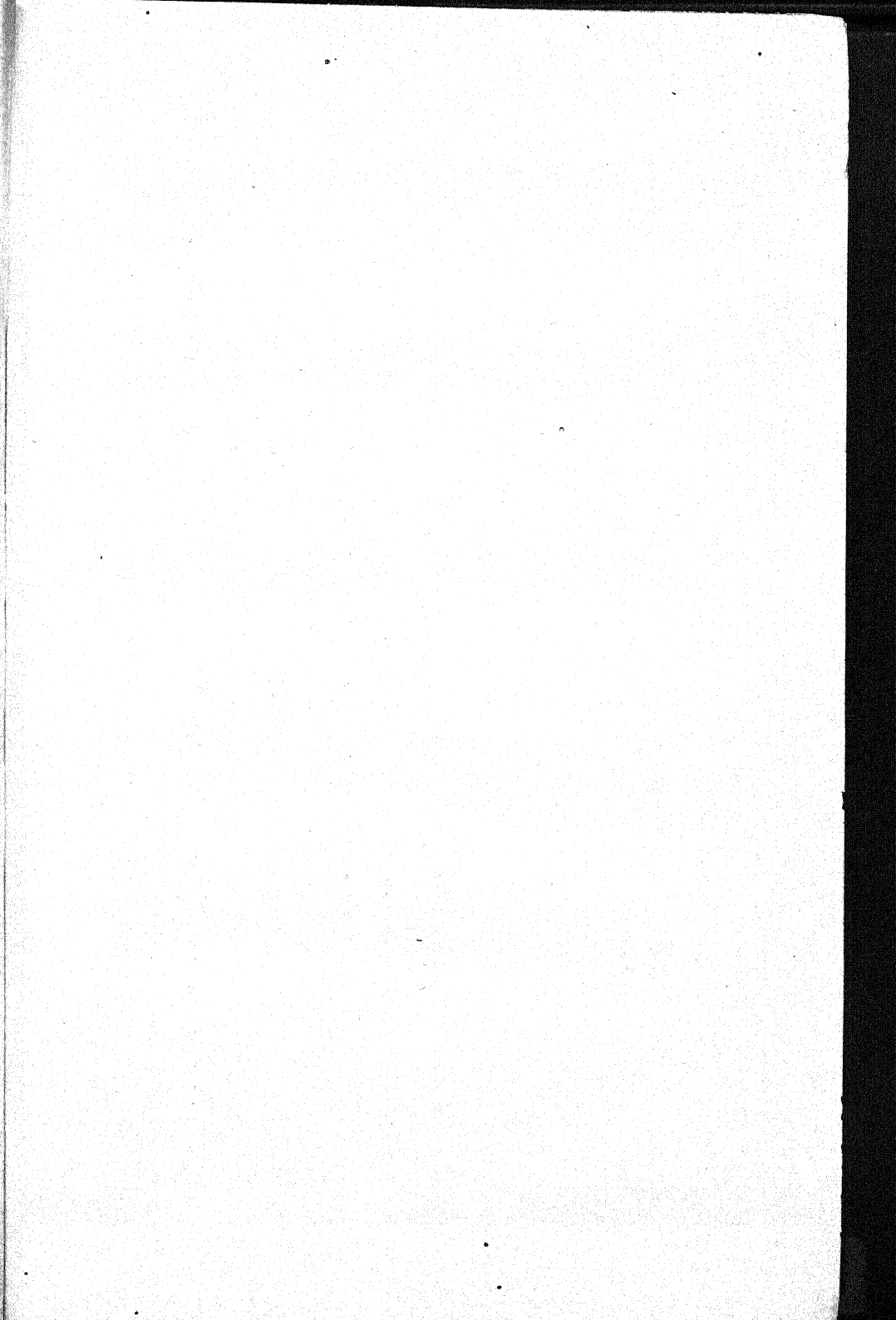
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

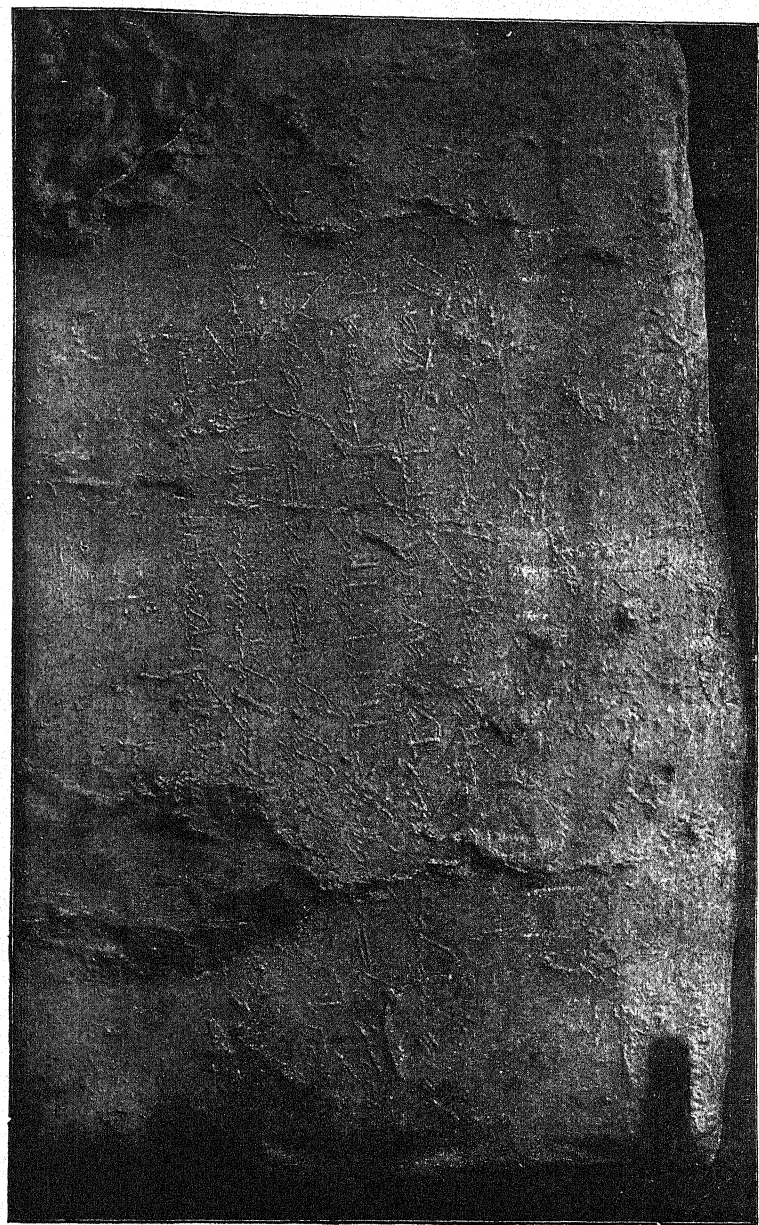
The following abbreviations have occasionally been used for works and periodicals frequently quoted:—

- AJSL.* = American Journal of Semitic Languages.
CIS. = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
Ed. Mant. = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione Sal. Norzi edidit Raphael Hayyim Basila, Mantuae 1742-4.
Jabl. = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berolini, 1699.
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
*KAT.*³ = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902 f.
Lexicon = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1906.
NB. = J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. Lpz. 1889-94.
NGGW. = Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
OLZ. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Vienna, 1898 ff.
PRE. = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck. Lpz. 1896 ff.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London, 1879 ff.
REJ. = Revue des Études Juives. Paris, 1880 ff.
Sam. = The (Hebrew) Pentateuch of the Samaritans.
SBOT. = Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by P. Haupt. Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff.
ThLZ. = Theologische Literaturzeitung, ed. by E. Schürer. Lpz. 1876 ff.
VB. = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. by A. Jeremias and H. Winckler. Lpz. 1907 ff.
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, ed. by C. Bezold. Lpz. 1886 ff.
ZAW. = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, ed. by B. Stade, Giessen, 1881 ff., and since 1907 by K. Marti.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Lpz. 1846 ff., since 1903 ed. by A. Fischer.
ZDPV. = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, Lpz. 1878 ff., since 1903 ed. by C. Steuernagel.

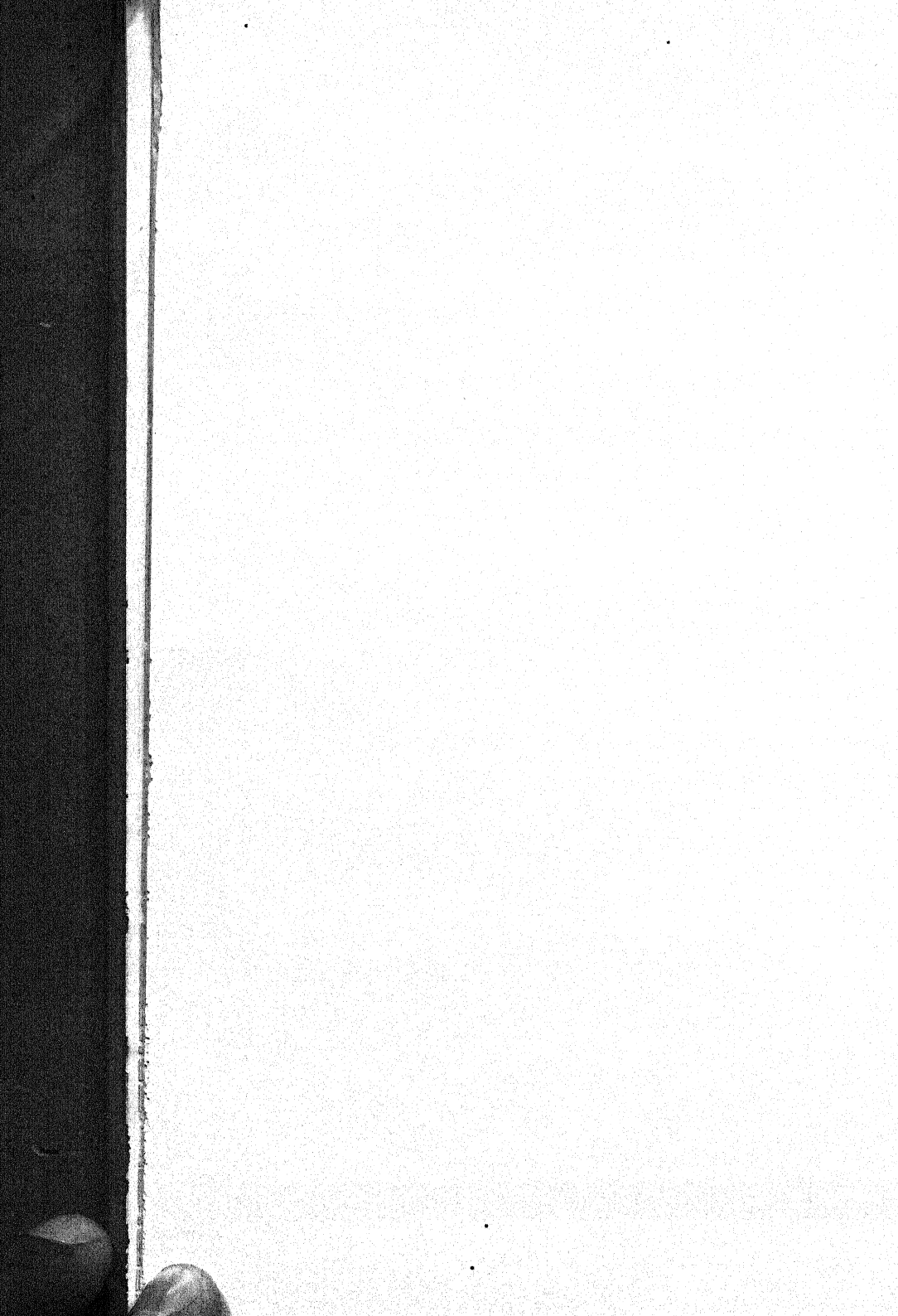
NOTE ON TABLE OF ALPHABETS

1. The Inscription of Mesha, see § 2 *d*.
2. Old Hebrew seals and gems, see § 2 *d*.
3. Siloam inscription, see § 2 *d*.
- 4-6. Jewish Coins, see § 2 *d*.
7. From Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, plate xxi, 7, 8; and Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture*, ed. 2, p. 200.
8. From the Palaeographical Society's *Oriental Series*, plate xxviii.
9. From Ad. Neubauer, *Facsimiles of Hebr. MSS.*, Oxford, 1886, pl. xl.
10. Inscriptions of Zinjirli, see Lidzbarski, *ibid.* i, p. 440 ff., and plates xxii-xxiv; and Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*.
11. Old Aramaic inscriptions on weights, seals, vessels, and tablets. See C[orpus] I[nscriptionum] S[emiticarum], ii, pl. i ff., and Cooke, *ibid.*
12. Inscriptions of Teima, *CIS.* ii, pl. ix f.; and Cooke, *ibid.*
13. Papyri and Ostraka from Egypt, *CIS.* ii, pl. xii ff.; and Cooke, *ibid.*
14. Early Hebrew inscriptions in square character, from Lidzbarski, *ibid.*, pl. xliii; and *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv, plate to p. 203.
15. From the facsimile of the Codex Babylonius Petropolitanus (916 A.D.) in Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, no. 103.
16. From Neubauer, *Facsimiles*, pl. viii.
17. From the Palaeographical Society, pl. xli, completed from Neubauer, pl. xiv.
18. From a modern MS. on parchment.
19. From Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, *Palestinian Syriac Texts*, London, 1900, pl. iii.
20. From Neubauer, pl. ix. (Most like the printed 'Rashi' character.)
21. From the Palaeographical Society, pl. xli, completed from Neubauer, pl. xiv.
22. From Neubauer, plates xix and xx.
23. From Euting, *Table of Semitic Characters*, col. 49.
24. From Neubauer, pl. x.
25. From Neubauer, plates xxviii and xxx.
26. From a modern MS.





THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landschaftsbilder* (H. Grund : Berlin).



CONTENTS

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS	PAGE viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
TABLE OF EARLY SEMITIC ALPHABETS	
SILAM INSCRIPTION	

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Semitic Languages in General	1
§ 2. Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language	8
§ 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language	17
§ 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar	22

FIRST PART

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES, OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

CHAPTER I. THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

§ 5. The Consonants: their Forms and Names	24
§ 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants	31
§ 7. The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs	35
§ 8. The Vowel Signs in particular	39
§ 9. Character of the several Vowels	45
§ 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Šewā)	51
§ 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading	54
§ 12. Dageš in general, and Dageš forte in particular	55
§ 13. Dageš lene	56
§ 14. Mappiq and Rāphè	56
§ 15. The Accents	57
§ 16. Of Maqqēph and Mēthēg	63
§ 17. Of the Qerē and Kethībh. Masora marginalis and finalis	65

CHAPTER II. PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

§ 18. In general	68
§ 19. Changes of Consonants	68
§ 20. The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants	70

	PAGE
§ 21. The Aspiration of the Tenués	75
§ 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals	76
§ 23. The Feebleness of the Gutturals \aleph and π	79
§ 24. Changes of the Weak Letters $\dot{\iota}$ and $\dot{\upsilon}$	82
§ 25. Unchangeable Vowels	84
§ 26. Syllable-formation and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels	85
§ 27. The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity	88
§ 28. The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables	92
§ 29. The Tone, its Changes, and the Pause	94

SECOND PART

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

30. Stems and Roots; Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral	99
31. Grammatical Structure	103

CHAPTER I. THE PRONOUN

32. The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun	105
33. Pronominal Suffices	108
34. The Demonstrative Pronoun	109
35. The Article	110
36. The Relative Pronoun	112
37. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns	113

CHAPTER II. THE VERB

38. General View	114
39. Ground-form and Derived Stems	114
40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion	117
41. Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb	118

I. The Strong Verb.

2. In general.	118
------------------------	-----

A. The Pure Stem, or *Qal*.

3. Its Form and Meaning	118
4. Flexion of the Perfect of <i>Qal</i>	119
5. The Infinitive	122
6. The Imperative	124
7. The Imperfect and its Inflection	125
8. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative.	
The Jussive and Cohortative	129
9. The Perfect and Imperfect with <i>Waw</i> Consecutive	132
10. The Participle	136

Contents

xiii

B. *Verba Derivativa, or Derived Conjugations.*

	PAGE
§ 51. Niph'al	137
§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al	139
§ 53. Hiph'il and Hoph'al	144
§ 54. Hithpa'el	149
§ 55. Less Common Conjugations	151
§ 56. Quadrilaterals	153

C. *Strong Verb with Pronominal Suffixes.*

§ 57. In general	154
§ 58. The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb	155
§ 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes	158
§ 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes	160
§ 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes	162

Verbs with Gutturals.

§ 62. In general	164
§ 63. Verbs First Guttural	165
§ 64. Verbs Middle Guttural	169
§ 65. Verbs Third Guttural	171

II. The Weak Verb.

§ 66. Verbs Primæ Radicalis Nûn (י"נ)	173
§ 67. Verbs י"י	175

The Weakest Verbs (Verba Quiescentia).

§ 68. Verbs נ"נ	184
§ 69. Verbs י"נ. First Class, or Verbs originally י"נ	186
§ 70. Verbs י"נ. Second Class, or Verbs properly י"נ	192
§ 71. Verbs י"נ. Third Class, or Verbs with Yôdh assimilated	193
§ 72. Verbs י"י	194
§ 73. Verbs middle i (vulgo י"י)	202
§ 74. Verbs נ"י	205
§ 75. Verbs י"י	207
§ 76. Verbs Doubly Weak	217
§ 77. Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another	219
§ 78. Verba Defectiva	219

CHAPTER III. THE NOUN

§ 79. General View	221
§ 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns	222
§ 81. Derivation of Nouns	225
§ 82. Primitive Nouns	225

	PAGE
§ 83. Verbal Nouns in General	226
§ 84 ^a . Nouns derived from the Simple Stem	227
§ 84 ^b . Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem	233
§ 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives	235
§ 86. Denominative Nouns	239
§ 87. Of the Plural	241
§ 88. Of the Dual	244
§ 89. The Genitive and the Construct State	247
§ 90. Real and supposed Remains of Early Case-endings	248
§ 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes	254
§ 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun	260
§ 93. Paradigms of Masculine Nouns	262
§ 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns	275
§ 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns	276
§ 96. Nouns of Peculiar Formation	281
§ 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers	286
§ 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers	292

CHAPTER IV. THE PARTICLES

§ 99. General View	293
§ 100. Adverbs	294
§ 101. Prepositions	297
§ 102. Prefixed Prepositions	298
§ 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form	300
§ 104. Conjunctions	305
§ 105. Interjections	307

THIRD PART

SYNTAX

CHAPTER I. THE PARTS OF SPEECH

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. Use of the Tenses and Moods.

§ 106. Use of the Perfect	309
§ 107. Use of the Imperfect	313
§ 108. Use of the Cohortative	319
§ 109. Use of the Jussive	321
§ 110. The Imperative	324
§ 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive	326
§ 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive	330

B. The Infinitive and Participle.

	PAGE
§ 113. The Infinitive Absolute	339
§ 114. The Infinitive Construct	347
§ 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object	352
§ 116. The Participles	355

C. The Government of the Verb.

§ 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative . .	362
§ 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb .	372
§ 119. The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions	377
§ 120. Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb. Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas	385
§ 121. Construction of Passive Verbs	387

II. Syntax of the Noun.

§ 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun	389
§ 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words	394
§ 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-Form	396
§ 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names	401
§ 126. Determination by means of the Article	404
§ 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive .	410
§ 128. The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State	414
§ 129. Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution	419
§ 130. Wider Use of the Construct State	421
§ 131. Apposition	423
§ 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective	427
§ 133. The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic expression of the Comparative and Superlative)	429
§ 134. Syntax of the Numerals	432

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. The Personal Pronoun	437
§ 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun	442
§ 137. The Interrogative Pronoun	443
§ 138. The Relative Pronoun	444
§ 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives .	447

CHAPTER II. THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

	PAGE
§ 140. Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence	450
§ 141. The Noun-clause	451
§ 142. The Verbal-clause	455
§ 143. The Compound Sentence	457
§ 144. Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject (especially in the Verbal-clause)	459
§ 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number	462
§ 146. Construction of Compound Subjects	467
§ 147. Incomplete Sentences	469

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. Exclamations	471
§ 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration	471
§ 150. Interrogative Sentences	473
§ 151. Desiderative Sentences	476
§ 152. Negative Sentences	478
§ 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses	483
§ 154. Sentences connected by Wāw	484
§ 155. Relative Clauses	485
§ 156. Circumstantial Clauses	489
§ 157. Object-clauses (Oratio Obliqua)	491
§ 158. Causal Clauses	492
§ 159. Conditional Sentences	493
§ 160. Concessive Clauses	498
§ 161. Comparative Clauses	499
§ 162. Disjunctive Sentences	500
§ 163. Adversative and Exceptive Clauses	500
§ 164. Temporal Clauses	501
§ 165. Final Clauses	503
§ 166. Consecutive Clauses	504
§ 167. Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences	505
PARADIGMS	507
INDEX OF SUBJECTS	533
INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS	544
INDEX OF PASSAGES	565

HEBREW GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 ff.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, *Eint. in das A. T.*, 6th ed., Munich, 1906, p. 231 ff. (a good bibliography of all the Semitic dialects); Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages', in the 9th ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.* (*Die semit. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., Lpz. 1899), and *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb., 1904; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambr. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Charakteristik der sem. Sprachen,' in the *Actes du 1^me Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (at Geneva in 1894), iii. 1 ff., Leiden, 1896; O. E. Lindberg, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, i A: Konsonantismus, Gothenburg, 1897; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898; E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Gesch. der sem. Sprachen*, &c., Berlin, 1901; C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Lpz. 1906, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, vol. i (Laut- und Formenlehre), parts 1-5, Berlin, 1907 f. and his *Kurzgef. vergleichende Gramm.* (Porta Ling. Or.) Berlin, 1908.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the *Paris Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. To this the best introductions are M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, in 2 parts (text and plates), and his *Ephemeris zur sem. Epigraphik* (5 parts published), Giessen, 1900 f. [G. A. Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903].

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*¹ languages (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10²¹ ff. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.²

¹ First used by Schlözer in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur*, 1781, p. 161.

² From Shem are derived (Gn 10²¹ ff.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6¹⁵ ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10²²) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided¹ as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaeen inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3 a), and Rabbinic; also Phoenician, with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies), and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mēša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraean, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.² This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31⁴⁷, by the verse Jer 10¹¹, and the sections Dn 2⁴ to 7²⁸; Ezr 4⁸ to 6¹⁸, and 7¹²⁻²⁶, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 ff.

d IV. The East Semitic branch, the language of the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen*

¹ For conjectures as to the gradual divergence of the dialects (first the Babylonian, then Canaanite, including Hebrew, lastly Aramaic and Arabic) from primitive Semitic, see Zimmermann, *KAT.*³, ii. p. 644 ff.

² In a wider sense all Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T., Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.', in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.¹

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phœnician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigrè, Tigrîña, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews, except in so far as they attempt a purely literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic² since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xli, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, *f* as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(a) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels are subject, within the same consonantal framework, to great changes in order to express various modifications of the same stem-meaning; (b) the word-stems are almost invariably triliteral, i.e. composed of three consonants; (c) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; (d) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (e) the

¹ Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 75 ff., prefers to distinguish them as Eastern and Western Semitic branches. Their geographical position, however, is of less importance than the genealogical relation of the various groups of dialects, as rightly pointed out by A. Jeremias in *Th.LZ.* 1906, col. 291.

² First by Klaproth in *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823; cf. Leo Meyer in *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellschaft*, 1901, p. 454.

oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms appended directly to the governing word (suffixes); (*f*) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (*g*) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e.g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic and Syriac, however, form a not unimportant exception as regards the last-mentioned point.

4. From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is apparently more agreement here than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions actually borrowed (see below, under *i*), the real similarity may be reduced to imitative words (onomatopoeica), and to those in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, for which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 f.; McCurdy, *Aryo Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881. The phonetic relations have been thoroughly investigated by H. Möller in *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, Teil i, *Konsonanten*, Copenhagen and Lpz. 1907, a work which has evoked considerable criticism.

As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e.g. לָקַק, לָחַק, λέλω, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. to *lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; לָלַל (cf. לָלַל, לָלַל) κλάω, *voilo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. to *well*; לָרַר, לָרַר, χαράττω, Pers. *khāridan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. to *grate*, to *scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A.T.'s*, Braunschv. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth*, *six*, *seven*, *horn*, to *sound*, to *measure*, to *mix*, to *smell*, to *place*, *clear*, to *kneel*, *raven*, *goat*, *ox*, &c. An example of a somewhat different kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *ham*, in the sense of the German *samt*, *zusammen*, *together*; in Hebrew אָמַם (whence אָמַם *people*, properly *assembly*), אָם (with) *samt*, אָם also, moreover, Arab. جَمَعَ to *collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (at the same time); Skt. *samā* (with), Gk. ἅμα (*ἄμφω*), δμός, δμοῦ (*ὅμολος*, ὅμαδος), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt*, *sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

Essentially different from this internal connexion is the occurrence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(a) In Hebrew: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Babylonia and Assyria (see a comprehensive list of Assyrio-Babylonian loan-words in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament in Zimmern and Winckler, *KAT.*³ ii. p. 648 ff.), in Egypt, Persia, or India, e. g. יָאֵר (also in the plural) *river*, from Egyptian *yoor*, generally as the name of the Nile (late Egypt. *yaro*, Assy. *yarū'u*), although it is possible that a pure Semitic יָאֵר has been confounded with the Egyptian name of the Nile (so Zimmern); אֶרֶב (Egyptian) Nile-reed (see Lieblein, 'Mots égyptiens dans la Bible,' in *PSBA.* 1898, p. 202 f.); פֶּרֶדֶס (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = *parádeisos*) *pleasure-garden, park*; אֶרְפֵּיז *daric*, Persian gold coin; תְּפִיץ *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tōgai* or *tōghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as פֶּרֶס (Pers. *karbās*, Skt. *karpāsa*) *cotton*, κάπριος, *carbasus*. On the other hand it is doubtful if קָה corresponds to the Greek κῆπος, κῆβος, Skt. *kapi*, *ape*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e. g. בּוּיָן *byssos*, byssus; לְבָנָה *líbanos*, *libanotós*, *incense*; קָנָה *kánē*, *kánna*, *canna*, cane; כֻּמְנוֹן *kúmunon*, *cuminum*, *cumin*; קַצְיָה *kassía*, *cassia*; קָמֶל *kámēlos*, *camelus*; עֶרְבֹן *ērabbón*, *arrhabo*, *arraha*, *pledge*. Such transitions have perhaps been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. Cf. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 ff.; E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 ff.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachzweig angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *h* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has one striking fundamental defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are written as real letters,¹ whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by certain representative consonants (see below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowel-sounds (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left.²

¹ So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see the next note, ad fin.

² The Sabaeen (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the rule; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people. Cf. § 5 d, note 3.

With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, represented on extant monuments most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mēša', king of Moab (see below, § 2 d), and in the old Phoenician inscriptions, of which the bronze bowls from a temple of Baal (CIS. i. 22 ff. and Plate IV) are somewhat earlier than Mēša'. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2 d), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing (see § 5 i).

See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 ff., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Cf. the all but exhaustive bibliography (from 1616 to 1896) in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 4 ff., and on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, *ibid.*, p. 173 ff., and *Ephemeris* (see the heading of § 1 a above), i. pp. 109 ff., 142, 261 ff., and his 'Altsemitische Texte', pt. i, *Kanaanitische Inschriften* (Moabite, Old-Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic), Giessen, 1907.—On the origin and development of the Hebrew characters and the best tables of alphabets, see § 5 a, last note, and especially § 5 e.

m 6. As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest literary remains of them are to be found in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions,¹ with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the old Testament (see § 2).

The earliest non-Jewish *Aramaic* inscriptions known to us are that of 𐤇𐤁𐤏 king of Hamath (early eighth cent. B.C.), on which see Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 376, and that found at Teima, in N. Arabia, in 1880, probably of the fifth cent. B.C., cf. E. Littmann in the *Monist.* xiv. 4 [and Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 195]. The monuments of Kalammus of Sam'al, in the reign of Shalmanezar II, 859-829 B.C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888-1891 at Zenjirli in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B.C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B.C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. *Ezr* 6^{3a}), specially important being the papyri from Assuan ed. by Sayce and Cowley, London, 1906 (and in a cheaper form by Staerk, Bonn, 1907), which are precisely dated from 471 to 411 B.C., and three others of 407 B.C. ed. by Sachau, Berlin, 1907.

¹ According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 ff., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from about 4000 to 450 B.C.

Monuments of the *Arabic* branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth or fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A. D.).

It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and the organic structure of a language is often considerably impaired even before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a different language. Thus in the Semitic group, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words.¹ Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached the stage at which we find Hebrew in the Old Testament.

Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages, cf. Nöldeke, 'Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,' in *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 1 ff. It thus occupies amongst them a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic; and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect

¹ Even now the language of some of the Bédawi is much purer and more archaic than that of the town Arabs. It must, however, be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit Semitic characteristics in their purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have developed most exclusively some of the principal traits of the Semitic race'.

to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which is only due to the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

§ 2. *Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.*

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5-18; Th. Nöldeke's art., 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Bd. v, Lpz. 1875; F. Buhl, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, vii (1899), p. 506 ff.; A. Cowley, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the forthcoming ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.*; W. R. Smith in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii, London, 1901, p. 1984 ff.; A. Lukyn Williams, 'Hebrew,' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, ii, p. 325 ff., Edinb. 1899.

a 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) ἑβραϊστικὴ ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19¹⁸ the term *language of Canaan*,¹ and יְהוּדִית in the *Jews' language* 2 K 18^{26,28} (cf. Is 36^{11,13}) Neh 13²¹. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews*, *Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִית) ἑβραϊστικὴ and *Israelites* (יִשְׂרָאֵלִי) (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40¹⁵, Ex 2^{6 f.} 3¹⁸ &c., Jon 1⁹) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 39^{14,17} 41¹² &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14¹³ 43³², Ex 21^{1,13} 21²). In 1 S 13^{3,7} and 14²¹ the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei,² &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side with the derivative suffix י (§ 86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the *ēber*, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

¹ That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yām* (sea) for the west, *nēgeb* (properly *dryness*, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south.

² The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic *ēbrāyā*, 'the Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10²¹ (Nu 24²⁴ does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11¹⁴ ff. and 10²⁵ ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.¹

The term Ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9¹¹. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5², 19¹³⁻¹⁷ perhaps also in 19²⁰ and Rv 16¹⁶ to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression Ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος in Acts 21⁴⁰, 22², and 26¹⁴ is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as being the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Mēša' (about 850 B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3⁴ ff.), his buildings, and other matters.² Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

¹ We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyîm with the Ḥabiri who appear in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (about 1400 B.C.) as freebooters and mercenaries in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

² This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. For the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. pp. 103 f., 415 f., and in the bibliography (under Me), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.; text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG.* 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.¹) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names²; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,³ and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

c 3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, d), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences of style (see *k* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity.

f To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician⁴ stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. *קְרִית יִסְכָּר*, *מְלִיכָא דְכַנְזָא*, &c.;

¹ Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*, xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name *שְׁלֵמָה* (i. e. *emissio*) Is⁸ refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B.C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

² M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, &c., Bresl. 1869, p. 33 ff.; Stade, *ZAW*, 1897, p. 501 ff. (four old-Semitic seals published in 1896); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, i. 169 f.; *Ephemeris*, i. 10 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol.* (Freib. 1894), i. 262 f.; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*² (Tübingen, 1907), pp. 80, 225 ff., which includes the beautiful seal inscribed *לְשֹׁמֵעַ עֶבֶד יִרְבֵּעַן* from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

³ De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881; Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Cf. the literature in Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*³, Lpz. 1901, i. p. 20 ff.; [Cooke, p. 352 ff.].

⁴ *כְּנַעֲנִי*, *כְּנַעֲנִי* is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves *כְּנַעֲנִי* on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

on 'Canaanite glosses'¹ to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [about 1400 B.C.] cf. H. Winckler, 'Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,' in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. v, Berlin, 1896 f. [transcription and translation]; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Lpz. 1907 f.; H. Zimmern, *ZA.* 1891, p. 154 ff. and *KAT.*, p. 651 ff.), and partly from the numerous remains of the Phœnician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1 k, l) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Esmūnazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; see the bibliography in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 23 ff.; on the inscription, i. 97 ff., 141 f., 417, ii. plate iv, 2; [Cooke, p. 30 ff.]. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Poenulus* 5, 1-3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From the monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of the language and its relation to Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל God, *g* אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שמן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבת *monument*, מקום *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, בן (= Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברך *to bless*, בקש *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צידן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

Variations from Hebrew in Phœnician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 b), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צדן for צידון *house*, אלנם for אלהים *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as נ (ó), the relative אש (Hebr. אשר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *í* was regularly pronounced as *ú*, e.g. שפט *súfet* (judge), שלש *sálus* (three), ראש *rús* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. חנני *hannynnu* (ecce eum), אית (*ait*) *yth*; the *u* as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (cf. מעקה LXX, Gn 22²⁴ *Maxá*). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phœniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned *z* in *d* consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old

¹ Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *hāparu* (Assyr. *epru*, *ipru*) = עפר; *hullu* = על (with hard *u*; cf. § 6 c, and Assyr. *hūmri* = עמרי, *hazzatu* = עצה); *iazkur* = יזכר, *zuruḥu* = ירושע, *abadat* = אבדה, *šahri* = שער, gate; *baṭnu* = בטן, belly; *kilābi* = כלוב, net; *saduk* = צדק (צדיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1 *k*), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 *h*) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; cf. § 3 *b*.

- k* An earlier stage in the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents now extant, when it must have stood nearer to the common language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they clearly point to an older phase of the language; and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1 *m, n*). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena, the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms¹ so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

- l* 5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.
- m* To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (*a*) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (*b*) of the poetical, perhaps

¹ Whether these can be described simply as 'primitive Semitic' is a question which may be left undecided here.

a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40-55).

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature ⁿ generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נַעַר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and הָיָה for הָיָה, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 c.

The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been ^O examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (analysis of Gn 1-11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 177 ff., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 ff.; Kräutlein, *Die sprachl. Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Lpz. 1908.—Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*³, Edinburgh, 1908; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*⁶, Munich, 1906; König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893.

6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces ^p about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from ^q prose, not only by a *rhythm* due to more strictly balanced (parallel) members and definite metres (see *r*), but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are

embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.¹

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

^r On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the poetical books and Introductions to the O. T., J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus*, etc., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; 'Die metr. Beschaffenheit des B. Hiob,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1895, iv, 1897, i; Grimme, 'Abriss der bibl.-hebr. Metrik,' *ZDMG.* 1896, p. 529 ff., 1897, p. 683 ff.; *Psalmprobleme*, etc., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902 (on which see Beer in *ThLZ.* 1903, no. 11); 'Gedanken über hebr. Metrik,' in *Altschüler's Vierteljahrsschrift*, i (1903), 1 ff.; Döller, *Rhythmus, Metrik u. Strophik in d. bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; Schloegl, *De re metrica veterum Hebraeorum disputatio*, Vindobonae, 1899 (on the same lines as Grimme); but especially Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*: i *Studien zur hebr. Metrik*, pt. 1 *Untersuchungen*, pt. 2 *Textproben*, Lpz. 1901: ii *Die hebr. Genesis*, 1 *Texte*, 2 *Zur Quellenscheidung u. Textkritik*, Lpz. 1904 f.: iii *Samuel*, Lpz. 1907; *Amos metrisch bearbeitet* (with H. Guthe), Lpz. 1907; and his *Alttest. Miscellen* (1 *Is 24-27*, 2 *Jona*, 3 *Deutero-Zechariah*, 4 *Malachi*, 5 *Hosea*, 6 *Joel*, 7 *Obadiah*, 8 *Zephaniah*, 9 *Haggai*, 10 *Micah*), Lpz. 1904-7.—As a guide to Sievers' system (with some criticism of his principles see Baumann, 'Die Metrik u. das A. T.', in the *Theol. Rundschau*, viii (1905), 41 ff.; W. H. Cobb, *A criticism of systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905; Cornill, *Einleitung ins A. T.*³, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.; Rothstein, *Zeitschr. für d. ev. Rel.-Unterricht*, 1907, p. 188 ff. and his *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, Lpz. 1909 (also separately *Psalmtexte u. der Text des Hohen Liedes*, Lpz. 1909); W. R. Arnold, 'The rhythms of the ancient Heb.', in *O. T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 165 ff., Chicago, 1907, according to whom the number of syllables between the beats is only limited by the physiological possibilities of phonetics; C. v. Orelli, 'Zur Metrik der alttest. Prophetenschriften,' in his *Kommentar zu den kl. Propheten*³, p. 236 ff., Munich, 1908.—In full agreement with Sievers is Baethgen, *Psalmens*³, p. xxvi ff., Göttingen, 1904. [Cf. Budde in *DB.* iv. 3 ff.; Duhm in *EB.* iii. 3793 ff.]

Of all views of this matter, the only one generally accepted as sound was at first Ley's and Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 5 ff.; 1891, 234 ff.; 1892, 31 ff.). On their predecessors, Lowth, de Wette, Ewald, see Löhr, *Klagelied*², p. 9. This verse, called by Duhm 'long verse', by Sievers simply 'five-syllabled' (Fünfer), consists of two members, the second at least one beat shorter than the other. That a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, had been established by Ley, Duhm, Gunkel, Grimme, and others, especially Zimmern, who cites a Babylonian hymn in which the members are actually marked (*ZA.* x. 1 ff., xii. 382 ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Das babyl. Welschöpfungsepos*, Lpz. 1896, pp. 60 ff.). Recently, however, E. Sievers, the recognized authority on metre in other branches of literature, has indicated, in the works mentioned above, a number of fresh facts and views, which have frequently been confirmed by the conclusions of Ley and others. The most important are as follows:—

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

¹ That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B. C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 K 18²⁶ (Is 36¹¹).

and the syllabic Syriac verse, is *accentual*. The number of unstressed syllables between the beats (*ictus*) is, however, not arbitrary, but the scheme of the verse is based on an irregular anapaest which may undergo rhythmical modifications (e. g. resolving the ictus into two syllables, or lengthening the arsis so as to give a double accent) and contraction, e. g. of the first two syllables. The foot always concludes with the ictus, so that toneless endings, due to change of pronunciation or corruption of the text, are to be disregarded, although as a rule the ictus coincides with the Hebrew word-accent. The metrical scheme consists of combinations of feet in *series* (of 2, 3 or 4), and of these again in *periods*—double threes, very frequently, double fours in narrative, fives in Lamentations (see above) and very often elsewhere, and sevens. Sievers regards the last two metres as catalectic double threes and fours. Connected sections do not always maintain the same metre throughout, but often exhibit a mixture of metres.

It can no longer be doubted that in the analysis of purely poetical passages, this system often finds ready confirmation and leads to textual and literary results, such as the elimination of glosses. There are, however, various difficulties in carrying out the scheme consistently and extending it to the prophetic writings and still more to narrative: (1) not infrequently the required number of feet is only obtained by sacrificing the clearly marked parallelism, or the grammatical connexion (e. g. of the construct state with its genitive), and sometimes even by means of doubtful emendations; (2) the whole system assumes a correct transmission of the text and its pronunciation, for neither of which is there the least guarantee. To sum up, our conclusion at present is that for poetry proper some assured and final results have been already obtained, and others may be expected, from the principles laid down by Sievers, although, considering the way in which the text has been transmitted, a *faultless* arrangement of metres cannot be expected. Convincing proof of the *consistent* use of the same metrical schemes in the prophets, and *a fortiori* in narrative, can hardly be brought forward.

The great work of D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form* (2 vols., Vienna, 1896; cf. his *Strophenbau u. Responsion*, *ibid.* 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, *ibid.* 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15¹⁻¹⁹; Dt 32¹⁻⁴³; Ju 5; 1 S 2¹⁻¹⁰; 2 S 22, 23¹⁻⁷; *ψ* 18, 136; Pr. 31¹⁰⁻³¹; 1 Ch 16⁸⁻³⁵; cf. also Jo 12⁰⁻²⁴; Ec 3²⁻⁸; Est 9⁷⁻¹⁰) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e. g. *אָנָשׁ* *man* = אָדָם; אֶרֶץ *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דְּבָר; חָזַן *to see* = רָאָה; אֶתֶּה *to come* = בֹּא.

To the poetic meanings of words belongs the use of certain poetic *epithets* as substantives; thus, for example, אֲבִיר (only in constr. st. אֲבִירִי) *the strong one* for God; אֲבִיר *the strong one* for bull, horse; לְבָנָה *alba* for *luna*; אֶצֶר *enemy* for אֵיב.

Of word-forms, we may note, e. g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n) עַל = עָלַי, אֶל = אֵלַי, עַד = עָדַי; the endings וֹ, י in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מִי, מִי for ד, דִּם, דִּם (§ 58); the plural ending יָ for דִּם (§ 87 e). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle אֵת; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109 z); the wider governing power of prepositions; and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

t 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.¹ When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, pp. 1-6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh 8⁸, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah III (56-66), Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, a large part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and most of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although work was still produced which in purity of language and aesthetic value falls little short of the writings of the golden age.

v *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. אָהָרָה declaration, אָנָם compel, בֶּר son, יִיר chalk, עֵת = עָת time, רָאָה raise up, חָדַר Pi. reproach, טָלַל Pi. roof over,

¹ The extensive use of Hebrew in the popular religious literature which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, the Mišna, and the Liturgy, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this. Cf. M. H. Segal, 'Mišnaic Hebrew and its relations to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,' in *J. Q. R.*, 1908, p. 647 ff. (also separately).

מָצָא stray, כֶּהָ rock, מִלֵּךְ advise, מֵאָה end, לָקַח = קָבַל take, רָצַץ = רָעַע break, אֲנִי be many, שְׁלֹמֶה = מֶלֶךְ rule, חֲזָקָה = חֲזָק be strong.—Later meanings are, e.g. אָמַר (to say) to command; עָנָה (to answer) to begin speaking.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent scriptio plena of י and ו, e.g. יְדוּרָה¹ (elsewhere יְדוּר), even קִדְשׁ for קִדֵּשׁ, רֹב for רַב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ון, וַ, וְ, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e.g. by שֵׁ, a common form in Phoenician (as well as שֵׁן), for שֵׁן (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectal varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one ²⁰ express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12⁶), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ס. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13²⁴ by the speech of Ashdod a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Mēša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

2. It is evident that, in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature,² the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical books of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the whole Hebrew national literature.

§ 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encykl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 ff. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 ff.). Cf. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1866, p. 30 ff.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 ff., and 1885, p. 470 ff.; W. Bacher, article 'Grammar' in the *Jew. Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, New York and London, 1904. Cf. also the note on d.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually *a* becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

¹ יְדוּר in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3⁵, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

² According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the O. T. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words; according to rabbinical calculations, 79,856 altogether in the Pentateuch. Cf. also E. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 283; H. Strack, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 69 ff.; Blau, 'Neue masoret. Studien,' in *JQR.* xvi. 357 ff., treats of the number of letters and words, and the verse-division in the O. T.

approaching completion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise their sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had become current among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *Seventy* (more correctly *Seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but only completed later. It was the work of various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תרגומים i.e. *interpretations*), were formed by successive recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of tradition are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one recension (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The *Mišna* forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; the language of the *Gemaras* is for the most part Aramaic.

b 2. To the interval between the completion of the Talmud and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the O. T., according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7 h, i), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical notes which bears the name of Masōra (מסורה *traditio*?).¹ From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS.,

¹ On the name Masora (or Massora, as e.g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levis in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20³⁷ (מסרת הברית; מסרה, i.e. מוסרה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מסרה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מסרת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מסרת (JQR. xii. 241). The remark of Levis (l.c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מסורה is equivalent to orthography, i.e. *plene*- and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מסר *to hand on* is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.

and is still the received text of the O. T., has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. C. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our O. T. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverbes*, 1863, p. 1 ff.), have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Cf., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 f., and especially his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 88 ff. Moreover a great many facts, which will be noticed in their proper places, indicate that the Masora itself is by no means uniform but shows clear traces of different schools and opinions; cf. H. Strack in *Semitic Studies in memory of . . . Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 563 ff. An excellent foundation for the history of the Masora and the settlement of the masoretic tradition was laid by Joh. Buxtorf in his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, first published at Basel in 1620 as an appendix to the Rabbinical Bible of 1618 f. For more recent work see Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.*, iii. 78 ff., followed by Harris in *JQR.* i. 128 ff., 243 ff.; S. Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, part 1, Hanover and Lpz. 1876; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, &c.*, 3 vols., Lond. 1880 ff., and *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebr. Bible*, Lond. 1897 (his text, reprinted from that of Jacob b. Hayyim [Venice, 1524-5] with variants from MSS. and the earliest editions, was published in 2 vols. at London in 1894, 2nd ed. 1906; a revised edition is in progress); H. Hyvernat, 'La langue et le langage de la Massore' (as a mixture of New-Hebrew and Aramaic), in the *Revue biblique*, Oct. 1903, p. 529 ff. and B: 'Lexique massorétique,' *ibid.*, Oct. 1904, p. 521 ff., 1905, p. 481 ff., and p. 515 ff. In the use of the Massora for the critical construction of the Text, useful work has been done especially by S. Baer, in the editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited from 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch, and since 1891 by Baer alone. Cf. also § 7 h.

The various readings of the Q'rê (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

3. It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that *d* the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya,¹ beyond fragments in the commentary on the Sepher Yesira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the O. T. has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Hayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yahya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walid Merwân ibn Ganâh, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimhi (ob. c. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

¹ On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*⁴, p. 39.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e. g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of פָּעַל, certain *roces memoriales*, as פָּעַל, פָּעַל, פָּעַל and the like.¹

c 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),² to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

f 5. In the nineteenth century³ the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

¹ On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 ff., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-ʿamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879, and P. Kahle's criticisms in *ZDMG.* lv. 170, n. 2; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in *ZDMG.* 1895, i ff. and 335 ff.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892.

² A strong impulse was naturally given to these studies by the introduction of printing—the Psalter in 1477, the Bologna Pentateuch in 1482, the Soncino O. T. complete in 1488: see the description of the twenty-four earliest editions (down to 1528) in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, p. 779 ff.

³ Of the literature of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König¹ in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accidence starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2²ⁿ=Mi 4¹ⁿ, Is 36-39=2 K 18¹³-20¹⁹, Jer 52=2 K 24¹⁸-25³⁰, 2 S 22=ψ 18, ψ 14=ψ 53, ψ 40¹⁴ⁿ=ψ 70, ψ 108=ψ 57⁸ⁿ and 60⁷ⁿ. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

The causes of *unintentional* corruption in the great majority of cases are:—Interchange of similar letters, which has sometimes taken place in the early 'Phoenician' writing; transposition or omission of

¹ *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten*: I, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; II. 1, 'Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' 1895; II. 2, 'Historisch-kompar. Syntax d. hebr. Spr.,' 1897.

single letters, words, or even whole sentences, which are then often added in the margin and thence brought back into the text in the wrong place; such omission is generally due to homoioteleuton (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 171 ff.), i.e. the scribe's eye wanders from the place to a subsequent word of the same or similar form. Other causes are dittography, i.e. erroneous repetition of letters, words, and even sentences; its opposite, haplography; and lastly wrong division of words (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 158 ff.), since at a certain period in the transmission of the text the words were not separated.¹—*Intentional* changes are due to corrections for the sake of decency or of dogma, and to the insertion of glosses, some of them very early.

Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on progress in *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years: cf. especially Doorninck on Ju 1–16, Leid. 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nürdl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebr. text of the Books of Sam.*, Oxf. 1890; Klostermann, *Deuterocesaja*, Munich, 1893; Oort, *Textus hebr. emendationes*, Lugd. 1900; Burney on *Kings*, Oxf. 1903; the commentaries of Marti and Nowack; the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schriften des A.T.*², 1909–10. A critical edition of the O.T. with full textual notes, and indicating the different documents by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the Old Test.*, Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff. (sixteen parts have appeared: Exod., Deut., Minor Prophets, and Megilloth are still to come); Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*², 1909, Masoretic text from Jacob b. Hayyim (see c), with a valuable selection of variants from the versions, and emendations.

§ 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of the language, teaches the pronunciation

¹ This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phœnician inscriptions. The inscription of Mē'a' always divides the words by a point (and so the Siloam inscription; see the facsimile at the beginning of this grammar), and frequently marks the close of a sentence by a stroke.

of the written signs (orthoepy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of *inflexion*, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, or the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions occurring in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the stricter sense of the term).

FIRST PART

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

§ 5. *The Consonants: their Forms and Names.*

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to: A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, *PRE.*³, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*², Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben,' in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Die semit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwicklungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, etc., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', etc., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

The best tables of alphabets are those of J. Euting in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Heb. Gram.* transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877; in Pt. vii of the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Soc., London, 1882; and, the fullest of all, in Chwolson's *Corpus inscr. Hebr.*, Petersburg, 1882; also Lidzbarski's in the *Jewish Encycl.*, see above.

- a 1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manuscripts of the O. T. are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (כְּתָב מִרְבָּעַיִת), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי),¹ are not those originally employed.

Old Hebrew (or *Old Canaanitish*²) writing, as it was used on

¹ The name אַשּׁוּרִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; cf. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 f. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing. cf. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 1881, p. 334 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (transl. by J. Macpherson), Edinb. 1892, p. 200.

² It is tacitly assumed here that this was the mother of all Semitic alphabets. In *ZDMG.* 1909, p. 189 ff., however, Prätorius has shown good

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually¹ (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arāq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.²

The Jewish sarcophagus-inscriptions of the time of Christ, found in Jerusalem in 1905, almost without exception exhibit a pure square character. This altered little in the course of centuries, so that the age of a Hebrew MS. cannot easily be determined from the style of the writing. The oldest known biblical fragment is the Nash papyrus (found in 1902), containing the ten commandments and the beginning of Dt 6⁴¹, of the end of the first or beginning of the second century A. D.; cf. N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschr. der 10 Gebote*, Freibg. i. B. 1905. Of actual MSS. of the Bible the oldest is probably one of 820-850 A. D. described by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 469 ff., at the head of his sixty principal MSS.; next in age is the codex of Moses ben Asher at Cairo (897 A. D., cf. the art. 'Scribes' in the *Jew. Encycl.* xi and Gottheil in *JQR.* 1905, p. 32). The date (916 A. D.) of the Codex prophetarum Babylon. Petropol. (see § 8 g, note) is quite certain.—In the synagogue-rolls a distinction is drawn between the Tam-character (said to be so called from Rabbi Tam, grandson of R. Yishāqī, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'tittles' (tāgin), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and tittles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

grounds for believing that the South Semitic alphabet is derived not from the Mēša' character, or from some kindred and hardly older script, but from some unknown and *much* earlier form of writing.

¹ On the effect of the transitional mixture of earlier and later forms on the constitution of the text, see R. Kittel, *Ueber d. Nothwendigk. d. Herausg. einer neuen hebr. Bibel*, Lpz. 1901, p. 20 ff.—L. Blau, 'Wie lange stand die althebr. Schrift bei den Juden im Gebrauch?' in *Kaufmannsgedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 44 ff.

² Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not מוביה.

- b 2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, twenty-two in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7 b). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation, and numerical value (see *k*):—

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	' <i>Ālēph</i>	' <i>spiritus lenis</i>	1
ב	<i>Bēth</i>	<i>b</i> (<i>bh</i> , but see § 6 n)	2
ג	<i>Gimēl</i> (<i>Giml</i>)	<i>g</i> (<i>gh</i> , " " ")	3
ד	<i>Dālēth</i>	<i>d</i> (<i>dh</i> , " " ")	4
ה	<i>Hē</i>	<i>h</i>	5
ו	<i>Wāw</i> (<i>Wāu</i>)	<i>w</i> (<i>u</i>) ¹	6
ז	<i>Zāyīn</i>	<i>z</i> , as in English (soft <i>s</i>)	7
ח	<i>Hēth</i>	<i>h</i> , a strong guttural	8
ט	<i>Tēth</i>	<i>t</i> , emphatic <i>t</i>	9
י	<i>Yōd</i>	<i>y</i> (<i>i</i>) ¹	10
כ, final ך	<i>Kaph</i>	<i>k</i> (<i>kh</i> , but see § 6 n)	20
ל	<i>Lāmēd</i>	<i>l</i>	30
מ, final ם	<i>Mēm</i>	<i>m</i>	40
נ, final ן	<i>Nūn</i>	<i>n</i>	50
ס	<i>Sāmēkh</i>	<i>s</i>	60
ע	' <i>Āyīn</i>	' a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	<i>Pē</i>	<i>p</i> (<i>f</i> , see § 6 n)	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādē</i>	<i>s</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qōf</i>	<i>q</i> , a strong <i>k</i> ² formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	<i>Rēš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
שׁ	<i>Šīn</i>	<i>š</i>	300
שׂ	<i>Šīn</i> ³	<i>š</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>	
ת	<i>Tāw</i> (<i>Tāu</i>)	<i>t</i> (<i>th</i> , but see § 6 n)	400

¹ Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten י und י', in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 ff., 1897, p. 66 ff., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic י and י' are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels'; cf. § 8 m.

² As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, since it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek κόννα).

³ Nestle (*Actes du onzième Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, 1897, iv. 113 ff.) has shown that the original order was שׂ, שׁ.

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end *C* of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word קמנפח *Kamnèphäs*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, קמנפח i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.¹ Of these, ך, ץ, ף, ץ are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left.² In the case of ד the letter is completely closed.

4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left.³ Words must *d* not be divided at the end of the lines;⁴ but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: ם ת ל ה א (mnemonic word חלתי *'chaltîm*). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ב, ב, ר; cf. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.*, 1882, No. 22; Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 170 f.

Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of *C* perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yôd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יד), but as a letter simply the sound 'y', with which this word begins; *'Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (עין), stands for the consonant *ʿ*. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (א, י, ב, ש) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

It is another question whether the present names are all original. They may be merely due to a later, and not always accurate, interpretation of the forms. Moreover, it is possible that in the period from about 1500 to 1000 B.C. the original forms underwent considerable change.

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters⁵ is: אלף *αλ*, *f*

¹ In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, קמנפח of *thy* *watcher*, i. e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read קמנפח = *proceeding from thy prophets*, *Is* 52⁸), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in *Zp* 3⁸.

² Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, col. 68, rightly observes that the more original forms of these letters are preserved in the *literae finales*. Instances of them go back to the time of Christ.

³ The same was originally the practice in Greek, which only adopted the opposite direction exclusively about 400 B.C. On the *toustophēdon* writing (alternately in each direction) in early Greek, early Sabaeon, and in the Safa-inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D., cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 116 f.

⁴ This does not apply to early inscriptions or seals. Cf. *Mēša*, ll. 1-5, 7, 8, &c., Siloam 2, 3, 5, where the division of words appears to be customary.

⁵ We possess Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew names, dating from the fifth century B.C. The LXX give them (in almost the same form as Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 10. 5) in *La* 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e.g. the

בַּיִת *house*, גַּמֶּל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally *axe* or *pick-axe*), דֶּלֶת *door* (properly *folding-door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דָּד *the female breast*), חַלּוֹן *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וַיִּ hook, nail, וַיִּ weapon (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek *ῥῆμα*, rather וַיִּ *olive-tree*), חֵטְל *fence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from ח by the left-hand stroke), מִית *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from מ by a circle round it), יָד *hand*, בָּע *bent hand*, לָמָד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶחֱל *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נָחָשׁ *snake*, as in Ethiopic), סָמָךְ *prop* (perhaps a modification of ס), עֵין *eye*, פֶּה (also פִּי) *mouth*, צָרִי *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רִישׁ *head*, שֵׁן *tooth*, סֵן *sign, cross*.

g With regard to the origin of this alphabet, it may be taken as proved that it is not earlier (or very little earlier) than the fifteenth century B. C., since otherwise the el-Amarna tablets (§ 2 f) would not have been written exclusively in cuneiform.¹ It seems equally certain on various grounds, that it originated on Canaanitish soil. It is, however, still an open question whether the inventors of it borrowed

(a) From the Egyptian system—not, as was formerly supposed, by direct adoption of hieroglyphic signs (an explanation of twelve or thirteen characters was revived by J. Halévy in *Rev. Sémit.* 1901, p. 356 ff., 1902, p. 331 ff., and in the *Verhandlungen des xiii. . . Orient.-Kongr. zu Hamb.*, Leiden, 1904, p. 199 ff.; but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 261 ff.), or of hieratic characters derived from them (so E. de Rougé), but by the adoption of the *acrophonic* principle (see e) by which e.g. the hand, in Egyptian *tot*, represents the letter *t*, the lion = *labot*, the letter *l*. This view still seems the most probable. It is now accepted by Lidzbarski ('Der Ursprung d. nord- u. südsemit. Schrift' in *Ephemeris*, i (1900), 109 ff., cf. pp. 134 and 261 ff.), though in his *Nordsem. Epigr.* (1898) p. 173 ff. he was still undecided.

(b) From the Babylonian (cuneiform) system. Wuttke's and W. Deecke's derivation of the old-Semitic alphabet from new-Assyrian cuneiform is impossible for chronological reasons. More recently Peters and Hommel have sought to derive it from the old-Babylonian, and Ball from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform. A vigorous discussion has been aroused by the theory of Frdr. Delitzsch (in *Die Entstehung des ält. Schriftsystems od. der Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen dargel.*, Lpz. 1897; and with the same title 'Ein Nachwort', Lpz. 1898, preceded by a very clear outline of the theory) that the old-Semitic alphabet arose in Canaan under the influence both of the Egyptian system (whence the *acrophonic* principle) and of the old-Babylonian, whence the principle of the graphic representation of objects and ideas by means of simple, and mostly rectilinear, signs. He holds that the choice of the objects was probably (in about fifteen cases) influenced by the Babylonian system. The correspondence of names had all the more effect since, according to Zimmern (*ZDMG.* 1896, p. 667 ff.), out of twelve names which are certainly identical, eight appear in the same order in the Babylonian arrangement of signs. But it must first be shown that the present names of the

Cod. Amiatinus) in *ψ* 111, 112, 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *deleth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also *χσεν*, cf. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth*, *Zain*, *Sin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *alf*, *bēt*, *dait*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pē*, *pi*, *mouth*, and the vowel of *pō* = *rōš*, *head*, are all Hebraeo-Phoenician.

¹ In the excavations at Jericho in April, 1907, E. Sellin found a jar-handle with the Canaanite characters חַי, which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

'Phoenician' letters really denote the original picture. The identity of the objects may perhaps be due simply to the choice of the commonest things (animals, implements, limbs) in both systems.

The derivation of the Semitic alphabet from the signs of the Zodiac and their names, first attempted by Seyffarth in 1834, has been revived by Winckler, who refers twelve fundamental sounds to the Babylonian Zodiac. Hommel connects the original alphabet with the moon and its phases, and certain constellations; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 269 ff., and in complete agreement with him, Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*², p. 173 ff. This theory is by no means convincing.

(c) From the hieroglyphic system of writing discovered in 1894 by A. J. Evans in inscriptions in Crete (esp. at Cnossus) and elsewhere. According to Kluge (1897) and others, this represents the 'Mycenaean script' used about 3000-1000 B.C., and according to Fries ('Die neuesten Forschungen über d. Urspr. des phöniz. Alph.' in *ZDPV*. xxii. 118 ff.) really supplies the original forms of the Phoenician alphabet as brought to Palestine by the Philistines about 1100 B.C., but 'the Phoenician-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenaean signs names derived from the earlier cuneiform signs'. The hypothesis of Fries is thus connected with that of Delitzsch. But although the derivation of the Phoenician forms from 'Mycenaean' types appears in some cases very plausible, in others there are grave difficulties, and moreover the date, 1100 B.C., assigned for the introduction of the alphabet is clearly too late. [See Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxf. 1909, p. 80 ff.]

(d) From a system, derived from Asia Minor, closely related to the Cypriote syllabary (Praetorius, *Der Urspr. des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906). On this theory the Canaanites transformed the syllabic into an apparently alphabetic writing. In reality, however, they merely retained a single sign for the various syllables, so that e.g. \aleph is not really q , but qa , qe , qi , &c. Of the five Cypriote vowels also they retained only the star (in Cypriote = a) simplified into an '*alef*' (see alphabetical table) to express the vowels at the beginning of syllables, and i and u as Yod and Waw. Praetorius claims to explain about half the twenty-two Canaanite letters in this way, but there are various objections to his ingenious hypothesis.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic¹ \hbar poems: ψ 9 (\aleph - \beth , cf. ψ 10¹ \beth , and ψ 12-17 \aleph - \beth ; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that ψ 9^{3-15.17} \beth , \daleth , \aleph exactly fit in between \beth , \daleth , \aleph , and that ψ 10^{1.3.5} therefore has the reverse order \beth , \daleth , \aleph); also ψ 25 and 34 (both without a separate \beth -verse and with \beth repeated at the end²); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of ψ 19⁸ ff., *tōrā*, *'edūth*, &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4 \beth before \daleth ³, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24^{1.3.5}, 31¹⁰⁻³¹ (in the LXX with \beth before \daleth ³); also in Na 1²⁻¹⁰ Pastor Frohnmeyer of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

¹ On the supposed connexion of this artificial arrangement with magical formulae ('the order of the letters was believed to have a sort of magic power') cf. Löhr, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 173 ff., and *Klagelieder*², Gött. 1907, p. vii ff.

² On this superfluous \beth cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 f., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

³ [Perhaps also originally in ψ 34.] \beth before \daleth is probably due to a magic alphabet, see above, n. 1. According to Böhmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations $\beth\daleth$, $\beth\aleph$, &c., were used in magical texts; $\daleth\aleph$ was excluded, but by a rearrangement we get $\aleph\daleth$ and $\aleph\aleph$.

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah.*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the *Century Bible*, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclesi 51¹³⁻³⁰, with the omission of the 1-verse and with ב' at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from א' to ז' is partly disturbed or obscured. If א' before י' is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Camb. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and dental sounds ב, ג, ד, and of the three liquids ל, מ, נ, indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yād. Kaph*), as also two (if *Qōph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mēm* and *Nūn*, *ʿAyīn* and *Pē*), stand next to one another.

2 The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters Α to Τ are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

3. a. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 d, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א-ב, the tens by י-צ, 100-400 by ק-ת, the numbers from 500-900 by ת (= 400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. תק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יא 11, קכא 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9+6, not יה (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of יהוה).² For a similar reason טז is also mostly written for 16, instead of יז, which in compound proper names, like יואל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g. ס 1000.

l b. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה after the creation) follows either the full chronology (לפנים נדול or ג' (לפ' ג')), with the addition of the thousands, or the abridged chronology (לפ' קמון), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (i. e. if the date falls between Jan. 1 and the Jewish new year; otherwise add 1239), the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

m 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O. T., but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews.³

¹ See note 3 on p. 29.

² On the rise of this custom (יה' having been originally used and afterwards יה), cf. Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is noted.

³ Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Pietro Perreau,

A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e.g. *ישׁרָאֵל* for *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, *פִּלְגִי* for *פְּלִגִי* *aliquis*, *דְּבַר* for *דְּבָר* *aliquid*, *וְגוֹ* for *וְגוֹמַר* *et complens*, i.e. *and so on*. Also in the middle of what is apparently a word, such strokes indicate that it is an abbreviation or a *vox memorialis* (cf. e.g. § 15 d תִּמָּ). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41 d onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs.—Note also יִ or יְ (also הִ) for הִהָהֵה.

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O.T. text, which are already 72 mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9¹⁰ onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16⁵, 18⁹, 19^{33,35}, Nu 9¹⁰; or on whole words, Gn 33⁴, 37¹², Nu 3³⁹, 21³⁰, 29¹⁵, Dt 29²⁸, 2 S 19²⁰, Is 44⁹, Ez 41²⁰, 46²², ψ 27¹³—all no doubt critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 ff.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 ff., and *Einführung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29-31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* 30 (1895), no. 59; and especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 318 ff.; also on the ten points found in the Pentateuch, see Butin (Baltimore, 1906), who considers that they are as old as the Christian era and probably mark a letter, &c., to be deleted. (2) The *litterae majusculae* (e.g. כ Gn 1¹, ל Lv 11⁴² as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Nu 14¹⁷), and *minusculae* (e.g. ה Gn 2⁴). (3) The *litterae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18³⁰ (which points to the reading מִנְשָׁה for מִנְשֶׁה), ע ψ 8c¹⁴ (the middle of the Psalms¹) and Jb 38^{13,15}. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שְׁלוֹם Nu 25¹², and ק Ex 32²⁵ (בְּקִמְיָה), and Nu 7² (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבֵּה Is 9⁶, and *Mēm apertum* in הַמ פְּרוּצִים Neh 2¹⁵. (6) *Nūn inversum* before Nu 1c³⁵, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107²³⁻²⁸ and 40; according to Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 341 ff., a sort of bracket to indicate that the verses are out of place; cf. Krauss, *ZAW.* 1902, p. 57 ff., who regards the inverted *Nūns* as an imitation of the Greek obelus.

§ 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.

P. Haupt, 'Die Semit. Sprachlaute u. ihre Umschrift,' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. vergleich. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, by Delitzsch and Haupt, i, Lpz. 1889, 249 ff.; E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i, Lpz. 1901, p. 14 ff.

1. An accurate knowledge of the original phonetic value of each *α* consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 ff.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange

*Oceano delle abbreviature e sigle*², Parma, 1883 (appendix, 1884); Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankf. 1893; Händler, *Lexicon d. Abbreviaturen* (annexed to G. Dalman's *Aram.-neuhebr. WB.*, Frankf. 1897); Levias, art. 'Abbreviations,' in the *Jew. Encycl.*, i. 39 ff.; F. Perles, 'Zur Gesch. der Abbrev. im Hebr.' (*Archiv f. Stenogr.*, 1902, p. 41 ff.). On abbreviations in biblical MSS. see Ginsburg, *Introd.*, 165 ff.

¹ According to Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 167, properly a large *ץ*, called *t'ūyā* because suspended between the two halves of the Psalter, and then incorrectly taken for a *littera suspensa*.

of sounds on Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

b The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters.² As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (א, ב, ג, ד, ה) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time.³

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Dérenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871 (extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870).

c 2. With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of א and פ, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, the glottal stop א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks. It may stand either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e. g. אָמַר 'āmār, יְאִימִי yā'imī. Even before a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habît, homme*. After a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. קָרָא qārā for an original qārā', Arab. qārū'ā; see further, § 23 a, 27 g.

d ה before a vowel corresponds exactly to our *h* (*spiritus asper*); after a vowel it is either a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e. g. נֶחֱפֶה nēhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point —Mappiq—in it, see § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographic indication of a preceding vowel, e. g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. §§ 7 b and 75 a.

e ע is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. עָהָה LXX Γάα, עָהָה Γόορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus* (*lenis* or *asper*), e. g. עָלִי 'Hāl, עָלִי 'Amalēn.⁴ In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat.—It is as incorrect to omit the ע

¹ Cf. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.', in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 ff.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.', in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 ff.

² Cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 ff.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.', Stargard, 1885. On the transcription of eleven Psalms in a palimpsest fragment of the Hexapla at Milan, see Mercati, *Atti della R. Accad.*, xxxi, Turin, 1896. [Cf. Burkitt, *Fragments of . . . Aquila*, Camb. 1897, p. 13.]

³ Numerous examples occur in *Hieronimi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneseos*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; cf. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34–83.

⁴ It is, however, doubtful if the LXX always consciously aimed at reproducing the actual differences of sound.

entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֲלִי *Eli*, אֲמֶלֶךְ *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or '*g*'; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' as אֲרָבָע '*arba*', עֵר '*ad*'.

א is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally *f* in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), and similar to the Spanish *j*. Like י it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

As regards י, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems *g* to have been the prevailing one. Hence in some respects it is also classed with the gutturals (§ 22 q, r). On the *lingual* י, cf. § 6 o.

2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any *h* rate in some cases, arisen from dentals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters י, ז and ש).

ש and ש were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed *i* texts) by only one form ש; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 133). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as ש (sh) and ש (s).¹

The original difference between the sounds ש and ש sometimes marks *k* a distinction in meaning, e. g. סָכַר to *close*, שָׁכַר to *hire*, סָכַל to *be foolish*, שָׁכַל to *be prudent*, to *be wise*. Syriac always represents both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָכַר for שָׁכַר to *hire*, Ezr 4⁵; שְׁכָלֹת for סְכָלֹת *folly*, Ec 1¹⁷.

ז (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzings, the French and English *z*, [altogether different from the German *z* (*ts*).

3. ט, פ, and probably צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and *m* with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and also are often aspirated (see below, n). צ is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *z*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des צ,' in *OLZ*. x. 467 ff.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard Palatals, Dentals, *n* and Labials

בּ ג ד כ פ ת (בְּגִיד־כִּפֶּת)

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound, as mutes, like

¹ The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce ש invariably as ש.

² The original value of ט, and its relation to the original value of ש and ש, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of P. Haupt, *ZDMG*. 1880, p. 762 f.; D. H. Müller, 'Zur Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 ff.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *NGGW*. 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW*. 1891, p. 267 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. 1893, p. 100 f.; E. Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publicationen über Habaschitisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of צ see G. Hüsing, *OLZ*. 1907, p. 467 ff.

k, *p*, *t*, or initial *b*, *g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.¹ The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point, *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphē* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: ב *κ*, כ *χ*; פ *π*, פ *φ*; ת *τ*, ת *θ*. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רב *rav* (or even *raf*), בית *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b-h*, *k-h*.

o 4. According to their special character the consonants are divided into—

(a) Gutturals	א ה ע ה;
(b) Palatals	ק נ כ;
(c) Dentals	ד ט ת;
(d) Labials	ב פ;
(e) Sibilants	ז ש ס צ;
(f) Sonants	ו י, ך, ך, ך.

In the case of ד its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, *g*, end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, pronounced in the front of the mouth.

On the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, cf. Delitzsch, *Phyiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note *a*, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

p In accordance with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 14, the following scheme of the Hebrew phonetic system is substituted for the table formerly given in this grammar:—

i. Throat sounds (Gutturals): א ה ע ה.

¹ So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.

ii. Mouth-sounds:

	w.	m.	e.	w.	m.
1. Mutes and Spirants:	Palatal א	ב	ק	ג	כ
	Dental ד	ח	ט	ך	ת
	Labial פ	ב	—	ב	פ
2. Sibilants:	... ז	ש שם	צ		
3. Sonants:	... וי	ל ר	נ מ		

Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters at the top is, w. = weak, m. = middle hard, e. = emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. א and ב as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. א and י as semi-vowels). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of interchange, whether within Hebrew itself or with the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. ד = ז, ח = ש, ט = צ). Further transitions are not, however, excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ח and פ (ח = כ = פ). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, medial, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when medial does not always prove the possibility of the change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably in course of time certain nicer distinctions of *r* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger ר' *g*, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans ר and ר' were pronounced merely as ר, and so in Ethiopic, ר like ר, ר like ר, ש like ש.

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to describe especially as *weak*, *s* are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. א, י, ו (as to א, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again א, י, ו, and א, and in certain cases ח and ל; finally the gutturals and ר for the reason given in § 22 b and g.

§ 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, *a* are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *e* by modification from *z* or *ā*; short *ō* from *ā*; *ê* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ô* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *ā*, sometimes by contraction from *au* (properly *aw*).¹

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*ai* and *au*), e.g. שׂוּי Arab. *sauī*, and עֵינַי Arab. *'aināin*. It was

¹ In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *ē* or *ō*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT*, on 1 Ch 1²⁻²⁰.

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation \hat{e} and \hat{o} , at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בֵּין Arab. *bain*, *bēn*, יום Arab. *yaum*, *yōm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (*θαῖμα*, Ionic *θῶμα*; *plaustrum* = *piostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.).¹

b 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 *k*), must in the main have passed through the following stages² :—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant, or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already in the Mēša' inscription, a ה employed in this way (see below) as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e.g. in the inflection of the verbs לָהֵךְ, the vowels \bar{a} ,³ \bar{e} , \bar{e}). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for \hat{o} and \hat{u} , and of י for \hat{e} and \hat{i} , had been established (see below, *e*) these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

c According to § 91 *b* and *d*, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הוּ. But in the places where this הוּ with a preceding *a* is contracted into \hat{o} (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. סִנְתָה עִירָה Gn 49¹¹, cf. § 91 *e*; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אֲרִצָּה בֵּיתָה (also בֵּתָה), בָּנָה, בָּה, לָה, חֶלְתָּמָה; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רִאשֵׁיו יָמָה Mēša', l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also יָרְשָׁה 20 if it is for רִאשֵׁיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read יִתְּלַפֶּה (l. 6), וְאִתְּלַכֶּה (l. 12 *f*) and וְיִתְּרַשֶּׁה (l. 19).

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the י of the constr. state plur. masc. if its \hat{e} (according to § 89 *d*) is

¹ In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

² Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

³ According to Stade, the employment of ה for \bar{a} probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הָ, as אֲרִצָּה קִדְמָה.

⁴ The form יָרְשָׁה contradicts the view of Oort, *Theol. Tijds.*, 1902, p. 374, that the above instances from the Mēša'-inscription are to be read *benhu*, *bahu*, *lahu*, which were afterwards vocalized as *beno*, *bo*, *lo*.

contracted from an original *ay*. Against this, however, it may be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this *ê*, nor any other final vowel.¹

(b) The employment of *י* to denote *ô*, *u*, and of *י* to denote *ê*, *î*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a *י* with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *û*, and where *י* with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (cf. § 24). In this case the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally *א* also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal *א* with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *â* or *ā*.

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inscr.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus *אש*, *חזקם*, *מִימָן* (or *מִימָן*); *אמֹת*, *קל*, *שֶׁלֶשׁ*, *עָר*. On the other hand *מוֹצֵא* (from *mausa*'), *עוֹד* (from *'aud*); *מִימָן* also, if it is to be read *מִימָן*, is an instance of the retention of a *י* which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal *א* as a vowel letter are *מִאֲחֵיָם*, *מוֹצֵא*, and *קָרָא*, as also *רָאֵשׁ*. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by *ה*: *אֲפָה*, *הָיָה*, *וֹרָה*, *נִקְבָה*. To this *ם* alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on *יֹם*, § 96), instead of *יֹם* (Arab. *yawm*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, *דַּיבֹן* (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβόν* of the LXX proves), *חֹרֶזֶן* (*ô* from *au*), and *בֵּיתָה* (*ê* from *ai*), but also even *הַשְׁעָנִי*² instead of *הַשְׁעָנִי* (from *haus-*), *וְאַשְׁשִׁיב*, *וְאַשְׁשִׁיב*, *בֵּית* four times, *בֵּיתָה* once, for *בֵּית* and *בֵּיתָה* (from *bail*); *לֵלָה*=*לָלָה*, *אֵן*=*אָן* or *אֵין*.

¹ Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. i, l. 3 *שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שֶׁנֶּבֶן* the two sons; elsewhere *ב* for *בֵּי* (but *בֵּי* in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), *י* for *יָה* (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), *בִּנְתִּי* = *בְּנִתִּי* (so Mēša') or *בְּנִיתִי*, &c. Of. on the other hand in Mēša', *אֲנִי*=*אֲנִי* (unless it was actually pronounced *'anīkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by *ה* and *א* and final *î* by *י*, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by *י* in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially *י* and *י*) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia *הי* in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

² *הַשְׁעָנִי* is the more strange since the name of king *הַשְׁעָנִי* is represented as *A-u si'* in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

g (c) In the present state of Old Testament vocalization as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9 d, and the very doubtful cases in § 8 k), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of י to mark an *ô* or *â*, arising from contraction, and of ו for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal נ rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e.g. in the plural endings נִי— and וִי) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was intended, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible.¹

h 3. When the language had died out, the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome; and as there was thus a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the O. T. text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. under the influence of different Schools, traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of tradition.² They mainly followed, though with independent regard to

¹ Thus e.g. קָטַל can be read *qāṭal*, *qātāl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, and several of these forms have also different senses.

² The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i.e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools, and the Occidentals, i.e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 197 ff.; (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 241 ff. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.¹

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*, p. 182 ff.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii, who shows that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Grammm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 ff.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 ff.; Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim-[Punctuators]-Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, x. Breslau, 1872, p. 10 ff.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibeltexes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 ff., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 ff.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real.-Enc.*, xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885; Harris, 'The Rise... of the Massorah,' *JQR.* i. 1889, p. 128 ff. and p. 223 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 1893, p. 274 ff.; J. Bachrach, *Das Alter d. bibl. Vocalisation u. Accentuation*, 2 pts. Warsaw, 1897, and esp. Ginsburg, *Introd.* (see § 3 c), p. 287 ff.; Budde, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tiberiens. Vokalisation,' in *Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, i. 1906, 651 ff.; Bacher, 'Diakrit. Zeichen in vormasoret. Zeit,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285; C. Levias, art. 'Vocalization,' in the *Jewish Encycl.*—On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, cf. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, xiii. 1879, no. 25.

4. To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text a phonetic system was devised, so exact as to show all vowel-changes occasioned by lengthening of words, by the tone, by gutturals, &c., which in other languages are seldom indicated in writing. The pronunciation followed is in the main that of the Palestinian Jews of about the sixth century A.D., as observed in the solemn reading of the sacred writings in synagogue and school, but based on a much older tradition. That the real pronunciation of early Hebrew is consistently preserved by this tradition, has recently been seriously questioned on good grounds, especially in view of the transcription of proper names in the LXX. Nevertheless in many cases, internal reasons, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testify in a high degree to the faithfulness of the tradition. At the same recension of the text, or soon after, the various other signs for reading (§§ 11-14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

§ 8. The Vowel Signs in particular.

P. Haupt, 'The names of the Hebrew vowels,' *JAOS.* xxii, and in the *Johns Hopkins Semitic Papers*, Newhaven, 1901, p. 7 ff.; C. Levias in the *Hebr. Union Coll. Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 138 ff.

to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and of numerous later corruptions.

¹ See Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 ff.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 ff.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

Preliminary Remark.

The next two sections (§§ 8 and 9) have been severely criticized (Philippi, *ThLZ*, 1897, no. 2) for assigning a definite quantity to each of the several vowels, whereas in reality — , — , — are merely signs for \bar{a} , e , o : 'whether these are long or short is not shown by the signs themselves but must be inferred from the rules for the pause which marks the breaks in continuous narrative, or from other circumstances.' But in the twenty-fourth and subsequent German editions of this Grammar, in the last note on § 8 a [English ed. p. 38, note 4], it was stated: 'it must be mentioned that the Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing.'

For a long time only שֶׁבַע מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita וְיִאמָר אֱלִיהוּ), Šureq and Qibbuš being counted as one vowel.

The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 a, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).¹

I have therefore long shared the opinion that 'the vowel-system represented by the ordinary punctuation (of Tiberias) was primarily intended to mark only differences of quality' (Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 17). There is, however, of course a further question how far these 'later' grammarians were mistaken in assigning a particular quantity to the vowels represented by particular signs. In Philippi's opinion they were mistaken (excluding of course \bar{i} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does — stand, according to circumstances, for \bar{a} or $\bar{ä}$, and — for \bar{a} or $\bar{ä}$, but also — for \bar{e} or $\bar{ä}$, and — for \bar{o} or $\bar{ö}$, e. g. בָּרַךְ and בָּרַךְ, out of pause *kābēd*, *qāḏōn* (form בָּרַךְ), but in pause *kābēd*, *qāḏōn*.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameš* and *Sēgol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconstruction. With regard to *Sere* and *Holem*, however, I can only follow Philippi so long as his view does not conflict with the (to me inviolable) law of a long vowel in an open syllable before the tone and (except Pathah) in a final syllable with the tone. To me בָּרַךְ = *kābēd*, &c., is as impossible as e. g. עֲנֵב = *ʿnab* or בָּרַךְ = *bōrahk*, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original \bar{i} and \bar{u} often pass into \bar{e} and \bar{o} dialectically, while remaining in a closed syllable.'

- a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10 a-f), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7 a), are as follows:—

First Class. A-sound.

- A { 1. — ¹ *Qamēš* denotes either \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$, more strictly $\bar{ä}$ (the obscure Swedish $\bar{ä}$) and \bar{a} ,² as — *yād* (hand), ראשם *rāšēm* (heads), or $\bar{ä}$ (in future transcribed as \bar{o}), called *Qamēš ḥatūph*, i. e. hurried *Qamēš*. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of \bar{u} ; cf. c and § 9 u.
2. — *Pāthāh*, \bar{a} , בַּת *bāth* (daughter).

¹ In early MSS. the sign for *Qamēš* is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG*, 1892, p. 411 f.), Pathah with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qamēš* as $\bar{ä}$. Cf. also Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 609.

² Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription $\bar{ä}$, $\bar{ä}$ we have

Also 3. ֿ *S^egól*, an open *e*, \bar{e} (\bar{a} or $\bar{ä}$), as a modification of \bar{a} ,¹ either in an untuned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of יָדְךָ *yādkhēm* (your hand) from *yādkhēm*—or in a tone-syllable as in פֶּסַח *pēsah*; cf. $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\chi\alpha$, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 e. But *S^egól* in an open tone-syllable with a following \bar{a} , as in גִּלְגָּל *g^el^enā* (cf. § 75 f), יָדְכֶּה *yādēkhā* (cf. § 91 i), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. *I- and E-sounds.*

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | { | 1. ֿ <i>Hîrēq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always \bar{i} , as צַדִּיק <i>šaddîq</i> (righteous). <i>b</i> |
| | | 2. ֿ either \bar{i} (see below, <i>i</i>), as צַדִּיקִים <i>šaddîqîm</i> , only orthographically different from צַדִּיקִים (צַדִּיקִים),—or \bar{i} , as צִדְקוֹ <i>šîdqô</i> (his righteousness). |
| E | { | 3. ֿ <i>Serî</i> or <i>Sērê</i> with <i>yod</i> = \bar{e} , e. g. בֵּיתוֹ <i>bêthô</i> (his house).
ֿ either \bar{e} , but rarely (see below, <i>i</i>), or \bar{e} as שֵׁם <i>šēm</i> (name).
<i>Sere</i> can only be \bar{e} , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 f. |
| | | 4. ֿ <i>S^egól</i> , $\bar{ä}$, a modification of \bar{a} , e. g. חִפְּזוֹ <i>hîfšî</i> (ground-form <i>hîfš</i>); שָׁן <i>šān</i> (ground-form <i>šēn</i>). |

Third Class. *U- and O-sounds.*

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| U | { | 1. ֿ <i>Šârēq</i> , usually \bar{u} , מָוֶת <i>māth</i> (to die), rarely $\bar{ü}$. |
| | | 2. ֿ <i>Qibbās</i> , either $\bar{ü}$, e. g. סֻלָּאָם <i>süllām</i> (ladder), or \bar{u} , e. g. קָמוּ <i>qūmū</i> (rise up), instead of the usual קָמוּ . |
| O | { | 3. ֿ and ֿ <i>Hōlēm</i> , \bar{o} and \bar{o} , קוֹל <i>qôl</i> (voice), רֹב <i>rôb</i> (multitude).
Often also a defective ֿ for \bar{o} ; rarely ֿ for \bar{o} .
On the question whether ֿ under some circumstances represents \bar{o} , see § 93 r. |
| | | 4. ֿ On <i>Qāmēš hātūph</i> = \bar{o} , generally modified from $\bar{ü}$, as חֻק <i>hūq</i> (statute), see above, <i>a</i> . |

retained \bar{a} , $\bar{ä}$ in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qāmēš hātūph*, in the previous German edition expressed by $\bar{ä}$, we have, after careful consideration, returned to \bar{o} . The use of the same sign ֿ for $\bar{ä}$ ($\bar{ä}$) and $\bar{ä}$, shows that the Massoretes did not intend to draw a sharp distinction between them. We must not, however, regard the Jewish grammarians as making a merely idle distinction between *Qāmēš rāhūb*, or broad *Qāmēš*, and *Qāmēš hātūph*, or light *Qāmēš*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an \bar{a} lengthened from $\bar{ä}$, as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e. g. the last vowel in וַיֵּשֶׁב or the first in וַיֵּשֶׁב .—The notation \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into \bar{i} and \bar{i} , \bar{u} and \bar{u} is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark ֿ stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, whenever this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e. g. וַיֵּשֶׁב .

¹ These *S^egól*s, modified from $\bar{ä}$, are very frequent in the language. The

d The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פֶּתַח *opening*; יָרִי *a wide parting* (of the mouth), also שֶׁבֶר (= *ē*) *breaking, parting* (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); חֵירָק (also חֶרֶק) *narrow opening*; חֻלָּם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i. e. of the mouth (also מְלֵא פִּי ¹ *fullness of the mouth*). קָמֶץ ² also denotes a slighter, as שִׁירָק (also קְבוּץ פִּי) *a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth*. סֵגוּל (סִגּוּל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נִקְדּוֹת (*three points*) is another name for Qibbûs.

e Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (פֶּתַח, קָמֶץ for קָמֶץ; יָרִי, שֶׁבֶר for יָרִי); in order to carry this out consistently some even write Sägöl, Qomes-ḥatûf, Qübbûs.

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly under the consonant, after which it is to be pronounced, רַ rā, רָ rā, רֶ rē, רֹ rō, &c. The Pathah called *furtivum* (§ 22 *f*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced before the consonant, רֵיחַ rāḥ (wind, spirit). The Hölēm (without wāw) stands on the left above the consonant, רֹ rō (but רֵ = lō). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with ō, the point is placed over its right arm, thus בֹּא, רֹאשׁ; but e.g. בָּאם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the Holem when ō (of course without wāw) is pronounced after sin or before šin. Hence שֹׂנֵא šōnē (hating), נֹשֵׂא nōšē (to bear), מֹשֶׁה mōšē (not מֹשֶׁה); but שֹׂמֵר šōmēr (a watchman). When ō precedes the šin, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יֹרֵשׁ yōrēš (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשֵׂאִים hannōšē'im (those who carry).

In the sign י, the י may also be a consonant. The י is then either to be read ōw (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לֹוֹ lōw, lending) or wō, when a vowel already precedes the י, e.g. עֹוֹ 'āwōn (iniquity) for עֹוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between י (wo) and י (i. e. either ō or, when another vowel follows the wāw, ōw³).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 *g*, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing Pathah; see also Gaster, 'Die Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen Pathach u. Segol,' in *ZAW*. 1894, p. 60 ff.

¹ On the erroneous use of the term *melo pum*, only in Germany, for šureq (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate ū), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG*. 1904, p. 597 ff.; Bacher, *ibid.*, p. 799 ff., *Melopum*; Simonsen, *ibid.*, p. 807 ff.

² The usual spelling קָמֶץ and פֶּתַח takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמֶץ and פֶּתַח are rather Aram. participles, like Dageš, &c., and consequently to be transliterated Qāmēs and Pāthah.

³ Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except י, are there placed above the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of הַ in h the middle and וֹ , אֹ , יֹ at the end of the word (§ 9 $a-d, f$), represented *only* by vowel signs, but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter

and some even as regards the sound which they denote: ֶ = \bar{a} , \bar{a} , ֵ = tone-bearing \bar{a} and \bar{e} , ִ = \bar{e} , \bar{e} , ִ = \bar{i} , \bar{i} , ִ = \bar{o} , \bar{o} , ִ or \bar{u} . In an unsharpened syllable ֶ = toneless \bar{a} and \bar{e} , and also Hætheph Pathah; ֵ = toneless \bar{e} and Hætheph S'ghöl; ִ = \bar{i} , ִ = \bar{u} , ֶ = \bar{o} , and Hætheph Qames. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš, ֶ = \bar{a} , ֵ = \bar{e} , ִ = \bar{i} , ֶ = \bar{u} , ֶ = $\bar{ä}$.

The accents differ less and stand in some cases under the line of the consonants. Besides this complicated system of the Codex Babylonicus (see below) and other MSS., there is a simpler one, used in Targums. It is still uncertain whether the latter is the foundation of the former (as Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* xi, and Bacher, *ZDMG.* 1895, p. 15 ff.), or is a later development of it among the Jews of South Arabia (as Praetorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 181 ff.). For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* ($\text{פְּקוּדֵי בְּבִלְיָ}$), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and

H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg.*, St. Petersburg. and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (St. Petersburg, 1876, 1a. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introduct.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetæ ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersburg. 1875. Cf. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above, § 7 h, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; G. Margoliouth, in the *PSBA.* xv. 4, and M. Gaster, *ibid.*; P. Kahle, *Der masoret. Text des A. T. nach d. Überlief. der babyl. Juden*, Lpz. 1902, with the valuable review by Rahlfs in *GGA.* 1903, no. 5; Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 719 (Babylonian ֶ = \bar{u}). According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western or Tiberian system, although a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 ff., has endeavoured to show, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be an Oriental, but is by no means the Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. Strack, *Wiss. Jahresh. der ZDMG.* 1879, p. 124, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under Arab influence from the vowel letters אֵ (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows Syrian influence.

A third, widely different system (Palestinian), probably the basis of the other two, is described by A. Neubauer, *JQR.* vii. 1895, p. 361 ff., and Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 564 ff., and *PSBA.* 1896, p. 86 ff.; C. Levias, *Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xv. p. 157 ff.; and esp. P. Kahle, *Beitr. zu der Gesch. der hebr. Punctuation*, in *ZAW.* 1901, p. 273 ff. and in *Der masoret. Text des A. T.* (see above), chiefly dealing with the Berlin MS. Or. qu. 680, which contains a number of variants on the biblical text, and frequently agrees with the transcriptions of the LXX and Jerome.

points is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within it. Thus—

' may be combined with *Hîrêq*, *Šerê*, *Sêgól* (—, —, —).

' with *Šârêq* and *Hôlêm* (š and ô).¹

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Aliph (آ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew *א* is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9 b and § 23 g.

4. The omission of the vowel letters when writing *ê*, *û*, *ê*, *ô* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קול, קום are written *plene*, קלת, קם *defective*.

Cf. Bardowitz, *Studien zur Gesch. der Orthogr. im Alt-hebr.*, 1894; Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, i. 182, 275; Marmorstein, 'Midrasch der vollen u. defekt. Schreibung,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 33 ff.

So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *û*, *ô*, *ê*, *ê*, *ê*, as well as for *ê* in הוּה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *â*, *â* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. מַלְכִי, קַטְלִי, קַטְלִי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26⁶, 44⁸; Ezr 6²¹; 2 Ch 32¹³ גַּי instead of גַּי; Zp 2² גַּי [perhaps an error due to the following '] for גַּי; Is 40³¹ וְקִי [followed by '] for וְקִי; Jer 38¹¹ בְּלִי for בְּלִי.) On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גוֹיִם (*nations*) for גוֹיִם, מִצְוֹת (*commandments*) for מִצְוֹת.

That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הַקִּמּוֹתִי Ezr 16⁶⁰: הַקִּמּוֹתִי and also הַקִּמּוֹתִי Jer 23⁴; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the *scriptio plena* in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נְבִיא but נְבִיאִים; צַדִּיק but צַדִּיקִים; קול, קולות, יהושע, מִצְוָה.

(b) That in the later Books of the O. T. (and regularly in post-biblical Hebrew) the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. —, —, —, —, —, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*)² is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, since it

¹ After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulcra*).

² Cf. T. C. Foote, *The diphthong ai in Hebrew* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, June, 1903, p. 70 ff.).

agrees with the vocalic character of ו and י (§ 5 b, note 2). Thus such words as וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom¹ as *vāv*, *hay*, *gōy*, *āsūy*, *gēv*, *bayith* (or even as *vaf*, &c.; cf. modern Greek *av af*, *ev ef* for *av*, *ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *hai*, &c. The sound of וַי is the same as וַי, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וַי is often written defectively for וַי.

§ 9. Character of the several Vowels.

Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet *a* not fully adequate to express all the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

I. First Class. *A-sound*.

1. *Qameṣ* (וַי), when it represents a long *a*, is, by nature and origin, of two kinds:—

(1) The essentially long *ā* (in Arabic regularly written *ā*), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25 c), e.g. קָהָב *qāhābh* (writing); very seldom with a following *ā*, as שָׁנָא *šānā* 2 S 12^{1,4} (see the examples in § 72 p).²

The writing of חֹהָב *Ho 10¹⁴* for חָב would only be justifiable, if the *ā* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; cf. however § 72 a; שָׁנָא *Neh 13¹⁶* for שָׁנָא (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect.—The rarity of the *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, *q*.

(2) *ā*, lengthened only by position (i.e. tone-long or at all events *c* lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27 e-h), either in the tone-syllable itself (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Methēg*, see below), or just before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened from an original *ā*,³ and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26 b), e.g. לָקָא, קָטָלָא, לָקָא, קָטָלָא (Arab. *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūmū*, *āsīrū*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in

¹ In MSS. ו and י, in such combinations as וַי, וַי, are even marked with Mappiq (§ 14 a).

² Of a different kind are the cases in which *ā* has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23 a-d.

³ In Arabic this *ā* is always retained in an open syllable.

a consonant, as כָּ, כּוֹכֵב (vulgar Arab. *yād, kaukūb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone, עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, cf. § 89 a) the original short *ā* (*Pathah*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes *Šewā* (§ 27 i): עוֹלָם, constr. state עוֹלָם (*hākhām*); עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם (*dēbhār*); עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *ā*, see § 93 *xx*.

- d In some terminations of the verb (עוֹלָם in the 2nd sing. masc. perf., עוֹלָם in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in עוֹלָם *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes עוֹלָם and עוֹלָם, the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A עוֹ is, however, in these cases (except with עוֹ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On עוֹ for *ū* see below, *f*.

- e 2. *Pathah*, or short *ā*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel (*ā, ē*) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g. עוֹלָם (ground-form *naḥl*), עוֹלָם (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 d, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 g, h. Otherwise *ā* in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (עוֹ), see above, *c*.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ā* to *i*, cf. below, *h*. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with *š* (שׁ), see § 23 d, end. On *ā* as a helping-vowel, § 22 f (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28 e.

- f 3. *Segól* (ā, ē [*ā*]) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, but most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27 o, p, u). It belongs to the first class when it is a modification of *a* (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Büder*; Eng. *man*, pl. *men*), either in a toneless syllable, e.g. עוֹלָם (for *yadkhēm*), or with the tone, e.g. עוֹלָם from *'arš*, עוֹלָם Arab. *qārṇ*, עוֹלָם Arab. *qāmḥ*. This *Segól* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם (*mālakḥ, sādāq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segól* is lengthened into *Qames*, e.g. עוֹלָם, עוֹלָם. A *Segól* apparently lengthened from *Šewā*, but in reality traceable to an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as עוֹלָם (ground-form *pāry*), עוֹלָם (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segól*, see § 75 f, and § 91 k.

II. Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

4. The long *i* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated *g* by ' (a *fully* written *Hireq* '—); but a naturally long *i* can be also written *defectively* (§ 8 *i*), e.g. צַדִּיק (righteous), plur. צַדִּיקִים *šaddiqim*; יָרָא (he fears), plur. יָרְאוּ. Whether a *defectively* written *Hireq* is long may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יָרָא from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16 *f*).

5. The *short Hireq* (always¹ written *defectively*) is especially frequent *h* in sharpened syllables (אֶפֶס, אֶמֶן) and in toneless closed syllables (קִמְנוֹר *psalm*); cf. however יִשְׁפָּן in a closed tone-syllable, and even יִנְיָ, with a helping *Segôl*, for *wayyôphn*. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from *ä*, as in דָּבַר from original *dābārē*, צָרָה (ground-form *šādq*),² or else it is the original *ī*, which in the tone-syllable had become *ē*, as in אֵינְךָ (*thy enemy*) from אֵיב (ground-form '*äyib*').³ It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in בֵּית, § 28 *e*.

The earlier grammarians call every *Hireq* written *fully*, *Hireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Hireq parvum*,—a misleading distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *ê* '— (more rarely *defective* —, e.g. עֵינַי for עֵינֵי *i* Is 3^s; at the end of a word also הַ— is as a rule contracted from '— *ay* (*ai*), § 7 *a*, e.g. הַיָּדָבָר (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Sere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, which, *k* like the tone-long *ā* (see *c*), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ē*. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e.g. סֵפֶר (ground-form *sīphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *šināt*) *sleep*, or with *Metheg* (see § 16 *d, f*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e.g. מִשְׁאֲלִי *my request*, נִלְכָּה *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֶּן *son*, אֵבֶם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e.g. נֹחַ Nu 35¹⁸, as well as in the examples of *nāsōg* 'āhōr mentioned in § 29 *f* (on the quantity cf. § 8 *b 3* end); (*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, *Sere* likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsōg* 'āhōr, as נָסַח Ex 16²⁰; cf. Ju 9³⁹.

8. The *Segôl* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an *ē* modified from *m* original *ī*, either replacing a tone-long *ē* which has lost the tone, e.g.

¹ At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, p. 18, Rem.

² Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ä* for *i*.

³ Cf. the remarks of I. Guidi, 'La pronuncia del sêrê,' in the *Verhandl. des Hamburger Orient.-Kongr.* of 1902, Leiden, 1904, p. 208 ff., on Italian *e* for Latin *i*, as in *fede* = *fidem*, *pece* = *picem*.

ִּיָּ from יָן (*give*), יִצְרָךְ (*thy creator*) from יִצְרָ, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, הִלְקִי, הִזְרִי from the ground-forms *hīlq*, *hīzr*; cf. also § 64 f. *Sēgōl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָ for *sīphr*, יִגְלָ for *yigl* (§ 28 e).

III. Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

n 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *ū*, either (a) written fully, *Šureq*, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — *Qibbūs* גְּבוּלוֹ, יְמִתוֹ ;

(2) the short *ū*, mostly represented by *Qibbūs*, in a toneless closed syllable and especially common in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), דִּבְהָ (*booth*).

O Sometimes also *ū* in a sharpened syllable is written *ī*, e.g. הִזְכָּה ψ 102⁵, יִזְכָּר Jb 5⁷, בִּזְכָּם Jer. 31³⁴, מִשְׁכָּבוֹ Is 5⁵, עֲרֻמִּים Gn 22²⁵ for הִזְכָּה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write o, e.g. עֲרֻמִּים Ὀδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ū* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. אֶמְרָ Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbūs* like the German *ū*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ū* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine¹; cf. the Turkish *būlbūl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dūnyā* in Syria as *dūnyā*.

p 10. The O-sound bears the same relation to U as the E does to I in the second class. It has four varieties:—

(1) The *ō* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 a, and accordingly is mostly written fully; *ī* (*Holem plenum*), e.g. שֵׁיט (*a whip*), Arab. *sawf*, עוֹלָה (*iniquity*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely defectively, as שִׁירָ (*thine ox*) from שִׁיר Arab. *šaur*.

q (2) The long *ō* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *ā*,² while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. קָטִיל Arab. *qātil*. Aram. *qātēl*, אֵלֹהִים Arab. *ʾilāh*, Aram. *ʾēlāh*, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שֵׁק (*leg*), Arab. *šāq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *hātām*; רִפּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; שְׁלִטָּה (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלִטָּה and שְׁלִטָּה Arab. *sūlṭān*; שְׁלֹום (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *salām*. Sometimes the form in *ā* also occurs side by side with that in *ō* as שְׁרִיָּה and שְׁרִיָּה (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 u). Cf. also § 68 b.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ū*, or from an *ō* arising from *ū*, by the tone, or in general according to the

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 f.

² Cf. above, b, end. On Jerome's transliteration of *ō* for *ā*, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. שְׁכָנִי (ground-form *gūds*) *sanctuary*; בֵּרַךְ for *burrah*, יִשְׁכְּנוּ ψ 104²⁸, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; יִשְׁכְּנוּ, יִשְׁכְּנוּ. But the original *ō* (*ū*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *šwā*. Cf. לֹא *all*, but -לֹא (*kōl*), כֹּלֹא (*kūllām*); יִשְׁכְּנוּ, יִשְׁכְּנוּ and יִשְׁכְּנוּ, where original *ū* is weakened to *šwā*: *yiq:elū*, Arab. *yaqtūlū*. This tone-long *ō* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) — *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph* represents *ō* (properly *ǎ*, cf. § 8a, note 2) modified *s* from *ū* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Segōl* of the second class to *Sere*, -לֹא *kōl*, כֹּלֹא *wayyāqōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameṣ*, see below, *u*.

11. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

First Class : A.	Second Class : I and E.	Third Class : U and O.
— original <i>ā</i> (Arabic أَ).	— <i>ē</i> , from original <i>ay</i> (<i>ai</i>).	— <i>ō</i> , from original <i>au</i> (<i>au</i>).
	— or — long <i>i</i> .	— or — <i>ū</i> .
— tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ā</i>) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>i</i>) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	— tone-long <i>ō</i> (from original <i>ū</i>) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
— (as a modification of <i>ā</i>) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ǎ</i> .	— <i>ǎ</i> .	— <i>Ǔ</i> , modified from <i>ū</i> .
— short <i>ā</i> .	— short <i>i</i> .	— short <i>ū</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable.
[— <i>ǐ</i> attenuated from <i>ā</i> ; see <i>h</i> .]		
Utmost weakening to — <i>a</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>e</i> .	Utmost weakening to — <i>a</i> , — <i>ē</i> , or — <i>e</i> .	Utmost weakening to — <i>a</i> , — <i>ē</i> , — <i>o</i> , or — <i>e</i> .

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameṣ* and *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*.¹

21

According to § 8a, long *ā* or *ǎ* (*Qameṣ*) and short *ō* or *Ǔ* (*Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (—), e.g. קָאֵם, -לֹא *kōl*. The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical

¹ These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16 c-i).

origin of the words in question (which is of course the surest guide), may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules:—

1. The sign —^1 is δ in a toneless closed syllable, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 o). The above case occurs—

(a) When $\dot{S}ewa$ follows as a syllable-divider, as in חָכְמָה $\dot{h}okh-m\dot{a}$ (wisdom), אֹכֶל־לֶחֶם $\dot{o}kh-l\dot{a}$ (food). With *Metheg* — is \bar{a} (\bar{a}) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following $\dot{S}ewa$ mobile, e.g. אִכְלָה $\bar{a}-kh\dot{a}$ (she ate); but cf. § 16 i.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dages forte*, e.g. חֲנֻנִי $\dot{h}önnēnī$ (have mercy upon me); but בְּחַיִּים (with *Metheg*, § 16 f ξ) $b\dot{a}ttīm$.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a), e.g. כָּל־הָאָדָם $k\dot{o}l-h\bar{a}-\dot{a}d\dot{a}m$ (all men).

In ψ 35¹⁰ and Pr 19⁷ *Maqqeph* with כָּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Mer'kha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19⁵ with מִקְעָר , and Ez 37⁸ with וַיִּקְרָם (so Baer after Qimhi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel וַיִּקְרָם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיַּשְׁקֵם $wayy\dot{a}q\dot{u}m$ (and he stood up).—In the cases where \bar{a} or \bar{a} in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g. כְּהִנְיָהוּ Est 4⁸, שְׁחָלִי Gn 4²⁵, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like לָמְמָה , לָמְמָה $\dot{l}\bar{a}mm\bar{a}$, the tone shows that — is to be read as \bar{a} .

2. The cases in which — appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as δ require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Hateph-Qames* follows, e.g. פַּעְלֵי $his\ work$, or simple vocal $\dot{S}ewa$, e.g. גֹּאֵד $ox\ goad$; פַּעְלֵי Jo 4⁷; שְׁמֶרֶה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve* ψ 86², cf. 16¹ and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, note, and § 61 f; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14¹⁵; *Hateph-Pathah* follows in לְמִשְׁחָה (so Ginsburg; Baer לְמִשְׁחָה) 1 S 15¹, לְהַרְגָה 24¹¹, and יִפְנֹשֶׁה (so Baer, Gn 32¹⁸, others יִפְנֹשֶׁה); (b) before another *Qames-hatuph*, e.g. פַּעְלֵךְ $thy\ work$; on אֲרָה־לִּי and קָה־לִּי Nu 23⁷, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קָרְ and שְׁרְ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the — as indicating a *Qames rahabh* (broad *Qames*) and therefore read the — as \bar{a} ; thus $p\bar{a}-\dot{l}\bar{o}$, $\bar{d}\bar{a}-\dot{u}^e\bar{b}\bar{a}n$, $p\bar{a}-\dot{u}^e\bar{k}\bar{h}\bar{a}$, $q\bar{a}-\dot{d}\bar{a}šim$. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

¹ In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 g, note) \bar{a} and δ are carefully distinguished. So also in many MSS. with the ordinary punctuation and in Baer's editions of the text since 1880, in which — is used for δ as well as for \bar{a} . Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of — for δ is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames is here used loosely for \tilde{a} , as the equivalent of \bar{a} , on the analogy of קָמֶץ &c., § 93 q. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read פֹּה־לֹה (for פֹּה־לֹה), פֹּה־לֹה־לֹה , פֹּה־לֹה־לֹה .—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Meheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into \bar{a} in מֵהֶגֶץ (Ex 11⁸), although it is so in מֵהֶגֶץ , בֵּהֶגֶץ (in the navy), since here the \bar{a} of the article appears under the ג .

§ 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Šewâ).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Sievers, *Murmelvokale*). The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to Šewâ. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

To these belongs first of all the sign ְ , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half \bar{e} (ְ). It is called *Šewâ*,¹ which may be either *simple Šewâ* (*Šewâ simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šewâ* (*Šewâ mobile*) as distinguished from *Šewâ quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal *Šewâ* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as *c* a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל *q^etōl* (to kill), מָלַל *m^emallē* (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as קָטַל *qō-t^elā*, קָטַל *qⁱq-t^elā*.

In former editions of this Grammar *Šewâ* was distinguished as *medium* *d* when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in מָלַל , מָלַל . According to Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 22, this distinction must now be abandoned. These syllables are really closed, and the original vowel is not merely shortened, but entirely elided. The fact that a following B^gadk^hphath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dageš lene*, is explained by Sievers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

¹ On שְׁוָא , the older and certainly the only correct form (as in Ben Asher), see Bacher, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 18, note 3, who compares Šewayya, the name of the Syriac accentual sign of similar form ܫܘܐ (= Hebr. Zaqeph). The form שְׁוָא , customary in Spain since the time of Menaḥem b. Sarūq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram. שְׁוָא *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šewâ quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukūn* (rest). The derivation from שְׁוָא , שְׁוָא (stem שָׁב , *Levias, American Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. 28 ff.) seems impossible.

of the vowel, and that the prehistoric *malakai* became *malakhai* before being shortened to *malkeh*'. In cases like מַלְכָּא (from מַלְכָּא), מַלְכָּא (from מַלְכָּא) the dropping of the *Dageſ forte* shows that the original vowel is completely lost.

c The sound *ē* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Šewā mobile*, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, or even by *η*, מַלְכָּא Χερουβίμ, מַלְכָּא ἁλλήλοῦς, more frequently by *α*, מַלְכָּא Σαμουήλ, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e.g. מַלְכָּא Σόδομα, מַלְכָּא Σολομών (as well as Σαλωμών), מַלְכָּא Σαβαώθ, מַלְכָּא Ναθαναήλ.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šewā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.²

How the *Šewā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e.g. in מַלְכָּא from *bārākā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. In that language the full short vowel regularly corresponds to the Hebrew *Šewā mobile*.

f 2. Connected with the simple *Šewā mobile* is the compound *Šewā* or *Ḥāṭēph* (*corruptum*), i.e. a *Šewā* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three *Šewā*-sounds determined in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7 a):—

(—) *Ḥāṭēph-Pāthāh*, e.g. מַלְכָּא ḥāmōr, ass.

(—) *Ḥāṭēph-Šegól*, e.g. מַלְכָּא 'emōr, to say.

(—) *Ḥāṭēph-Qāmēs*, e.g. מַלְכָּא ḥōl, sickness.

These *Ḥāṭēphs*, or at least the first two, stand especially under the four guttural letters (§ 22 l), instead of a simple *Šewā mobile*, since these letters by their nature require a more definite vowel than the indeterminate simple *Šewā mobile*. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Šewā* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Šewā simplex*.

On — the shorter *Ḥāṭēf* as compared with — cf. § 27 v.

g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Ḥāṭēph-Pāthāh* is found instead of simple *Šewā* (especially *Šewā mobile*), chiefly (a) under strengthened consonants, since this strengthening (commonly called doubling) causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Šewā mobile*, מַלְכָּא branches, Zc 4¹². According to the rule given by Ben-Asher (which, however, appears to be unknown to good early MSS. and is therefore rejected by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 466; cf. Foote, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, June 1903,

¹ The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e.g. מַלְכָּא Malaga, מַלְכָּא gubulim (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. the Latin augment in *memorāi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memorāi*.

² See especially *Yehuda Hayyūg*, pp. 4 f. and 130 f. in Nutt's edition (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Seḥoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6 b, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Šewā mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-ḥamim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 ff. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW.* vi. 236 ff.

p. 71 f.), the *Ḥateph* is necessary¹ when, in a strengthened medial consonant with Šewā (consequently not in cases like וְיָהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e.g. הַלְלִי (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הַלְלִי) *praise ye!* וְהִתְאַדְּרוּ Ju 16¹⁶; no less universally, where after a consonant with Šewā the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *metheg* always preceding), e.g. כֹּהֲרִים ψ 68⁷; קָלְלָתְךָ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלָהּ) Gn 27¹³ (but not without exceptions, e.g. הִקְקִיר Ju 5¹⁵, Is 10¹; צִלְלִי Jer 6⁵, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנִי *behold us*; on כּ before the suffix הָ, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Reš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e.g. הִתְאַבְּלָנָה Gn 31⁷; בְּרָכִי ψ 103¹; וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶהוּ 1 K 1⁴ (but וְיִתְבָּרְכוּ ψ 72¹⁷, cf. Jer 4², 1 Ch 29²⁰, because the tone is thrown back on to the ā. After e Šewā remains even before the tone, as בְּרָכוּ, &c.; but before Maqqef אֲלֵכֶּה־נָא Baer Ex 4¹⁸, 2 S 15⁷, Jer 40¹⁰, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֲלֵךְ²; (b) under initial sibilants after a copulative, e.g. וְהָבָה Gn 2¹²; cf. Jer 48²⁰; וְטָחַר Is 45¹⁴; וְיִשְׂדֶּה Lv 25³⁴; וְיִשְׁקָה Gn 27²⁶; וְיִשְׁמַע Nu 23¹⁸, Is 37¹⁷, Dn 9¹⁸, cf. Ju 5¹², 1 K 14²¹, 2 K 9¹⁷, Jb 14¹, Ec 9⁷—to emphasize the vocal character of the Šewā. For the same reason under the emphatic ט הוֹטְלֵנוּ Jer 22²⁸; cf. Jb 33²⁵; after Qoph in וְקָרָתִי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. וְקָרָה) Ez 23⁴¹; וְיָרֵב-ψ 55²²; cf. Jer. 32⁹; under Reš in אֲרָדָה (ed. Mant. אֲרָרָה) Gn 18²¹; וְיָרְעֵם ψ 25⁹; even under ת Ezr 26²¹; under ז Est 2⁸; וְיִבְרָכֶךָ so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. וְיִבְרָךְ Dt 24¹⁸; (c) under sonants, sibilants or Qoph after i, e.g. וְיִצְחָק Gn 21⁶, cf. 3c³⁸ and Ez 21²⁸ (under ק); וְאֲמַרְתוּ ψ 12⁷; וְהִתְמַלֵּךְ Jer 22¹⁵; וְכִנְרוֹת Jos 11²; וְבִסְבָּכָה-ψ 74⁵—for the same reason as the cases under b³; according to Baer also in נִשְׁפָּחוֹת 1 S 30²⁸; וְיִפְגְּשֶׁךָ Gn 32¹⁸ after ō (cf. § 9 v), as well as after a in הִקְשִׁיבָה Dn 9¹⁹; וְהִבְרָכָה Gn 27²⁸; וְהִיבְרָעִים 2 K 7⁸.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qames* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, *h* and stands more frequently for a simple Šewā mobile when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e.g. at the beginning, רִאִי (ground-form rō'y) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִינִיָּה 2 Ch 31¹², &c., Q^{re} (K^{eth}. "בִּנְיָה"); אֲמֹנִיתִיָּה *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11¹ (sing. עֲמוֹנִית); וְיִרְדְּבָךְ for the usual יִרְדְּבָךְ Ez 35⁶, from יִרְדָּה; וְיִרְדְּבָנוּ Nu 23²⁵, Jer 31²⁸, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; וְיִרְדְּבָנוּ *his pate* (from קִרְדָּה) ψ 7¹⁷, &c.; וְיִשְׁקָמָה Is 18⁴ Q^{re}. Further, like —, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in וְיִקְרָה (for וְיִקְרָה) Gn 2²⁸. In this example, as in וְיִשְׁעָדָה 1 K 13⁷; וְיִסְאָה 2 K 7¹⁸; and וְיִצְעָקִי Jer 22²⁰, the *Ḥateph-Qames* is no doubt due to the influence of the

¹ See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestament. Textes,' in the *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, vol. xxiv. 1863, p. 409 ff.

² On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under a, see *Minḥat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12⁸ and Ju 7⁶.

³ Ben-Asher requires — for — (even for Šewā quiescens) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15⁵ בְּקִרְבִּי-ψ 18⁷ אֲקִרָא 49¹⁵ לִשְׂאוֹל; 65⁵ תִּבְחָר; 68²⁴ תִּמְחָךְ; Pr 30¹⁷ תִּלְעַן; Jb 29²⁶ אֲבַחֵר; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12⁷, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after *י* in similar cases *Ha'eph-Pathah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with לָקַח cf. also סָבַל Is 9³, 10²⁵, 14²⁵, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šwā* immediately following.) In נָהַר (n-*phūr*) Jb 17⁹ it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In קָמַי 1 S 28⁸ *Q're*, the original form is קָמַם, where again the *š* represents an *ō*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נָקָאָה Est 2¹⁴; נָהַל Pr 28²²; נָקָהָה Jer 49⁷; אָפְשָׁה Is 27⁴; נָשָׂה Dn 8¹³; שָׁמָּה ψ 39¹³; בָּסָעָה 2 K 2¹ (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); נָהַרְתִּים 2 Ch 34¹² (ed. Mant., Opitius, &c. נָהַר). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (ק, ט, cf. also אָלְקָמָה Ru 2^{2.7}), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

i 3. The sign of the *simple Šwā* — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šwā quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final* ׀ (to distinguish it better from final ׀), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in נָרַד *nard*, תָּא *thou fem.* (for 'ant), קָטַלְתָּ *thou fem. hast killed*, וַיִּשָּׂךְ *and he watered*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*, אַל-תִּשָּׂא *drink thou not*; but נָרַד, תָּא.¹

k. However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šwā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šwā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. תָּא 'attē from תָּא 'atti ('anti), קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתִּי (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאֵת, after a vowel, Gn 16⁸, Mi 4¹⁰, &c., according to the readings of Baer), וַיִּשָּׂב *qāṣṣ* from וַיִּשָּׁב, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נָרַד borrowed from the Indian, as also in קָשֶׁט (qāṣṣ) Pr 22²¹; and in אֶל-הוֹקֵם *ne addas* (for which we should expect הוֹקֵם) Pr 30⁶ the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

l Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šwā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šwā* is always *mobile* (a) at the beginning of a word (except in שָׁמָּה § 97 b, note); (b) under a consonant with *Dayeš forte*, e.g. גִּיד-אֶפְחָה *gid-āphū*; (c) after another *Šwā*, e.g. וַיִּקְטַל *yiqṭālū* (except at the end of the word, see above, i). (2) *Šwā* is *quiescens* (a) at the end of a word, even in the ׀; (b) before another *Šwā*.

§ 11. *Other Signs which affect the Reading.*

Very closely connected with the vowel points are the *reading-signs*, which were probably introduced at the same time. Besides the diacritical point over ש and ש, a point is placed *within* a consonant

¹ On יָא — as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs לָא, see § 75 m.

to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphè*) over a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7 b), especially in the case of ן at the end of the word (§ 14 a). The *Rāphè*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14 e).

§ 12. *Dageš in general*,¹ and *Dageš forte in particular*.

Cf. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 ff. and 473 ff.

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant,² denotes, *a* according to § 11, (a) the *strengthening*³ of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e.g. קִטֵּל *qittēl* (§ 20); or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters קִטֵּלֹ (Dageš lene). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root קָטַל in Syriac means to *pierce through*, to *bore through* (with sharp *b* iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture*, *point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly קָטַל may in the Masora have the sense: *acutere* (*literam*), i.e. to *sharpen* a letter, as well as to *harden* it, i.e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. קָטַל *acuens* (*literam*) would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like מִפְּקִיִּן *proferens*, as *signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick* of the *pen*, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רַחֵק *soft*, § 14 e, and § 22 n.

2. In grammar *Dageš forte*, the *sign of strengthening*, is the more *c* important. It may be compared to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Luculus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, see § 20.

¹ Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1902, p. 376, maintains that 'the Masoretes recognized no distinction between *Dageš lene* and *forte*. They used a *Dageš* where they considered that a letter had the sharp, not the soft or aspirated sound.' This may be true; but the old-established distinction between the two kinds of *Dageš* is essential for the right understanding of the grammatical forms.

² *Wāw* with *Dageš* (וּ) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as *Šūrēq* (וֹ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ is, however, easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

³ Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, rightly insists on the expression *strengthened pronunciation* instead of the older term *doubling*, since the consonant in question is only written once. The common expression arises from the fact that in transcription a *strengthened* consonant can only be indicated by writing it as double.

§ 13. *Dageš lene*.

Ginsburg, *Introđ.*, p. 114 ff.: Dagesh and Raphe.

- a 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the בְּגִדְּכֶם letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *maḥ-lō*; תָּפַר *tāphār*, but יָתַר *yith-pār*; שָׁחָה *šākhā*, but יִשְׁחָה *yīš-ḥā*.
- b 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in אַפִּי *'appi*, רַבִּי *rabbī* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַל *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Introđ.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the Hatesh discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B^gadli^{ph}ath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e.g. בְּכַל־לְבִי *ψ 9²*, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like מַחֲסִי *ψ 62⁸* = *maḥ-si* (not *māḥ^a-si*); (c) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לֹא לִי in the combination לֹא לִי Dt 32⁵, or לֹא לִי Hb 1⁴, 2⁶ &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38⁹); see also § 20 e and g.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonium* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on *ψ 94¹²*); cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *B^gadli^{ph}ath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e.g. אַנְפִּי , from אַנְפִּי .

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphè*.

- a 1. *Mappiq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters ו וְ ה הּ as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is only used in the consonantal *ה* at the end of words (since *ה* can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e.g. גַּבְחָהּ *gābhāh* (to be high), אַרְצָהּ *'arṣāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from אַרְצָהּ *'arṣā* (to the earth) which has a vowel ending.
- b Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are, however, cases in which this *ה* has lost its consonantal character (the *Mappiq* of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter; cf. § 91 e on the 3rd fem. sing.
- c The name מַפְּיָק means *proferens*, i. e. a sign which brings out the sound of the letter distinctly, as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this

and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i.e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see e) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. Mappiq is also found with נ, נ', to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e.g. גִּנִּי (*gōy*), קִנִּי (*qāw, qāw*), for which י is also used, as גִּינִי, &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter נ, § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible נ should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with נ (נ' or נ), Gn 43²², Lv 23¹⁷, Ezr 5¹⁸ and Jb 33²¹ (נִי; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hiob*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפֶּה i.e. weak, soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, *e* is the opposite of both kinds of *Dageš* and *Mappiq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בּוֹרֶכֶת letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlèkh*, שֶׁהָרָה, תִּפְרֹר. In modern editions (except Ginsburg's 1st ed.) *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappiq* requires to be expressly pointed out.

§ 15. The Accents.

On the ordinary accents (see below, e), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַטַּעֲמִים (*The Laws of the Accents*), Rüdellheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טַעֲמֵי כ"א ספרים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der hl. Schrift* (exclusive of the books אִמֶּה), ed. by Heinemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the TLZ, 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgr. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' ZDMG. 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 g, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תנ"ך (see below, h), S. Baer, תורת אמת [*Accentual Laws of the Books*], Rüdellheim, 1852, and his appendix to Delitzsch's *Psalmcommentar*, vol. ii, Lpz. 1860, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome is given in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); cf. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' on Psalms 1-3, in his *Psalmcommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the accentual criticism of the text, &c., in the editions of Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טַעֲמֵי אִמֶּה [*Accents of the Poet. Books*], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prätorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of *b* the Hebrew accents, especially, according to Kahle (see above), the 'Conjunctivi', were adopted by the Jews from the neums and punctuation-marks found in Greek gospel-books, and, like these, their primary purpose was to regulate minutely the public reading of the sacred

text. The complete transformation and amplification of the system (in three different forms, see § 8 g, note), which soon caused the Jews to forget its real origin, is clearly connected with the gradual change from the speaking voice in public reading to chanting or singing. The accents then served as a kind of musical notes.¹ Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (a) as *marking the tone*, (b) as *marks of punctuation* to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence.²

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מִלְרָא i.e. accented below³), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מִלְעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Methäg* (cf. § 16). Examples such as יְהוָה נְעֻמָּה Is 50^s (cf. 40¹⁸, Ex 15^s, Jb 12¹⁵, La 2¹⁶) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.⁴

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). Further a twofold system of accentuation is to be noted: (a) the common system found in twenty-one of the Books (the כ"א i.e. twenty-one), and (b) that used in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, for which the *vox memor.* אָמַת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תְּהִלִּים מִשְׁלֵי אִיּוֹב (*twi'n*), so that מְעַמֵּי תְּהִלִּים means the accents (sing. מְעַם) of these three Books. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

¹ On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 534.

² At the same time it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. *'Athnāh* as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1⁴); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1¹⁷).

³ 'Above' in this sense means what comes before, 'below' is what comes after; cf. Bacher, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285 f.

⁴ Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40¹⁸.

I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (but cf. below, l).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).¹

1. (—) סִלְלִיק Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. וְהָיָה כֵּן.
2. (—) אֲתַנָּה 'Athnâh or אֲתַנְהָתָה 'Athnahtâ (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָה Segôltâ, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâh (e.g. Gn 1^{7,28}).
- 3 b. (| —) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšelet (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšelet, distinguished by the following stroke² from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

¹ All the disjunctives occur in Is 39².—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשִׁרְתִּים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3^a, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3^b, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, כ"ט p. 12 ff.—The name מְשִׁרְתִּים (later = accents in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

² This stroke is commonly confused with *Paseq*, which has the same form. But Pāsēq (=restraining, dividing, also incorrectly called P'siq) is neither an independent accent, nor a constituent part of other accents, but is used as a mark for various purposes; see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 ff., where Pāsēq is divided into *distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, and *euphonicum*. The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that Pāsēq served also to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated into the text, has been further developed by E. von Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Paseq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.', in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, and in the article, 'Paseq u. Legarmeh,' in *ZAW.* 1887, p. 301 ff. (but see Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 ff.; also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 ff., viii. 89 ff.). Prætorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 683 ff., pointed out that *Paseq* (which is pre-masoretic and quite distinct from *L'garmeh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Paseq* see H. Grimme, 'Paseqstudien,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Paseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masoretes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Sególtā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19¹⁶, &c.

- 4 a. (־) גָּדוֹל Zāqēph gādōl, and
 4 b. (־) קָטוֹן Zāqēph qātōn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zāqēph is by nature stronger than Great Zāqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (־) טִפְחָה Tiphhā or טַרְחָה Tarhā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillūq and 'Atnāh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Atnāh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2¹⁸), but also in longer verses (Gn 3²¹).
6. (־) רִבְחָה Rebhā.¹
7. (־) זַרְקָה Zarqā, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (־) פַּשְׁטָה Paštā, *postpositive*,¹ and
 8 b. (־) יֶתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Melup-pākh. Yethibh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (־) תִּבְחִיר Tebhīr.
- 10 a. (־) גֶּרֶשׁ Gèreš or טֶרֶם Tères, and
 10 b. (־) גֶּרָשִׁים Gerāšáyim² or Double Gèreš, used for Gèreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.
- 11 a. (־) פָּזֶר Pázēr, and
 11 b. (־) פָּזֶר גָּדוֹל Pázēr gādōl (Great Pázēr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnē phārā (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (־) תְּלִישָׁה גדולה Telišā gedōlā or Great Telišā, *prepositive*.
13. (־) לְגַרְמָה Legarmēh, i.e. Mūnah (see below) with a following stroke.

Stud. u. Krit., 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, 'Pesiq ein Glossenzeichen,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde*, Aug. 1908, p. 1 ff. and p. 97 ff.

¹ If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paštā is placed over it also, e.g. חֹדֶף Gn 1²; cf. below, l.

² Wickes requires Gerāšáyim (גֶּרָשִׁים).

B. CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*).*g*

14. (—) מִוְנָה Múnah.
 15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākh or מַהֻפָּךְ Mahpākh.
 16 *a.* (—) מֵרֶכָה or מְרֶכָה Mérékhā, and
 16 *b.* (—) מֵרֶכָה כְּפֻלָּה Mérékhā khēphûlā or Double Mérékhā.
 17. (—) דָּרְגָא Dargā.
 18. (—) אֶזְלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gères (see above) also called Qadmā.
 19. (—) קְטַנָּה תְּלִישָׁא Telīšā qeṭannā or Little Telīšā, *postpositive*.
 20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יָרַח Yerah.
 [21. (—) מְאֵיְיִלָּא Me'ayyēlā or מֵאֵיְיִלָּא Māyēlā, a variety of Tiphhā, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillūq or 'Athnāh, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. גִּנִּיזָאֵי Gn 8¹⁸.]

II. The Accents of the Books תנ"ך.

A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (—) Sillūq (see above, I, 1).
 2. (—) עֹלֶה וְיִרְדָּה 'Ôlê weyôred,¹ a stronger divider than
 3. (—) 'Athnāh (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnāh suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlê weyôred serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnāh as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.
 4. (—) Rebhiā' gādôl (Great Rebhiā').
 5. (—) Rebhiā' mugrāš, i.e. Rebhiā' with Gères on the same word.
 6. (—) Great Šālšēleth (see above, I. 3 b).
 7. (—) שִׁנּוֹר צִדָּר Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from שִׁנּוֹרִית צִדָּרִית Šinnôrith similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mérékhā or Mahpākh.
 8. (—) Rebhiā' qāṭon (Little Rebhiā') immediately before 'Ôlê weyôred.
 9. (—) דְּהִי דִּתִּי Dehi or Tiphhā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דְּהִי דִּתִּי (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

¹ Wrongly called also Mérékhā mēhuppākh (*Mérékha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mérékhā; cf. Wickes, l. c., p. 14.

10. (𐤀) Pázēr (see above, I, 11 a).
 11 a. (𐤁) Mēhuppākh legarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.
 11 b. (𐤂) 'Azlā legarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i

B. CONJUNCTIVE.

12. (𐤃) Mērekhā (see above, I, 16 a).
 13. (𐤄) Mūnah (see above, I, 14).
 14. (𐤅) מְלִי 'Illūy or Mūnah superior.
 15. (𐤆) תַּרְחָה Tarhā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).
 16. (𐤇) Galgal or Yerah (see above, I, 20).
 17. (𐤈) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I, 15).
 18. (𐤉) 'Azlā (see above, I, 18).
 19. (𐤊) Šalšēleth qeṭannā (Little Šalšēleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the stroke.

- [20. (𐤋) Šinnōrith, see above under No. 7.]

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

- k 1. As in Greek and English (cf. *elul* and *elmu*, *compact* and *compact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנִי *banū* (they built), בָּנִי *banu* (in us); גָּמָה *gāma* (she stood up), גָּמָה *gamā* (standing up, *fem.*).
 l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paṣṣā (see above, I, 8 a, note); e.g. גָּמָה *Gn 19^d*; so the prepositive sign in cases like גָּמָה *Gn 8¹³*.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

- m 3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillūq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditto*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff.).—When two or more *equivalent* accents (Zāqēph, R'bhia') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zāqēph, *Gn 1^{20 a}*.
 n 4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an

adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16 *a*).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of 0 disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of the books *תנ"ך*, the *Rēbhī^a* *mugrā* before *Silluq*, and the *D^ehi* before *'Athnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *Šwā mobile* after *Qameṣ*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After *'Olē w^eyōrē* the *'Athnāh* does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on *ψ* 45⁶). The condition of our ordinary texts is corrupt, and the system of accents can only be studied in correct editions [see Wickes' two treatises].

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35²², from *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* onward (where *p* the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20² *π*; Dt 5⁶ *π*. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with *עֲבָרִים* (instead of *פָּנִי*) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus *עֲבָרִים* at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *Rēbhī^a*. Again *פָּנִי*, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed *פָּנִי* (pausal *Qameṣ* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is *פָּנִי* with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring *עֲבָרִים* and *פָּנִי*, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

§ 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Methēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents. *a*

1. *Maqqēph* (*מקף* i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. *כָּל-אִישׁ* *every man*, *אֶת-כָּל-יֵעָרֵב* *every herb*, Gn 1²⁹, *אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ* *all that he had*, Gn 25⁵.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as *אֶל* *to*, *עַד* *until*, *עַל* *upon*, *עִם* *with*, *אֲלֵ-נָּה* *ne*, *אִם* *if, whether*, *מִן* *from*, *כִּי* *lest*, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. *מִעַל*, *מִעִם*, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 *u*, 1 *c*), as, according to the Masora, in Dt 27⁹, 2 S 20²³, Jer 25³⁰, 29²⁵, Ec 9⁴ in the case of *אֶל-כָּל*; *ψ* 47⁵, Go², Pr 3¹² in the case of *אֶת*, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the קָרִי, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are actually to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Qerê*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *Kethibh*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42⁶ אָנֹכִי occurs in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי קָרִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי קָרִי. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

b 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called קָרִי וְלֹא קָרִי (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. את Jer 38¹⁶, אִם 39¹², יִדְרֹךְ 51³. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called קָרִי וְלֹא קָרִי, e.g. 2 S 8³, Jer 31³⁸. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; Dikduke ha-ʿamim, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

c 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *Kethibh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qerê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Qerê perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in הוּא (Qerê הוּא) wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32 l), and in נָעֵר (Kethibh נָעַר, Qerê נָעֵרָה) always, except in Dt 22¹⁹ (but the Sam. text always has הוּא, נָעֵרָה). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek ὁ παῖς and ἡ παῖς, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נָעֵר is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 2 n.—Other instances are: יִשְׁשַׁכָּר (Q. יִשְׁשַׁכָּר) Gn 30¹⁸ &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 b; יִרְשָׁלַם (Q. יִרְשָׁלַם), properly יִרְשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה), properly יְהוָה; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה), or (after אֲרָנִי) יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה) properly יְהוָה (*Yahwè* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on שְׁתֵּי, שְׁנֵי for שְׁתֵּי, see § 97 d, end.

d 4. The masoretic apparatus accompanying the biblical text is divided into (a) *Masora marginalis*, consisting of (α) *Masora (marginalis) magna* on the upper and lower margins of MSS.; (β) *Masora (marginalis) parva* between and on the right and left of the columns;

instead of קָרִי, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

CHAPTER II

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

§ 18.

THE changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

§ 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

a The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*¹ may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (cf. § 6 *q*), e.g. עָלָם, עָלָץ, עָלָה to *exult*, לָהָה, לָהָה, Aram. לָהָה to *be weary*, לָהָה and לָהָה to *press*, קָרָה and קָרָה to *close*, קָרָה and קָרָה to *escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e.g. צָחַק into צָחַק to *laugh*, נָעַץ into נָעַץ to *reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, ש into ח, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

2. The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems² than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ח and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *b*); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַד for יָלַד, &c.

b 2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a strengthened letter, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συναμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

¹ Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 ff. ('Lautverschiebungen').

² See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with מ, e.g. מִיָּשָׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִיָּזָה (for *min-zē*) from this, יָתֵן (for *yintēn*) he gives. מ is not assimilated after the prefix ל, e.g. לִיָּגֶה, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שָׁבַחְתָּ (cf. however נָתַתָּ for *nāthāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33⁹, Is 29¹, 58³, all in the principal pause; on הִנְדִּירָה and הִנְדִּירָה ψ 68³, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ה, ד, e.g. יָקַח d (for *yilqah*) he takes; קִדְּבֵר for *mithdabbēr*; יִשְׁמָא for *yithšammā*; תִּתְּכֹנֵן for *tithkōnēn*; תִּתְּנֵם for *tithnēm*; אָחַד for *ʾahadt*; but in 1 S 4¹⁹ for לָלֶכֶת read probably לָלֶכֶת.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אָנֹכִי *prithēe*! if from אָנֹכִי; ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* *f* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the strengthened consonant would stand at the end of a word, since the strengthening would then be less audible (§ 20 l), e.g. אָף *nose* (from *ʾanp*), תִּתּוּ *to give* (from *tint*).

The cases are less frequent where a weak letter is lost in pronunciation,¹ and in place of it the preceding stronger sound is sharpened, i.e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּהוּ from קָטַלְתָּהוּ (§ 59 g). אָסַף for אָסַף (§ 66 c) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants מ and ל, the gutturals א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Such rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, מ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only *Šewá*, e.g. נָהֵג we, also אָנֹכִי; וָדַע for וָדַע; קַח for לָקַח; וָשׂ for וָשׂ, הָיָה for הָיָה Ez 2¹⁰.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרָה Ju 19¹¹ for יָרָה; in תִּתְּנָה 2 S 22⁴¹ for תִּתְּנָה; in יָשׁוּב for יָשׁוּב Je 42¹⁰; on קַח Ez 17⁵ for לָקַח, and on קָחַם Ho 11³ for לָקַחַם, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when *Šewá* precedes the weak consonant²; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

¹ Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

² Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in אָנֹכִי *prithēe*! if this stands for אָנֹכִי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְשָׁקָה Am 8⁸, קָחִיבִּי for וְשָׁקָה (cf. וְשָׁקָה, § 5), and

§ 68 b-k), e.g. in כוּם for מוּם. As a rule in such cases, however, the ך is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקַרְאֵה for לְקַרְאָה. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְמַלְךָ for לְמַלְכֶּה (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יְהִימִיל for יְהִימִילֶה (§ 53 a).

Syncope of ך with Šewâ occurs in such cases as בְּאֲדִי for בְּאֲדִיִּי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂה Zc 11⁵.¹ On the cases in which ך is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל'ה (§ 75 h) is an instance of syncope.—On the syncope of ה between two vowels, see § 23 k.

l (c) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלָּה pr. name of a city (cf. גִּילְנִי Gilonite); וִירָא, where ך though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'ה, see § 24 g, and § 75 a.

Bolder changes (especially by violent apocope), took place in earlier periods of the language, notably the weakening of the feminine ending ה—*āth* to ה—*ā*, see § 44 a, and § 80 f.

m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic² with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶרֶץ and אֶרְצָה (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶרְבָה *scorpion*; cf. Arab. *'usfār* bird (stem *šafara*).

n 5. *Transposition*³ occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִשְׁמַרְתָּ (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (בֶּרֶשׁ and בֶּרֶשִׁי *lamb*, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.

o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in בֹּקֶב *star*, from *kaukabh*=*kawkabh* for *kubhkabh* (cf. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrab*); כֹּזֶמֶת *phylacteries* for *taph-tāphōth*; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ *man* from *'inš*, cf. however § 96.

§ 20. *The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants.*

a 1. The strengthening of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*)

(a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession

in בְּלָה Jos 19⁸ for בְּלָהָ (as in 15²⁰). Probably, however, וְנִשְׁקָה and בְּלָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כִּיָּאֵר Am 8⁸ for כִּיָּאֵר (9⁵).

¹ Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 f., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent ך.

² This awkward term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef prostheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 ff.

³ Cf. Barth, *Ehymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 ff.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 461 ff.

without an intermediate vowel or *Šwā mobile*; thus we have נָתַן *nāthān-nūl* and שָׁתַּתִּי for *šāthātī*.

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19 b-f), e.g. יָתַן for *yintēn*.

In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum*.

(c) When it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26 e), e.g. גָּמְלִים *camels* for *gēmālīm*; cf. § 93 ee and kk, § 93 pp.

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place b when the first has a vowel or *Šwā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šwā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הָגְלִים, קָלָלָת, &c. (cf. § 16). This pointing is not used before the suffix יָ, e.g. תִּכְרֹךְ Gn 27⁴, but the first כ has a vocal *Šwā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lenē*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šwā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הָלַל properly הָלָל = *hal-ṭālū*. The form חַנְנִי ψ 9¹⁴ (not חָנְנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'el = חַנְנִי; if it were imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׁרַר Jer 46²⁸, and in the imperf. יִשְׁרָר Jer 5⁶.

2. A consonant is sometimes strengthened merely for the sake of c euphony (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the strengthening is then not so essential. This occurs¹—

(a) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum*: (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone (or occasionally the counter-tone) on the first syllable,² when closely connected with the preceding word, if that word ends in a tone-bearing *Qameṣ* (חֶ-ֿ) with *Šwā mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing חֶ-ֿ, —called דְּחִיּוּק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in f (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like פָּסַח, שָׁחַד, &c., as well as forms like שָׂאֵל, שָׁחַד, and even בָּנֶנָּה.

¹ Cf. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii-xv; F. Prätorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 ff. (ascribed to an original assimilation of ח or נ).

² לָאֵחָד alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when כוֹשֶׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6^{2,29}, 15²⁴, &c.

Some limit the use of the *Dageš* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *Bēgadkēphath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵנִים Nu 22⁶; לְקַחְהוּאָתָם Gn 22³; יִצְחָקָהָן ψ 91¹¹; and even with רַעַשׁ מַעֲנֶה־רַף Pr 15¹; שְׁעָרֵי־בִּמְסָה Gn 43¹⁰. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the Maqqēph, would be on the ultima of the first word.

- d Rem. 1. When הָ this, has Maqqēph after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in וְהָשְׁמוּ Jer 23⁶, but also in וְהָפְרִיָה Nu 13²⁷, 1 Ch 22¹. In הָפְרָה Gn 19² (where Maqqēph is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 n, 1 c, and § 16 b), the S'ghōl coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מָה (for מַה) *what?*, see § 37 b, c.
- e 2. Such cases as נֶאֱמַר Ex 15¹⁻²¹, the 2nd בָּמָכָה in ver. 11, נֶאֱמַר ver. 13, בָּאֵלָיו ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lene*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in הָ or הֶ. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians מְרַחֵק אֶת־הַטֶּן (Aram. = Heb. אֶתְּהָ מְרַחֵק) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e.g. שְׁבִיתִי שְׁבִי ψ 68¹⁹; הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא ψ 118²⁵ (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא); הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל Is 5¹⁴; אֶרְצָה כְּנָעַן Gn 11³¹. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg'ahōr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה פְרִי Gn 1¹¹.—The prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לִי, and לוֹ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לִי לְלֵלָה ψ 19³. Such forms as הִשְׁבַּעַה לִי Gn 21²³, מָלָאָה שְׁחָר ψ 26¹⁰, רָחַקָה מִנִּי Jb 21¹⁶, and even נִעְמְדָה יָחַד Is 50⁸ (i.e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e.g. תָּרָה לָהּ Gn 4⁶, not לָהּ since the first *ā* of תָּרָה could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by Maqqēph the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה־פְרִי Gn 1¹²; הִנְדֵּה־נָא Gn 32³⁰, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, יִירָשׁוּ הַנֶּפֶחַ יִירָשׁוּ ψ 37⁹; אֵלָה יַעֲקֹב Is 44²¹; עֲשִׂיתָ קַעֲרֹתַי Ex 25²⁰, provided that the second word does not begin with a *Bēgadkēphath* letter (hence e.g. אֵלָה תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2⁴).

- g Rem. Such cases as בָּנִיתָ Dt 32⁶, and בָּנִיתָ 32¹⁵, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1¹⁸ are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B^egadh^ephath, בָּאֵלֶם Ex 15¹¹ (cf. however above, e); בָּרָע Jos 8²⁸; בָּרָעָה ψ 77¹⁶; בָּרָהִיָּה Jb 5²⁷.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *ā*, such as אָמַר Gn 19¹⁴, Ex 12³¹; Ex 12¹⁵ (שָׁאֵר), Dt 2²⁴; also לָא Gn 19², 1 S 8¹⁹; לוֹ Ju 18¹⁹, Est 6¹⁸ (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ); מָעַם Ho 8¹⁰; מָרָד Jer 49³⁰; מָרָד 1 S 15⁶. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94^{12 a}), we especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *Šewā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the מְרַחֵק אֲתֵי, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ' after a preceding *i* (ψ 118^{5,18}), and even after *ā* (ψ 94¹²), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *Šewā* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h dirimens* to make the *Šewā* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עָבַד Lv 25⁵, Dt 32³² (for עָבַדִּי); בָּנִיתִךְ Is 33¹ (where, however, בָּנִיתִךְ is to be read); cf. Na 3¹⁷, Jb 9¹⁸, 17², Jo 1¹⁷ (with מ); Is 57⁶ (with ל); Ju 20^{33,1}, 1 S 1⁶ (with ר); Gn 49^{10,17} (and so always in עָבַד Ju 5²², Ct 1⁸ and עָבַדוּת ψ 77²⁰, 89⁵²); Ex 15¹⁷, Dt 23¹¹, Ju 20³², 1 S 28¹⁰ (ק)²; Ex 2³, Is 58³, Am 5²¹, ψ 141³, Pr 4¹³ (צ); Pr 27²⁵ (ש); Is 5²⁸, ψ 37¹⁵, Jer 51⁵⁶, Neh 4⁷ (ש). Also, with נ Ho 3²; with ב Is 9³, Jer 4⁷; with ת 1 S 10¹¹. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in *z* the principal pause, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5⁷ (תָּרַלְתִּי), Jb 29²¹ (וַיִּחַלְתִּי), 22¹² (רָפַד); Ez 27¹⁹ (in ב); in ת Is 33¹², 41¹⁷, Jer 51⁵⁸, perhaps also Jb 21¹³ (וַיִּחַלְתִּי).

(d) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firmitivum* in the pronouns הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, הֵאֱלָהּ, and in לָמָּה why? cf. also בִּמָּה, בִּמָּה whereby? בִּמָּה how much? (§ 102 *h, l*), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

3. Omission of the strengthening, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(a) almost always at the end of a word, since here a strengthened

¹ The ordinary reading הָרָרִיפָהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

² Also in ψ 45¹⁰ read בִּיקְרוּתִיךְ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30¹⁷ לִיקְהַת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקְ and לִיקְ).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.¹ In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 d), e. g. רַב *multitude*, from רבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עָם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions אַתָּה *thou* (fem.) and אַתָּה *thou* (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16³³, see § 10 k.

- m (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šwäch mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35 b; on ו after מַה, § 37 b); and in the sonants מ, נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62⁹, מַאֲסָיו, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מַאֲסִי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מַאֲסִי Gn 27^{28,39}; מַשְׁלֵשׁ 38²⁴ for מַשֶּׁשׁ הַשְּׁלָלִים 1 K 7²⁸; מַשְׁקָה 1 K 19²⁰ from מַשְׁקִים, Ez 40⁴³ and מַשְׁפָּטִים ψ 104¹⁸; מַשְׁפָּטִים Jon 4¹¹, הַצְפִּירָעִים Ex 8¹ &c.)—and finally in the emphatic p.³

Of the *Begadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Ju 8²; ג in מְבַנֶּה Ez 32³⁰; ד in נְדָחִי Is 11¹² 56⁸, ψ 147² (not in Jer 49⁵⁶), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָדַח; lastly, ח in מְחַצֵּץ Is 22¹⁰. Examples, עֲוִירִים, וְיָחִי (so always the preformative ו in the imperf. of verbs), מְלַמֵּלָה, לְמַנְצָה, הַנִּנִּי, הַלְלִי, מְלֹא, כְּסֹא, יִשְׁאוּ, יָקֻחוּ, יִשְׁאוּ, כְּסֹא, מְלֹא, הַלְלִי, הַנִּנִּי, לְמַנְצָה, מְלַמֵּלָה, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 c, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 b.

- n Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יִהְיֶה אֲתָן he makes them afraid, for יִהְיֶה אֲתָן Hb 2¹⁷ (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs יָעַל, and moreover to read יִהְיֶה אֲתָן with the LXX), יִקֹּחַ Is 50¹¹ for יָקֻחַ.

- O 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following ך. Thus for

¹ So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, *mellis*; *os*, *ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

² *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in ך when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104³ הַמְקִירָה who layeth the beams, but הַמְקִירָה the roof Ec 10¹⁸ (cf. הַמְלֹאכָה the work, &c.).

³ According to some also in מ in מְחַצֵּץ Is 17¹⁰; but see Baer on the passage.

מַעֲזִיָּה Is 23¹¹, read מַעֲזִיָּה (or מַעֲזִיָּה); and for תָּכֵנו La 3²², read תָּכֵנו. In Nu 23¹³ כָּכֵנו is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 c, end).

§ 21. The Aspiration of the Tenuues.¹

The *harder* sound of the six *B^gadk^ephath* letters, indicated by *a* *Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 n and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šwā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e.g. פָּרַץ *pāras*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōs*, כֹּל *kōl*, לָכֵל *lkhōl*. Hence the *B^gadk^ephath* take *Dageš lene*

(1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the *b* preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e.g. עֲלֵכֶן *'al-kēn* (therefore), פֵּרִי עֵץ *'ēš pēri* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a section, e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1¹, or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 d), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e.g. וַיְהִי בֹאֶשֶׁר וַיְהִי *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11⁵ (but וַיְהִי Gn 1⁷).

Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, י, ו, א, as such, naturally do not close a *C* syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B^gadk^ephath*, e.g. וַיִּמְצָא בָהֶם, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (except קִרְתָּהוּ Is 34¹¹; שָׁעֲלָן Ez 23⁴²; אֶרֶץ בָּם ψ 68¹⁸), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e.g. there is *Dageš lene* in עָלֵי פִיתָם and always after הָזֶה, since the *Qerē perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading אֶרֶץ.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes בּ and פּ in the combinations בָּב, בֶּב, בֹּב (i.e. when a *B^gadk^ephath* with *Šwā* precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בָּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,² on ψ 23³); cf. e.g. 1 S 25¹, Is 10⁹, ψ 34², Jb 19²; כָּנ is uncertain; כָּר, כֶּר, and כֹּב according to David Qimḥi do not take *Dageš*, nor כָּנ, כֶּב, and כֹּב according to the *Dikduke ha-ḥ'amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B^gadk^ephath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ה in הַמִּשְׁחָה 1 K 12³²); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 e (mostly *tenues* before א). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the ב and

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

² Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-ḥ'amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

76 Peculiarities and Changes of Letters [§§ 21 e, f, 22 a-c

Ε, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms כְּרֹכַר (after וְשִׁמְתִּי) Is 54¹, and כְּכִל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20⁹ are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Šwā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,¹ e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (he heals), יִקְלְחָם *ye have killed*; but after *Šwā mobile*, e.g. רְפָא *rphā* (heal thou), כְּכִרָּה *she was heavy*.

f On קְטִילֵת, וְיִשְׁבֵּן and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether *Šwā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e.g. רָפִי *yrpue ye* (not רָפּוּי) from רָפָה; מַלְכִּי (not מֶלְכִּי), because originally *mālākhē*, but מַלְכִּי from the ground-form *malak*.

(b) With the ו of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. הָ, הָם, הֶן, since *Šwā mobile* is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתָּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated פ after the vowel, cf. וְיָחַד Ex 16⁹, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתָּ, יָחַד, &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; cf. § 28 e.

§ 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals.

a The four gutturals ה, ח, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א), differ in several respects from the stronger ה and ח.

b 1. They do not admit of *Dages forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 1), the strengthening of the gutturals was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn between (a) the complete omission of the strengthening, and (b) the mere *echo* of it, commonly called *half doubling*, but better, *virtual strengthening*.

c In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened or modified.²

¹ The exceptions יִקְרָא Jos 15²⁸ (see *Minhag shay*, on this passage), יִקְרָא Jos 15⁵⁶ may perhaps be due to the character of the פ.

² Cf. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the strengthening shows a deterioration of the language. Arabic still admits of the strengthening of gutturals in all cases.

For a distinction must again be drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathah* into *Qameṣ*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ו, less frequently before ה, and least often before ח—and the modification of *Pathah* to *Sghôl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (virtual strengthening) the *Dageš* is still omitted, but the strengthening is nevertheless regarded as having taken place, and the preceding vowel therefore remains short. This *virtual* strengthening occurs most frequently with ח, usually with ה, less frequently with ו, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) מֵאֵן, הָאֵר, הָעֵץ, הָהָר, יִחְבֵּא (for *yihhābhē'*); also מֵאֵן, הָהָר, הָהָרִים, הָהָרִים (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ו in § 35).—Of (b) הָחַיִּים, מִחַיִּים (from *minhāi'*), הָהָר, הָהָרִים, &c.—In all these cases of virtual strengthening the *Dageš forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageš forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

2. They prefer before them, and sometimes after them (cf. *h*), *d* a short A-sound, because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the gutturals. Hence

(a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily (and always before ה, ח, ו, closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long *e* or *o*, e.g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zēbh*; נִשְׁמַע *report*, not *šmē'*. This is more especially so when *a* was the original vowel of the form, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imperat. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שְׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yishlōh*); Perf. Piel שִׁלַּח (but in Pausa שִׁלַּח); יִחְמַד *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיָּנַח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); נָעַר *a youth*. In שְׁלַח and יִחְמַד *a* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as דִּשְׁנָא, טָנָא, פָּלָא, פָּרָא, the א has no consonantal *C* value, and is only retained orthographically (see § 23 a).

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i.e. after all except *Qameṣ*, *f* the hard gutturals¹ (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ā* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רָחַץ *raḥāh*, נָוַע, רָעַץ, הַשְׁלִיחַ, גְּבוּהָ (when consonantal ה is

¹ Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, p. 17, &c., remarks that *Pathah furtivum* has not arisen merely under the influence of the guttural, but is due to a duplication of the accented syllable, so that e.g. יָשִׁיב would also be pronounced *yasiḥh*, *yasūdh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.

final it necessarily takes Mappiq), but e.g. רִיחִי, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* is no longer heard.

g *I^{ch}* for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathah* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesiah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write *ε*, sometimes *α*, instead of *furtive Pathah*, e.g. נָח *Nāe*, יָדָע *Teēdoia* (also *'Iaddōu*).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e.g. נָעַר (not *na'ēr*) a youth, פָּעַל (not *pō'el*) deed. The only exceptions are אָהֵל, בָּהֵן, לָחֵם, רָחֵם.

i 2. Where in the present form of the language an *i*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S^ghōl* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e.g. יְחַבֵּשׁ (also יְחַבֵּשׁ), יְחַבֵּי, יְחַבֵּי, יְחַבֵּי, &c.

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e.g. הִלֵּל, הִלֵּל, הִלֵּל; but when this sharpening is removed, *S^ghōl* is again apt to appear, e.g. הִלֵּל constr. הִלֵּל, הִלֵּל constr. הִלֵּל.

l 3. Instead of simple *S^ewā mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *S^ewā*, e.g. שָׁמַר, שָׁמַר, שָׁמַר, &c.

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent S^ewā* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent S^ewā*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e.g. שָׁלַח, יָדַע, but also before the tone (see examples under i), even with א.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent S^ewā*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e.g. יָחַשׁ (also יָחַשׁ); יָחַשׁ (also יָחַשׁ); פָּעַל (for *pō'el*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *S^ewā mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e.g. יָעֲמֹד (from יָעֲמֹד), נָעֲמֹד (from נָעֲמֹד). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya^amēdhā*, *ne^erēmā*, *pō^ekāhā*. Hence יָעֲמֹד, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יָעֲמֹד, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya^amēdhā*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *S^ewā* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *Hatephs*, it may be remarked:

(a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer *—*, but N prefers *—*, e.g. חָמַר *ass*, חָמַר *to kill*, חָמַר *to say*; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the *—* even under N changes into the lighter *—*, e.g. חָמַר (poetic for *חָמַר*) *to*, but חָמַר *to you*, חָמַר *to eat*, but חָמַר (*ass*), toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 w. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'el regularly has --- . Likewise --- is naturally found under \aleph in cases where the *Ha'ep̄h* arises from a weakening of an original \ddot{a} (e.g. לִיֹּן lion, ground-form 'ary), and --- if there be a weakening of an original u (e.g. לֵיֹן a fleet, עֲנִי affliction, cf. § 93 g, z).

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Ha'ep̄h-Pathaḥ* takes the place of a simple *Ṣeud mobile*, e.g. הָעֵלָה (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Ha'ep̄h* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.* הָעֵמִיד (see above, i), *Inf.* הָעֵמִיד (regular form הָעֵמִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הָעֵמִיד (regular form הָעֵמִיל); but cf. שָׁחַד Jb 6²² (§ 64 a).

5. The \aleph , which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6 c), *q* shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g. בֵּרַךְ he has blessed for *birraḥh*, בָּרַךְ to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for \ddot{a} as a preceding vowel, e.g. וַיֵּרָא and he saw *r* (from וַיֵּרָא); וַיִּסָּב both for וַיִּסָּב and he turned back, and for וַיִּסָּב and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to *a* are מָרַת mōrrāth, Pr 14¹⁰; כְּרַת khōrrāth and שָׁרַךְ šōrrēkh, S Ez 16⁴ (cf. Pr 3⁸); שָׁרַשׁ Ct 5²; הָרַעְמָה 1 S 16⁶; הָרַאֲחִים 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³²; הָרַדִּיפָהוּ Ju 20⁴⁸ (cf. § 20 h); מָרַדְךָ 1 S 23²⁸, 2 S 18¹⁶; also on account of רָחִיק (§ 20 c) Jer 22²², Pr 15¹, 20²², 2 Ch 26¹⁰; and on account of מָרַחֵק אֲחִי (§ 20 f) 1 S 15⁸, Jer 39¹², Hb 3¹³, Pr 11²¹, Jb 39⁹, Ez 9⁶. A kind of virtual strengthening (after מָ for מֶן) is found in מָרַחֵק Is 14⁸. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g. $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\phi\alpha$ for שָׁרַף .

§ 23. *The Feebleness of the Gutturals* \aleph and η .

1. The \aleph , a light and scarcely audible guttural breathing, as a rule *a* entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then remains (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e.g. מָצָא , מָצָא , $\text{הוֹצִיאַ$ (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g. הוֹצִיאֵי , מָצְאֵי , since the \aleph then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not מָצְאֵי , הוֹצִיאֵי), מָצָא , בָּלִיא (cf., however, § 74 a), מָצְאָה (for *māsa'tā*), הַמָּצְאָה . Similarly in cases like חָמַט , וִירָא , שָׁוֵן , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in רָשָׁע , פָּלָא (see above, § 22 e), the \aleph only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand, \aleph is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g. מָצְאֵי , מָצְאֵי , or when it is protected by a *Ha'ep̄h* after a short syllable, e.g. לֵאכֹל , and finally,

1 K 5²⁵ (for "מַצֵּחַ") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in מַעֲרֵת Ez 20³⁷, if for "מַעֲרֵם" (but read מַעֲרָר, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אַמֵּר for אַמֵּר, see § 68 g.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than g in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long a, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameṣ; as in קָאם Ho 10¹⁴ for קָם *he rose up*; שָׂא Pr 10⁴, 13²³ for שָׂא *poor*; but in 2 S 11¹ the קֶשֶׁתִּים הַמְּלָאכִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of a compound h Šewā, takes the corresponding full vowel, e.g. אָוֹר *girdle* for אָוֹר; cf. § 84 a, q, and the analogous cases in § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d, § 93 r (אֶהְיֶה).

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final ā, i, or ō, e.g. אֶהְיֶה for הָלָכָה Jo 10²⁴ (before א!), אָבִיָּה Is 28¹². These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יִשְׁעָא Je 10⁵ for יִשְׁעָא; and in יִשְׁעָא ψ 139²⁰ for יִשְׁעָא. Cf. also אֶהְיֶה Ec 11³ (§ 75 s); אָבִיָּה for אָבִי *pure*; אָוֹר for אָוֹ *if*; אָבִיָּה for אָבִי *then* (enclitic); אָבִיָּה for אָבִי *myriad*, Neh 7^{69,72}. On אֶהְיֶה and אֶהְיֶה see § 32 k.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its h consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word¹ except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Mappiq* as a strong consonant (§ 14 a). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly h̄, with *Rāphē* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. הָלָכָה *to her* for הָלָכָה, Zc 5¹¹, &c. (cf. § 103 g, and §§ 58 g, 91 e); cf. also הָלָכָה (from הָלָכָה) in proper names like יִרְמְיָה, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *Šewā mobile* (see above, c, with א), e.g. הָלָכָה for הָלָכָה (the ה of the article being syncopeated as it almost always is); הָלָכָה for הָלָכָה [but see § 35 n], הָלָכָה for הָלָכָה; perhaps also הָלָכָה for הָלָכָה Ez 27³². (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. הָלָכָה (also written הָלָכָה) from *sāsahu* (a + u = ō).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in הָלָכָה (from הָלָכָה), &c.

¹ Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֵשָׂהֶלֶל, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like הָלָכָה for הָלָכָה. Another exception is הָלָכָה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form הָלָכָה in the printed texts, Je 46²⁰.

l Rem. In connexion with \bar{o} and \bar{e} , a η which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into \imath or י ($\text{יִלְדָּה} = \text{לִילְדָּה}$ Ho 6⁹), and with any vowel into \aleph in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with \bar{a} , e. g. נָשָׁא *sleep*, ψ 127² for נָשָׁה ; נָשָׂא Jer 23³⁹ for נָשָׂה , &c. Thus it is evident that final η as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

§ 24. *Changes of the Weak Letters \imath and י .*

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten* \imath und י (mentioned above, § 5 b, note 1), a thorough investigation of their phonetic value as consonantal, i. e. non-syllabic, vowel-sounds, not palatal or labial fricatives; cf. also E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 15.

a \imath and י are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels u and i , that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important in the formation of those weak stems, in which a \imath or י occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85. § 93).

1. The cases in which \imath and י lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants.¹

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (a) When either \imath or י with *quiescent* šwā stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel (u or i). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character (\imath as u , י as i), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus הוֹשֵׁב for *huwšab*; יִזְיָא for *yiyyas*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבְרִי a *Hebrew*, properly *‘ibrīy*, fem. עֲבְרִיָּה , pl. עֲבְרִיִּים (and עֲבְרִיָּה); עֲשֹׂו 41²⁵ for *‘ušū* (cf. עֲשֹׂוֹת 1 S 25¹³ *Kethibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, \imath and י are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e. g. שָׁלוֹ *quiet*, וַי *the month of May*, גִּלְיָ *nation*, גִּלְיָ *revealed*. But with a preceding \bar{a} the \imath and י are mostly contracted into \bar{o} and \bar{e} (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of \imath before \bar{e} occurs in אִי *island* for אִיָּ ; עִי *ruins* for עִיָּ ; רִי *watering* Jb 37¹¹ for רִיָּ ; בִּי *burning* Is 3²⁴ for בִּיָּ , cf. §§ 84^a c, e, 93 y].

¹ Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as u , i , following the practice of Indogermanic philologists. \imath for י and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104 e. On י at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, *initial* \imath in Hebrew almost always becomes י ; always in verbs originally יָ , § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial \imath occurs only in וַי *hook*, $\text{וַיְ$ *child* Gn 11³⁰, 2 S 6²³ *Kethibh* [elsewhere וַיְ], and the doubtful וַיְ Pr 21⁸.

Thus an initial י after the prefixes בּ, ל, מ, נ, which would then be *c* pronounced with *z* (see § 28 *a*), and also almost always after מ (see § 102 *b*), coalesces with the *z* to *i*, e.g. בְּיִהוּדָה *in Judah* (for בִּי), וְיִהוּדָה *and Judah*, בְּיָאֵר *as the Nile*, לְיִהוּדָה *for Judah*, מִיָּדֵי *from the hands of*.

(*b*) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the *d* word after *quiescent Šewā*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e.g. בִּכְהָ from *bikhy*, as well as the regularly formed בָּכִי *weeping*; cf. § 93 *x*) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes a homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šewā* (e.g. פָּרִי from *piry*, properly *pariy*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e.g. תִּכְוִי from *tukw*).

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *c* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of י or י. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write 'Ioudá for יְהוּדָה, 'Ioudak for יְהוּדָק. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple *vocal Šewā*, e.g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali ¹) וְיִלְלָה Jer 25³⁸ for וְיִלְלָה (so Baer), בְּיִתְרוֹן Ec 2¹³ for בְּיִתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 *h*, note 2; even וְיִחַלְקֵי Jb 29²¹ (in some editions) for וְיִחַלְקֵי. According to Qimhi (see § 47 *b*) אֶקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭol*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

2. With regard to the *choice* of the long vowel, in which ו and י *f* quiesce after such vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

(*a*) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into the corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *ē*), see above, *b*.

(*b*) With short *ā* they form the diphthongs *ō* and *ē* according to § 7 *a*, e.g. מִיָּטִיב from מִיָּטִיב; יוֹשִׁיב from יוֹשִׁיב, &c.²

Rem. The rejection of the half vowels ו and י (see above, *b*) occurs especially *g* at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ā*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

¹ According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in *all* such cases as a vowel letter.

² Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִיָּמִינִים Ch 12²; אֵימִרָם Ho 7¹² (but cf. § 70 *b*); הַיָּשָׁר ψ 5⁹ *Q'rd*; the locatives בְּיִתְהָ, מִצְרָיִמָה, &c.—On the suffix יָבִי for יָהּ see § 91 *l*.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה; cf. חַי *living*, constr. חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מוֹת (ground-form *maut*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *'ayn* [*'ain*]) *eye*, constr. עַיִן.

verbs הָלַךְ , e.g. originally $\text{הָלַי} = (\text{הָלַי}) = \text{הָלַי}$, since \ddot{a} after the rejection of the י stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to \ddot{a} . The ה is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also שָׁלַח for sālah .¹ On the origin of הָלַי , see § 75 e; on הָלַי as perf. and part. of הָלַח , see § 72 b and g; on הָלַי , &c., from וָלַד , see § 69 b.—On the weakening of י and י to י , see § 93 x.

§ 25. Unchangeable Vowels.

a What vowels in Hebrew are unchangeable, i.e. are not liable to attenuation (to Šewā), modification, lengthening, or shortening, can be known with certainty only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases by comparison with Arabic (cf. § 1 m). This holds good especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i.e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened *rhythmically*, i.e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal Šewā*.

b 1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 p, § 27 n, o), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, י , י , א , ו , can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (י , י , י , י); e.g. יַיִטִּיב *he does well*, הַיָּדֵל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e.g. יַיִטֵּב and יַיִטִּיב for יַיִטִּיב ; גְּבֹל for גְּבוּל ; קֹל for קוֹל , but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the ו in גְּבֹל is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבוּל .

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e.g. יַקְטוֹל for יַקְטוֹל .

c 2. The essentially or naturally long א (*Qames impure*),² unless it has become ו (cf. § 9 q), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by א ; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long א and the merely tone-long א therefore can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

¹ The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically הָלַי , but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX כִּינִי *zawā*, Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, ZAW. 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic שָׁלַח is written for שָׁלַי and pronounced *salā*.

² By *vocales impuras* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus כְּתָב *ḥethābh* was regarded as merely by a licence for כְּתָאב , &c.

3. Short vowels in closed syllables (§ 26 b), which are not final, are *d* as a rule unchangeable, e. g. מַלְבִּישׁ *garment*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*, מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*; similarly, short vowels in sharpened syllables, i. e. before *Dages forte*, e. g. חֲזָז *thief*.

4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to *e* the omission of the strengthening in a guttural or ׀, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מֵן for *mā'en*; בִּרְךְ for *burrahk*.

§ 26. Syllable-formation¹ and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long *a* vowels, i. e. their lengthening, shortening, or change into vocal *Šewā*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. A syllable regularly begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial ׀ and ׀ (cf. note on § 5 b), a consonantal vowel.² The copula is a standing exception to this rule. According to the Tiberian pronunciation *and* is resolved into the corresponding vowel *a* before *Šewā*, and the labials, e. g. וְדָבַר, וְשָׁקַל; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes ׀, i. e. *a* before a full vowel.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end—

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in מִלְכָּם where the first and last are open. See below, *e*.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in מִלְכָּם, לִכְבֹּ. See below, *o*, *p*. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in מִלְכָּם *gaṭ-tēl*. See below, *q*.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as מִלְכָּם קִשְׁטָה, מִלְכָּם קִשְׁטָה. Cf. below, *r*, and § 10 i-l.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *e* the tone as in מִלְכָּם *in thee*, מִלְכָּם *he goes*, or are toneless as in מִלְכָּם *a bunch of grapes*.³ A long vowel (Qameṣ, less frequently Šere) is

¹ Cf. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 ff.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 ff.

² We are not taking account here of the few cases in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written יִ or יְ, see § 24 e, and especially § 47 b, note; nor of certain other cases in which יִ with an initial vowel has only a graphic purpose, though it is indispensable in an unpointed text.

³ In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an *open* syllable), the original short vowel is found always in Arabic, and sometimes

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel),
e. g. *לֶבֶב*, *יָדַי*, *קָטַל*, *לָחֵם*!

Short vowels in open syllables occur:

- f (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as *נָחַל* *brook*, *בֵּית* *house*, *יָרֵב* *let him increase*, from *nahl*, *bayt*, *yirb*; cf. also *יָם* the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.
- g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (*me*), e. g. *קָטַלְתִּי* (Arab. *qatalltūni*). The uncommon form *קָטַלְתִּי*, however (Gn 3c⁶, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like *יָאֲדָרְנִי* (§ 102, end) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.
- h (c) Sometimes before the toneless *local* (§ 90 c), e. g. *מִדְבָּרָה* *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19¹¹), since the toneless suffix *ה* does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is *מִדְבָּרָה*.

In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in *h*) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Metheg*, as in *יָאֲדָרְנִי* above, *g*; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

- i (d) In the combinations *יָאֲדָרְנִי*, *יָאֲדָרְנִי*, *יָאֲדָרְנִי*, e. g. *נַעֲרֹי* *his boy*, *יָאֲדָרְנִי* *he will bind*, *יָאֲדָרְנִי* *his deed*. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Haṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g. *יָאֲדָרְנִי* and *יָאֲדָרְנִי*). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition *בְּ*, *בִּ*, *לְ*, or *וְ* copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *bikā*, *qatillā*, *nuāb*. Although it is certain therefore that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, short vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation is due *merely* to an artificial practice followed in the solemn recitation of the O.T. text. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *i* and *u* in an open syllable into *ī* and *ū*.

¹ That these pretonic vowels are really *long* is shown by Brockelmann, *ZA*. xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriac) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic *Ibrāhīm* = *יְבְרָהִים*. He regards their lengthening in the syllable before the tone as a means adopted by the Masoretes to preserve the pronunciation of the traditional vowels. This explanation of the pretonic vowels as due to a precaution against their disappearing, is certainly right; as to whether the precaution can be ascribed to the Masoretes, see the previous note. For the pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*kāhūm*, *yāqūm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šwā* (*לְחֹל*); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šwā*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šwā* only on account of the following tone-syllable. It always arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved forward it becomes *Šwā*.

contained in the *Ha'ep̄h* (see § 102 d and § 104 d). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Hireq stand before a consonant with simple Šewā mobile, e.g. בְּרַבֵּר, בְּרַבֵּר, &c.

(e) In forms like יִחַזְקִי *yāḥā-zē-qū* (they are strong), פָּעַלְךָ *pō'ēl-kā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יִחַזְקִי also occurs); פָּעַלְךָ is properly *pō'ēl-kā*; cf. generally § 22 m, end, and § 28 c.

Such cases as הָרַשִׁים, הָרַשִׁים (§ 96), הָרַחֲמִים (§ 67 w) do not come under this *l* head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S'eghōl* in suffixes (e.g. רַבֵּךְ), and other cases, nor *S'eghōl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qames* (§ 22 c). On נִרְשָׁים and נִרְשָׁים, see § 9 v.

4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been *m* described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal Šewā, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal Šewā never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. לָחִי (cheek) *lāḥi*; חָלִי (sickness) *ḥālī*; יָלְמְדִי *yil-mēdhū*. This concerns especially the prefixes ל, כ, כ, ל. See § 102.

The *Šewā mobile* is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original *n* full vowel (e.g. יָקָחְלִי Arab. *yāqḥlū*, בָּךְ Arab. *bikā*, &c.); from this, however, it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of open syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable), than are the exceptions cited above, *f-k*. Even the use of Metheg with Šewā in special cases (see § 16 f) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. Closed syllables ending with one consonant, when without the *o* tone, necessarily have short vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,¹ e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, חִשְׁבֹּן *understanding*, חִכְמָה *wisdom*, וָיָסַר *and he turned back*, וַיָּסַר *(wayyāqēm)*.

A tone-bearing closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, *p* but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathah or S'eghōl.² The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the long vowels, only the tone-long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, not the longest *ē*, *ē*, *ō*, *ū*; of the short vowels, only *ā*, *ē*, not *ī*, *ū*, *ō* (but on *ī* and *ū*, see § 29 g). Thus יָקָחְלִי (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but חִשְׁבֹּן 3rd pl. fem., and קִיְמוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קִיְמָה fem.

¹ In exceptions such as שִׁתְּרִי Gn 4²⁵ (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שָׁם Gn 2¹³, עֵינִי Gn 2¹⁶.

² See § 9 e, f. *i* occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, אֵם, כֵּן; but these usually (כֵּן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Cf. also such forms as וַיִּשָּׁב § 26 r and § 75 q.

q 6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same (strengthened) consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי *'im-mî*, כֵּלִי *kāl-lî*. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as קָלִי, הִלְלִי, or long, as שִׁפְּחָה, הִפְּחָה.

On the omission of the strengthening of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20 l.

r 7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, וִשְׁכָּח, קִטְלָה; but sometimes *Sere*, as נִרְדָּה, וִיכָדָה, or *Holem*, הוֹסִיף קִשְׁטָה. Cf., however, § 10 i. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 e).

§ 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

a The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic text of the O.T. (see § 2 k), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of most of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew:

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šewā mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגִלָּה (ground-form *'ägälät*) a waggon, צִדְקָה (ground-form *šaddäqät*) righteousness, קָטְלָה (Arab. *qätälä*), יִקְטִילָה (Arab. *jüqattilä*).

c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, *ä* into *ā*, *ē* into *ē*, *ū* into *ō* (see § 9, a-e, k, r). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šewā mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מִטָּר (Arab. *mätär*) rain, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מִטָּרָה; עֲקִיב (Arab. *'äqib*) heel, dual עֲקִיבִים, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ä* of the first syllable to *i*) עֲקִיבִי [on the *pe*, see § 20 h]; יִקְטִיל (Arab. *yäqtül*), plur. יִקְטִילוּ (Arab. *yäqtülü*). For instances of complete loss, as in בִּכְפִי, cf. § 93 m.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed :

1. The original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

d

(a) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26 o). Thus, יָד *hand*, but יְדֵי הַיָּהוָה *the hand of Yahwe*; בֶּן *son*, but בְּנוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ *the son of the king*; כָּל *the whole*, but כָּל־הָעָם *the whole of the people*; so also when a tone-bearing closed syllable loses the tone on taking a suffix, e.g. אֵיב *enemy*, but אֵיבִי *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, but יִקָּם (*icayyāqōm*); יָלַךְ, but יִלָּךְ.

(b) To the same category belong cases like סֵפֶר *book*, but סִפְרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, but קִדְשִׁי *my holiness*. In spite of the helping vowel, סֵפֶר and קֹדֶשׁ are really closed syllables with a tone-long vowel; when the syllable loses the tone, the original *i* or *ō* (properly *ū*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *i* to *ē* and *ū* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *i* or *ō* (or *ū*) remains, e.g. אִם *mother*, but אִמִּי *my mother*; לָו, plur. לָוִים; but לֹו *strength*, לֹוִי (and לֹוִי) *my strength*.

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e.g. הָרַגְתְּ לּוֹ, קָטַלְתָּ *he has killed him*; מִדְּבָרִי *primarily from* מִדְּבַר. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *šwā* *mobile*; e.g. מִקְטָלְךָ from קָטַל, מִקְטָלְךָ from מִקְטַל.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Rēš*), e.g. בִּרְרַךְ for *birrahk*, see § 22 c. Cf. also § 20 n.

(c) When a weak consonant (א, ו, י) following the short vowel *g* quiesces in this vowel, according to § 23 a, c, d, § 24 f, e.g. מִצָּד for מִצָּד, where the א, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(d) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i.e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29 k). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35 o).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by a change in the

division of syllables, be weakened to *S^{ewa} mobile*, or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*S^{ewa} quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שְׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צְדָקָת; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרִכָּת. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *S^{ewa}* (דָּם, דְּמִי, but שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become *S^{ewa}*.

Thus the change into *S^{ewa}* takes place in—

k (a) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָה; לֵבָב *heart*, לִבִּי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשִׁיב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁבְּנָה, and so always, when the originally short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable which is not pretonic. On the other hand, an *ā* lengthened from *ā* before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וַיִּקְטֹּלָהּ; cf. § 49 i.

l (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭalā*; יִקְטֹל, יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭālū*; but note also וַיִּלְכְּטוּן, וַיִּלְכְּטִין, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מִלְכִּי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hāteph, e. g. נַעַר *boy*, נַעְרִי *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ *pausal-form* for יִקְטֹלוּ.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *S^{ewa}*. Cf. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דְּבָרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the *ā* to *z*, see further, s, t.

n Rem. i. An *ō* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *ā* (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes *ū*, when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נִקְוָה, נִקְוָה, נִקְוָה (see Paradigm Perf. Niph. of קָוָה); כְּנוּס *flight*, fem. כְּנוּסָה, with suffix, כְּנוּסִי. The not uncommon use of *ū* in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחֻזִּי Ez 20¹⁸ (for בְּחֻזִּי, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *ū* may really have been intended by the *K^{ethib}*.

o Of the vowels of the *U*-class, *ū* and tone-long *ō* stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקָם jussive, *let him arise*, יָקַם and *he arose*. The only instance of *ā* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַם Ex 16²⁰ (see § 67 n). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *é*, *i*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקָם *let him raise*, יָקַם and *he raised*. The only instance of *ī* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַיַן Ju 5⁶³ (see § 67 p).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 f) *p* a *S^ghōl* (*ē*, *e*) as a modification of *ā*:

(a) In a closed antepenultima, e.g. in the proper names אֲבִיתָר and אֲבִינָה, where LXX 'Αβι- = 'Αβι-, which is certainly the better reading, cf. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, 1901, p. 12; or in a closed penultima, e.g. יְהוֹדָה, but also יָדְכֶם *your hand*, for *yad^hkhēm*. In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6 q) has no doubt had an influence.

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *Hateph Qameṣ*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אָחָיו *his brothers*, for 'ahāw; כַּחֲשׁ *false*, for *kahāš*; בֹּחַה *governor*, constr. st. בֹּחֵם; פֶּחֶם *coal*; הַחַי *the living* (with the article, הַ for הָ); יְהוֹנָתָן Nu 23¹⁹, &c., and so always before הָ and הַ, as הַחֳשִׁים *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הָ and הַ *S^ghōl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הָעֵץ *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הָהָר, הָעֵץ; but cf. also הַפָּרִי Nu 87. Before the weak consonants נ and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרֹאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14¹⁰, in the tone-syllable, for *hārrā*; יְבִרְכֶהוּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶהוּ. On הָ as a form of the interrogative הָ (הַ), see § 100 n; on מָה for מָה (מַה), § 37 e, f. Finally, אָבֶלֶךְ Ex 33³ also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אָבֶלֶךְ, and יְהִיזְמַל *Ezekiel* for יְהִיזְמַל = יְהִיזְמַל *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segholate *γ* forms (§ 93 g), when a helping vowel (§ 28 e) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kaib* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *S^ghōl*, is modified into כַּיֵּב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),¹ *yaḥ* (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָחַה. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָגֵל (jussive of the Hiph'il of גָּלָה), with a helping *S^ghōl*, for *yagl*.

3. The attenuation of *ā* to *i* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. (a) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מִדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יָלַדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יָלַדְתִּי with the suffix יָךְ; cf. Lv 11⁴, Ez 38²³, and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

¹ So the LXX write Μελχισηδέκ for מְלִיִּשְׁדֵּק.

from the ground-form *gaṭl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e.g. יָרִיקִי *my righteousness*, for *gaṭl*.

t (b) In a loosely-closed syllable, i.e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadkephath*, as יְמִינְךָ *your blood*, for יְמִינְךָ, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *gaṭl*, e.g. בְּגָדִי from בָּגָד (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.¹

u 4. *S'ghol* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in o and p, also from the weakening of *a* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (הָ— for הָ—) in 1 S 28¹⁵ (? see § 48 d), ψ 20⁴ (?), Is 59⁵, Pr 24¹⁴ (see § 48 t); for examples of Locative forms in הָ— see § 90 i end.

v 5. Among the *Ḥaṭeph*-sounds — is shorter and lighter than —, and consequently the vowel group — is shorter than — —; e.g. אֶדוֹם *Edom*, but אֶדְמוֹנִי (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; אֶמֶת (*‘emēth*) *truth*, אֶמְתּוֹ *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעְלָמִים; הֶעֱבֵרְתִּי but וְהֶעֱבֵרְתִּי; but also conversely נֶעְשֶׂה *fem. נֶעְשֶׂתָּ*, cf. § 63 f, 3.

z 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i.e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.² Hence לֵלֵא for *lū w* (unless). Cf. also חִיצוֹן from חִיזֵן; רָאשׁוֹן from רָאשׁ; תִּזְכּוֹן from תִּזְכּוֹ; נִבְחָה from נִבְחָה; עִירִים from עִיר; most probably also יָלוֹד *offspring*, קַפּוֹד *porcupine*, for יָלִי, קַפּוֹ, see § 68 c, note.— On the proper names יְהוֹנָדָב and יִשְׁשֹׁכָב, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 341 f.

§ 28. *The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.*

a 1. According to § 26 m a half-syllable, i.e. a consonant with *Šewā* mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple *Šewā* follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.³ This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ā*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *z*. Thus, according to § 102 d, the prefixes בּ, פּ, לּ before a consonant with *Šewā* mobile become בֶּ, פֶּ, לֶ, e.g. בֶּפֶרִי, פֶּפֶרִי, לֶפֶרִי; before י they are pointed as in בִּיהִירָה (from *bi-yēhūdā*, according to § 24 c); so too with *Wāw* copulative, e.g. בִּיהִירָה for בִּיִּי attenuated from בִּי. The first half-

¹ Analogous to this attenuation of *ā* to *i* is the Lat. *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; to the transition of *ā* to *ē* (see above, a), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

² Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semit. Spr.*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 177 f., and Nestle, *ibid.*, p. 573 f.

³ Except י and, which generally becomes י before a simple *Šewā*, cf. § 104 c.

syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לִנְפֹל Nu 14³ for *lin^ephōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with כ, as כְּנֹכַר Jer 17².

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes ב is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qameṣ* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups $\text{בְּ-חֹ}, \text{בְּ-חֻ}, \text{בְּ-חֶ}$, e. g. וְאָנִי and *I*, וְאֶשֶׁר as, לְעֹבֵד to *serve*, לְאֹכֵל to *eat*, לְחֹלִי in *sickness*. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחֹטֵב for לְחָטֵב; לְחֹמֶם Is 47¹⁴ for לְחָמֶם (see § 67 ce); לְאֹכֵר but also לְאֹכֵר; and even וְעֹזֵר Jb 4², cf. Gn 32¹⁶. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs הָיָה to *be* and חָיָה to *live*, e. g. הָיָה to *be*, וְהָיָה and *be ye*; even with מֵן, as מְחַיֶּה, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְחַיָּה and *be*, וְחַיָּה and *live*, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the Metheg, cf. § 16 f, ε.

3. When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional *c* changes, would stand before a vocal *Ṣwā*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This applies especially to cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of quiescent *Ṣwā*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד he *will stand* (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for *ya^am^edhū*, and נִהְפְּחוּ for *niḥ^aph^ekhū* (*they have turned themselves*), וְעָמְלוּ *thy work*, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *yā^a-m^edhū*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in נֶעֱרַ, &c.¹

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two con-*d*sonants (§ 10 i, § 26 r), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ט, ק) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ג, ת²), e. g. יָשָׁב let *him turn aside*, וַיִּשְׁק and *he caused to drink*, אָמַרְתָּ thou (fem.) *hast said*, וַיִּבֶךְ and *he wept*, וַיִּרְדַּךְ and *let him have dominion*, וַיִּשָּׁב and *he took captive*.

This harsh ending is elsewhere avoided by the Masora,³ which *c* inserts between the two final consonants a helping vowel, usually

¹ In Ju 16³³ read וְאֶרְבִּי not (with Opatius, Hahn and others) וְאֶרְבִּי.

² With a final ת, the only example is חֹסֶה Pr 30⁶, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have חֹ without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read חֹסֶה.

³ An analogy to this practice of the Masora is found among the modern Beduin, who pronounce such a helping vowel before *h, ḥ, ṣ, ḡ*; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

Seghol, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,¹ and after *ʿ* a *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּגַּל and he revealed, for wayyigl; רַב let it multiply, for yirb; קֹדֶשׁ holiness, ground-form qudš; נַחַל brook, ground-form nahl; שָׁלַחְתָּ for שָׁלַחְתָּ thou hast sent; בַּיִת house, ground-form bayt. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like *furtive Pathah* (§ 22 f, g); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קֹדֶשׁ my holiness, בֵּיתָה home-ward.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Sewa*, under the influence of the pause, see § 29 m; on initial *ס* for *ס*, see § 23 h.

§ 29. The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.

- a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (cf. § 15 c), as a rule on the final syllable, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבָר, דְּבָרָיו, דְּבָרִים, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם—*in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem*. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה night, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, לִבְנָה, קָטַלְתָּ), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיִּקָּם, וַיִּקָּם; see also below, e.
- b A kind of counter-tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16 c). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16 a) can at the most have only a secondary tone.
- c 2. The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. דְּבָר word, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרֶיךָ your words; קֹדֶשׁ holy thing, plur. קֹדֶשִׁים; קָטַלְתָּ with suffix קָטַלְתָּהוּ, with *Wāw consecutive* וַיִּקָּטַלְתָּהוּ. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27 d, i-m.
- d 3. On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

¹ On the apparent exceptions וַיִּגַּל, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which *ʿ* has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, אֶתְּנָה sin, מִן valley (also מִן), וַיִּנָּח וַיִּנָּח vinity (Jb 15³¹ *Kethibh* וַיִּנָּח).

² In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dages lena* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathah* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to ensure the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is וַיִּהְיֶה from וַיִּהְיֶה (§ 75 r).

(a) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw consecutive* (see § 49 c-e), e.g. וַיֹּאמֶר *he will say*, וַיֵּאמֶר *and he said*; וַיֵּלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*. Cf. also § 51 n on the impf. Niph'al, and § 65 g, end, on the impf. Piel; on these forms in Pause, when the *v* consec. does not take effect, see below, p.

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when *c* a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (רָמוּחַ *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to a, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see g), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e.g. לֵילִי קָרָא Gn 1⁵, 4¹⁷, 27²⁵, Ex 16²⁹, ψ 5¹¹, 104¹⁴, Dn 11¹³, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e.g. הָאֵלֶּם הָאֵלֶּם Gn 3¹⁹, Jb 3³, 22²⁸.² The *grave* suffixes בָּם, לָם, הֶם, יָם are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e.g. esp. with הֵי, and before א; cf. Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4^b, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it *f* is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *S'ghol*, e.g. לִבְעֵרָה Nu 24²²; cf. Nu 17²³, Ju 20², Is 66³, Jer 23²⁹, Ez 22²⁵, ψ 37⁷, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1¹⁹, 11²⁶, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *S'ghol* does take place, e.g. הוֹלֵם פָּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is 41⁷, for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם; מִצֵּת שֶׁמֶר 1 K 16²⁴.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šwā* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e.g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19⁶, and frequently; בּוֹר וַיִּרְדֵּי בּוֹר ψ 28¹; לִי תָמְנוּ לִי

¹ Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of *Metheg*.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Ludg. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e.g. וּבִלְוָה חֶשֶׁךְ Is 45⁷, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4¹³. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nascq' achor*.

² The reading עֲרִיִים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ez 16⁷ for עֲרִיִים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).

פֶּֿרִי ³¹Is 14¹⁰; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. עֲשֵׂה פֶּֿרִי Gn 1¹¹ (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 f); לֶֿחֶם לֶֿךְ Gn 15⁷ (cf. § 20 c).

g According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אֲחֵר בֶּן S 10⁵, § 101 a; וְכָחֵשׁ בּוֹ Jb 8¹⁸, cf. Lv 5²²; לִצְחָק בֶּֿנִי Gn 39^{14,17}, cf. Ho 9²; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in עַל הַקֶּֿסֶם 2 S 23¹; גִּבֹּר שׁוֹעַ Jb 34¹⁰; cf. also יִשָּׁם-קֵֿיִן Gn 4²⁴, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either קֶֿסֶם or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bombh., קֶֿסֶם. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם Ex 4⁴ (for similar instances see § 15 c, end) and וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם Dt 10⁵.

h (c) In *pause*, see i-v.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see c, f) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqgeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8³².

i 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillûg*, 'Athnâh, and in the accentuation of the books תְּרַמֵּם, 'Ôlâ w^oyôrêd (§ 15 h). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *Segholâ*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *Rêbhê^u*, and even with *Paš'â*, *Tiphhâ*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30⁴) *Pazer*.¹ The changes are as follows:

k (a) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל; מָיִם, מָיִם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *a* which has been modified to *Sêghêl* usually becomes *â* in *pause*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ (ground-form *qaš'â*) in *pause* קָטַלְתָּ 2 K 11¹⁴; אָרָן, אָרָן Jer 22²⁰;

¹ In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ו (cf. e.g. Ex 21³¹, Jer 3⁹ [but Ginsb., וְתַחֲנֵן], Ru 4⁴, Ec 11⁶ [but Ginsb., וְיִשָּׁר]; before ו Jer 17¹¹) [see also § 29 w]. אֲחֵר, שָׁמַע S 17¹⁷, וְאָרָן Is 65¹⁷, Pr 25³, where *â* has *munaḥ*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šaphât 'et*. In the same way הִצְלַח Ez 17¹⁶ (with *Mahpakh* before ה) and וַיִּקְרָם Ez 37⁸ (with *Darga* before ו) are to be explained. The four instances of אָרָן, אָרָן apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 c.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4³¹ read קָשֶׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשֶׁב !).—בָּרַךְ becomes in *pause* בָּרַךְ.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ā* is intentionally retained *l* in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יִכְתֹּב Jb 4²⁰, or ought to be strengthened, e.g. בָּבֶת 2 S 12³, בָּן Is 8¹, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנִיתָ Gn 27², because from וְקָן, cf. below, q; וְקָנָה Gn 49²⁷; וְקָנִיתָ 2 Ch 29¹⁹ (so Baer, but Ginsb. וְקָנָה, ed. Mant. וְקָנָה); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11²⁰, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 d) the use of *Pathah* with '*Athnah* is due to the inferior pausal force of '*Athnah*, especially after '*Olè w'yôred* (§ 15 o); cf. ψ 100³, Pr 3c³, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5^b, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ā* and *ē* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the *m* tone before an affirmative, and has become vocal *S'ewā*, it is restored in *pause* as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה (*qāt'ā*), in *pause* קָטְלָה (*šim'ā*), in *pause* שָׁמְעִי (from sing. שָׁמְעִי); מָלַךְ, in *pause* מָלַךְ (sing. וְיָקֻמְלִי). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וְ and וְ— (§ 47 m and o) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy*, *pariy*), the original *ā* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *S'ghôl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; original *i* becomes *ō*, e.g. הָצִי, in *pause* הָצִי; original *ō* (*ū*) becomes *ō*, הָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* הָלִי (§ 93 w, y, z).

On the analogy of such forms as וְיָחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects וְיָחִי and וְיָחִי become in *pause* וְיָחִי, וְיָחִי, because in the full forms וְיָחִי *he will be*, and וְיָחִי *he will live*, the *i* is attenuated from an original *ā*. Similarly שָׁכַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁכַם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; cf. also the restoration of the original *ā* as *ē* before the suffix וְ— *thy, thee*, e.g. וְיָבִרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* וְיָבִרְךָ; וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֶת (אֶת) the suffix וְ— in *pause* becomes וְ—, e.g. וְיָבִרְךָ, וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ, אֶתְךָ.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* O appears also in such cases as אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books '*Athnah*, especially after '*Olè w'yôred*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יְהוָה instead of יְהוָה²; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלִי ψ 37²⁰ for בָּלִי; but in 1 S 12²⁵

¹ Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further emphasized by strengthening the following consonant, see § 20 i.

² יְהוָה ψ 45⁶, cf. also יְהוָה ψ 40¹⁵, is to be explained in the same way, but not יְהוָה Ze 2¹¹, where, on the analogy of וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ Je 9³, we should expect יְהוָה.

מָפִי with Baer and Ginsb., is to be preferred to the reading of *ed. Mant.*, &c.

p (d) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e.g. וַיָּמָת and he died, in *pause* וַיָּמַת.

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *e* (lengthened from *i*) to the more distinct *ā* (see above, *l*), e.g. הָיוּ for הָיוּ Is 13⁵ (cf. § 67 *v*; § 72 *dā*); קָמַל Is 33⁹; אָצַל Ch 8³⁸ (beside אָצַל [see *v*, 37. Cf. : מָבֵאֵל Is 7⁶ מָבֵאֵל Ezr 4⁷); : שָׁשֶׁר Jer 22¹⁴; קָפָר Ob 20; : וַיִּפְּשֵׁשׁ Ex 31¹⁷; : וַיִּאֲנֹשׁ 2 S 12¹⁵ (below, § 51 *m*)—S. R. D.]]; הָפַר Gn 17¹⁴; הָפַצַר 1 S 15²³; הָשַׁב Is 40¹⁸; הָרַחַק Jb 13²¹, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is 42²², and without the *pause* הָרַחַק La 3⁴⁸). So also הָלַף (shortened from הָלַף) becomes in *pause* הָלַף; cf. וַיִּלָּךְ La 3²; הָלַף for הָלַף Ju 19²⁰. On *S^eghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 *n*, 60 *d*, and especially § 75 *n*, on הָרַחַק Pr 4⁴ and 7².

q (2) The transition from *ā* to *e* in the ultima; so always in the formula וְעַד לְעוֹלָם (for עַד) for ever and ever.

s (3) The pausal *Qameṣ* (according to § 54 *k*, lengthened from original *ā*) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e.g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 18⁸ for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. But pausal forms like הָרַחַק, שָׁבַט, הָרַחַק (in the *absol. st.* הָרַחַק, שָׁבַט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* הָרַחַק, שָׁבַט.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e.g. בָּעֵי, אָתִי Is 21¹², for בָּעֵי, אָתִי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56^{9,12}; cf. Jb 12⁶, and the same occurrence even in the word before the *pause* Dt 32³⁷, Is 21¹².

u (5) The transition from *ô* or *ō* to *ā* in *pause*: as שָׁאֵל Is 7¹¹, if it be a locative of שָׁאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאֵל; שָׁבַלְתִּי Gn 43¹⁴ for שָׁבַלְתִּי; עָו Gn 49⁸; יָמַר Gn 49²⁷; perhaps also שָׁרַן 1 K 22³⁴, Is 59¹⁷, and מִשְׁקַלְתִּי Is 28¹⁷, cf. 2 K 21¹⁸. On the other hand the regular pausal form יִהְיֶינָה (ordinary imperfect יִהְיֶינָה) corresponds to a perfect יִהְיֶינָה (see § 47 *h*).

v (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes *ā* in *pause*, and the first *S^eghôl*, according to § 22 *c* and § 27 *q*, e.g. אָחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אָחֵי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to *i* out of *pause*, and then lengthened to *e* with the tone (cf. § 54 *k*), e.g. יִתְנַחֵם, but in *pause* יִתְנַחֵם Dt 32³⁶; cf. Nu 8⁷, 23¹⁹, Ez 5¹³, ψ 135¹⁴.—On pausal *Sere*, for *S^eghôl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs הָלַךְ, see § 75 *hh*.

w [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15¹⁴, יַעֲבֹדוּ, Is 8¹⁶, 40²⁴, Ho 4¹², 8⁷, Dn 9¹⁶, and very often in such cases.]

SECOND PART

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

§ 30. *Stems and Roots*¹: *Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral.*

1. Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e. g. עמק (עמק or עמק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עמק *deep*, עמק *depth*, עמק, *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זרע *he has sown*, זרע *seed*; חכם *he was wise*, חכם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קדש *he was holy*, קדש *holiness*, קדש *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal *b* stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סלל *to stone*, נהק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. סלל *stone*, נהק *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, generally occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem 'abīnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to סלל, and the Aramaic verb *neḡab* (*to be dry*) to נהק.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שרש *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *litterae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *litterae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see *g*.

¹ On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

- d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and unpronounceable, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e.g.

Root : מלך, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מלך he has reigned.

Noun-stem, מלך king.

For the historical investigation of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by philologists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see f).¹

- e 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e.g. קָטַל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen by contraction (according to the traditional explanation) from stems which had a weak letter (י or ו) for their middle consonant, e.g. קָם from *qāwam*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צָר and צָרַר (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קָטַל from *qātālā*, as it is in literary Arabic.

- f 2. The law of the trilateral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of trilateralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. שָׁבַת for the inf. constr. of verbs שׁוּב; cf. § 69 b. Conversely such nouns, as אָב father, אִם mother, אָח brother, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

- g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, biliteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ā* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing by the sign √, e.g. √כר as the root of כָּרַה, כָּרָה, כָּר, אָכַר. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e.g. the stems דָּבַק, דָּבַח, דָּבַח, דָּבַח may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the development of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of

¹ Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69-106.

a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural.¹ Finally, further modifications of the same root are produced when either a consonant of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes by phonetic laws into a kindred letter (see the examples below). Usually such a change of sound is accompanied by a modification of meaning.

Examples: from the root קין (no doubt *onomatopoeitic*, i.e. imitating the sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off*, *cutting in pieces*, are derived directly: קצץ and קצה to *cut*, to *cut off*; the latter also metaph. to *decide*, to *judge* (whence קצין, Arab. *qāfi*, a judge); also קצב to *cut off*, to *shear*, קצף to *tear*, to *break*, קצע to *cut into*, קצר to *cut off*, to *reap*. With a dental instead of the sibilant, קט, קר, whence קטב to *cut in pieces*, to *destroy*, קטל to *cut down*, to *kill*, קטף to *tear off*, to *pluck off*. With the initial letter softened, the root becomes כם, whence כסח to *cut off*, and כסם to *shave*; cf. also נכס Syr. to *slay* (*sacrifice*), to *kill*. With the greatest softening to גו and גר; גון to *cut off*, to *shear*; גזה to *hew stone*; גיו, גום, גוע, גול, גור, גור to *cut off*, to *tear off*, *eat up*; similarly גדר to *cut into*, גרע to *cut off*; cf. also גרה, גרף, גור. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural (ח), e.g. חדר to *split*, *cut*; cf. also חרל, חרק, חדר, חרש, and further חום, חזין, חזה, חצב, חסף, חטט, חטב, חוז, חזה, חזין, חום in the Lexicon.

The root הם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (μῶω); hence הָמָה, הָמָה, הָמָה (נָהַם), Arab. *hāmhamā*, to *buzz*, to *hum*, to *snarl*, &c.

As developments from the root רע cf. the stems רעל, רעל, רעם, רעץ, רעין, רעץ. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פר, פל) and many others.²

Closer investigation of the subject suggests the following observations:

(a) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves not used. They represent rather the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet these stems are sometimes so short as to consist simply of the elements of the root itself, e.g. תם to *be finished*, קל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and hazardous, is of great lexicographical importance. It is a wholly different and much contested question whether there ever was a period in the development of the Semitic languages when purely *biliteral* roots, either isolated and invariable or combined with inflexions, served for the communication of thought. In such a case it would have to be admitted, that the language at first expressed extremely few elementary ideas, which were only gradually extended by additions to denote more delicate shades of meaning. At all events this process of transformation would belong to a period of the language which is entirely outside our range. At the most only the gradual multiplication of *stems* by means of phonetic change (see below) can be historically proved.

(b) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and *h*

¹ That *all* triliteral stems are derived from biliterals (as König, *Lehrgr.* ii. 1, 370; M. Lambert in *Studies in honour of A. Kohut*, Berl. 1897, p. 354 ff.) cannot be definitely proved.

² Cf. the interesting examination of the Semitic roots QR, KR, XR, by P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxiii (1907), p. 241 ff.

to be *hot*. Cf. Aram. עָרַל to *roll*, expanded from עָל (conjugation *Pa'el*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Pf'el*). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ך, e.g. בָּרֶזֶן *axe*, בְּרֶמֶל *garden-land* (from בָּרֶחַם, בָּרַעַל *corolla* (בְּרִיעַ *cup*); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צִפְרָדֵּץ *frog*, חֲבַצְלֵת *meadow-saffron*, צֶלֶמֶת *shadow* ¹ of *death*,¹ were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be *loan-words* (§ 11), and consequently need no longer be taken into account.

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation² require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

§ 31. Grammatical Structure.

P. Dörwald, 'Die Formenbildungsgesetze des Hebr.' (*Hilfsbuch für Lehrer des Hebr.*), Berlin, 1897, is recommended for occasional reference.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation), *a* and their inflexion, are effected in two ways: (a) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels: (b) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) periphrastically by means of separate words belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

The external method (b) of formation, by affixing formative syllables, *b* which occurs e.g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e.g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

¹ So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW*. 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צֶלֶמֶת *darkness* from the stem צָלַם [Arab. *zalima*, to be dark].

² Cf. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 ff., 427 ff.

c 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

CHAPTER I

THE PRONOUN

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 98 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 296 ff. L. Reinisch, 'Das persönl. Fürwort u. die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semit. Sprachen' (*Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909).

§ 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs *a* to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30 s). It must be discussed *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47).

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve *b* (like the Gk. ἐγώ, σύ, Lat. *ego, tu*, and their plurals) almost exclusively to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135 d). They are as follows:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי; } <i>I.</i> אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי }	1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי } <i>we.</i> (אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי), (אֲנִי) }
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (את), in pause אֲתָה or אַתָּה <i>f.</i> אַתְּ (את) properly אַתְּ, } <i>thou.</i> in pause אַתְּ }	2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּם <i>f.</i> אַתְּנָה (אתנן); אַתְּנָה (אתנן) } <i>ye.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא (it). <i>f.</i> הִיא (it). }	3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵם <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה after prefixes הֵן, הֵן } <i>they.</i>

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי.¹ The former occurs in C

¹ On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 251 ff., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 ff. (but cf. his *Introduction*, ed. 6, p. 135, line 1 f.), but thoroughly established by König in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, pp. 464 ff. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest books אֲנִי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud. [For details see the Lexicon, s. v. אֲנִי and אֲנִי.]

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;¹ from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ā* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *ā* (cf. Aram. אָנָּה, Arab. 'ana). The pausal form אָנָּה occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנָּה הִנֵּה as *I live!* also Is 49¹⁸ with Munal, ψ 119¹²⁵ with Merkha (which, however, has been altered from D^ehi), and twice in Mal 1⁶. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אָנָּה (אָנָּה) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42⁶ K^ethibh. The form אָנָּה (cf. § 19 h) only in Ex 16^{7,8}, Nu 32³², La 3⁴²; אָנָּה in *pause*, Gn 42¹¹; in Arabic *nāḥnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אָנָּה (אָנָּה) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the common gender, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

II. Second Person.

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person אָתָּה, אָתָּה, אָתָּה, אָתָּה, &c., are contracted from 'antā, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e. g. Arab. 'antā, fem. 'antī, thou; pl. 'antum, fem. 'antinnā, ye. In Syriac אָתָּה, fem. אָתָּה are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָתָּה is usual for both genders.

g אָתָּה (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6⁴, always as K^ethibh, with אָתָּה as Q^rd. In three places אָתָּה appears as a masculine, Nu 11¹⁶, Dt 5²⁴, Ez 28¹⁴.

h The feminine form was originally אָתָּה as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as K^ethibh (Ju 17², 1 K 14², 2 K 4^{16,28}, 8¹, Jer 4³⁰, Ez 36¹³) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 f), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָתָּה אָתָּה, § 59 a [c]; cf. also *ī* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *ī* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The *ī* therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 k), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אָתָּה to indicate the Q^rd אָתָּה (see § 17). The same final *ī* appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָתָּה, אָתָּה (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אָתָּה (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אָתָּה (אָתָּה), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms 'antumā, fem. 'antinnā, Arab. 'antān (Aram. אָתָּה, אָתָּה) and 'antinnā (Aram. אָתָּה, אָתָּה). The form אָתָּה is found only in Ez 34³¹ (so Qimḥi expressly, others אָתָּה); אָתָּה (for which some MSS. have

¹ In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mēša, line 1) it is written אָנָּה, without the final *ā*. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anech* (5, 2, 35). Cf. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in old Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

נָּ (נָּ) only four times, viz. Gn 31⁶, Ez 13^{11,20}, 34¹⁷; in 13²⁰ נָּ (before a ו) is even used as feminine.

III. Third Person.

6. (a) In נָּ and נָּ (*hū* and *hī*) the נ (corresponding to the 'Elif of pro-*k* longation in Arabic, cf. § 23 *i*) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in נָּ, נָּ, &c. The נ is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,¹ and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 *a*) does נָּ appear as נָּ, while נָּ becomes נָּ. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הוּ and הִי but pronounced *hūwā* and *hīyā*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hūwa* and *hīyya*. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Ethiopic *we'etū* (= *hu'a-tū*) for נָּ, *ye'etū* (= *hi'a-tū*) for נָּ (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for נָּ) show that the נ was original and indicated an original vocalic termination of the two words. According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 ff.) נָּ arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-ra*, נָּ from *ha-ya*.

(b) The form נָּ also stands in the consonantal text (*K^ethibh*) of the Pentateuch² (with the exception of eleven places) for the fem. נָּ. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation נָּ, has indicated the *Q^ere* נָּ (*Q^ere perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20⁶, 38²⁸, Nu 5^{13,14} נָּ and נָּ are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the נָּ cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of נָּ. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of נָּ for נָּ rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing נָּ in נָּ in 1 K 17¹⁵, Is 30³³, Jb 31¹¹, or נָּ for נָּ in ψ 73¹⁶, Ec 5⁸, 1 Ch 20¹⁶. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K^ethibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally נָּ was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into נָּ. On the whole question see Driver, *Lecticus* (in *Haupt's Bible*), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads נָּ.

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵם) and הֵן (הֵן) (after *prefixes* הֵן, הֵן) are of doubtful origin, but הֵם, הֵן have probably been assimilated to הֵן which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. הֵם, הֵן, Syr. *hemān*

¹ In the inscription of King Mēša' (see § 2 *d*), lines 6 and 27, we find נָּ for נָּ, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for נָּ, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 *m*) both נָּ and נָּ occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

² Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex (Prophets) of 916 A. D.; cf. Baer, *Ezechiel*, p. 108 f.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinb. 1892), p. 240.

(*enân*), Arab. *himû* (archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *hômû*, an *ô* or *û* is appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מוֹ—, מוֹ—, מוֹ— (§ 91 l, 3).

n In some passages הָיָה stands for the feminine (Zc 5¹⁰, Ct 6⁸, Ru 1²²; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עָרִיבָה 2 K 9¹⁸ read עָרִיבָה (Jb 32¹²).

O 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

§ 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.', in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

a 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.¹ The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (toneless) and הוּ (from *ahû*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּירוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּי הוּ or (with *ahû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתִּו *thou hast killed him*; אוֹרִי (also אוֹרִי) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e. g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατήρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *ecceum, eccos*, &c., in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum, ecce eos*.

b 2. The case which these suffixes represent is—

(a) When joined to verbs, the accusative (cf., however, § 117 x), e. g. קָטַלְתִּירוּ *I have killed him*.

c (b) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like *πατήρ μου, pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e. g. אָבִי ('ābh-î) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.

d (c) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei, between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְנִי *behold me, ecce me*.

e (d) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (ל sign of the dative, מִן *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e. g. לוֹ *to him (ei)* and *to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him*, מִמֶּנִּי (usually מִמֶּנִּי) *from me*.

¹ On apparent exceptions see § 135 d.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person ($\eta\text{---}$, &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalaka*, thou hast killed = Hebr. $\eta\text{---}$ $\eta\text{---}$).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the *g* genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g. $\eta\text{---}$ *me*, $\eta\text{---}$ *my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the prepositions with suffixes in § 103, of adverbs with suffixes § 100 o.

§ 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *Sing.* { *m.* $\eta\text{---}$ ¹ *f.* $\eta\text{---}$ ($\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$) } *this*. *Plur. com.* $\eta\text{---}$ (rarely $\eta\text{---}$) *these*. *a*

Rem. 1. The feminine form $\eta\text{---}$ has undoubtedly arisen from $\eta\text{---}$, by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for $\eta\text{---}$ = $\eta\text{---}$ cf. the Arab. *hā-qū*, *this*, masc.; for $\eta\text{---}$ as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms $\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$, both of which are rare,² are shortened from $\eta\text{---}$. In ψ 132¹² $\eta\text{---}$ is used as a *relative*, cf. $\eta\text{---}$ below. In Jer 26⁶, *K^ethābh*, $\eta\text{---}$ (with the article and the demonstrative termination $\eta\text{---}$) is found for $\eta\text{---}$. The forms $\eta\text{---}$ and $\eta\text{---}$ are the plurals of $\eta\text{---}$ and $\eta\text{---}$ by usage, though not etymologically. The form $\eta\text{---}$ occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19^{8,25}, 26^{8,4}, &c. (8 times), always with the article, $\eta\text{---}$ [as well as $\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$ frequently], and in 1 Ch 2c⁸ without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4⁴²].⁴ Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find $\eta\text{---}$ *C* to *this* (cf. for $\eta\text{---}$, § 102 g), $\eta\text{---}$ to *this* (fem.), $\eta\text{---}$ to *these*; $\eta\text{---}$ *hunc*, $\eta\text{---}$ *hanc*, $\eta\text{---}$ *hos*, also without $\eta\text{---}$, even before the verb ψ 75⁸, &c. Note also $\eta\text{---}$ *pretium huius* (1 K 21²), &c.

¹ In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram. $\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$ masc., $\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$ fem. (*this*); Sansk. *sa*, *sā*, *tat*; Gothic *sa*, *sō*, *thata*; Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*; and Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*, &c. Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr. $\eta\text{---}$ ', in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v. $\eta\text{---}$, and Aram. $\eta\text{---}$, $\eta\text{---}$.]

² That $\eta\text{---}$ may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16²⁸ or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 21⁷.

³ $\eta\text{---}$ 2 K 6¹⁸, and in seven other places; $\eta\text{---}$ only in Hos 7¹⁶, ψ 132¹².

⁴ According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 n) and Driver, on Lev 18²⁷ in Haupt's Bible, this $\eta\text{---}$ is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the $\eta\text{---}$. In Phoenician also it was written $\eta\text{---}$, but pronounced *thy* according to Plantus, *Paen.* v, 1, 9.

- d* 2. The secondary form **הַ** occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s.v.]. Like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (**הַ**, **הָ**, **הֶ**, **הָ**) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 *u*; e.g. **הַזֶּה הָאִישׁ** *this man*, but **זֶה הָאִישׁ** *this is the man*.
- f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are **הַלְזֶה** Gn 24⁶⁵, 37¹⁹; **הַלְזֵה** *fem.* Ez 36³⁵; and shortened **הַלְ**, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6²⁰, 1 S 17²⁶, 2 K 23¹⁷, Zc 2⁸, Dn 8¹⁶, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4²⁵: cf. 1 S 14¹ [and 20¹⁹ LXX; see Commentaries and Kittel].
- g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

§ 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

- a* 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form **הַ**, with *a* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e.g. **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river*, **הַלְוִיִּים** *the Levites* (according to § 20 *m* for **הַלְוִיִּים**, **הַיָּאֵר**).
- b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in **הַ** after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a **ה** or **ע** follows the **הַ**; e.g. **הַיְהוּדִים** *the Jews*, **הַיָּעִיִּים** *the weary* (**פִּיעֵנִים** La 4³ *Qvê* is an exception), but **הַיָּאֵר**, **הַיָּלִידִים**, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix **בְּ** in certain nouns and in the participles *Pfēl* and *Pu'al* (see § 52 *c*) before **ה**, **ע** and **ר**, except when the guttural (or **ר**) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus **הַמְּדַבֵּר** Ez 22⁶, **הַמְּעַרָה** *the care*, **הַמְּרַעִים** ψ 37¹ (cf. Jb 38⁴⁰, 1 Ch 4⁴¹); but **הַמְּהַלֵּךְ** ψ 104³ (Ec 4¹³, 2 Ch 23¹²; before **ע** ψ 103⁴); **הַמְּעַשֶּׂה** Is 23¹²; **הַמְּרַגֵּל** Jos 6²⁰. Before letters other than gutturals this **הַ** remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 *m*.
- c* 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 *b*) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 *q*).
- (1) In the case of the weakest guttural, **א**, and also with **ר** (§ 22 *c* and *q*), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e.g. **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֲחֵר** *the other*, **הָאִם** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאֵר** *the light*, **הָאֱלֹהִים** *θεός*, **הָרֵגֶל** *the foot*, **הָרֹאשׁ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the wicked*.
- d* So also **הַשְּׂפֹחַ** Neh 3¹⁸, because syncopated from **הַשְּׂפֹחִית** (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); **הָאֲנָקִים** (as in Nu 11⁴, Ju 9⁴¹, 2 S 23³³, with the **א**

orthographically retained, for 'הָאֵלֹהִי Jer 40⁴ (cf. 'בְּאֵלֶיךָ verse 1); 'הָאֵלֶּיךָ Ec 4¹¹ for 'הָאֵלֶּיךָ; 'הָרְפוּיִם 2 Ch 22⁵ for 'הָאֵלֶּיךָ (cf. 2 K 8²⁸).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthening takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ה and ח, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *Sghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than *ā* (־) or *ō* (־ֹ), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ה and ח the article regularly remains ה; e.g. הַחֵדָּה *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, *ā* occurs only in חַיִּי Gn 6¹³ [not elsewhere], חַיִּים Is 3²², חַיִּים Is 17⁸ [not elsewhere]; before ח, always in חַיִּים, חַיִּים.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הָעַיִן *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶד *the servant*, plur. הָעֶבְדִּים; 1 K 12²²; also in Gn 10¹⁷ הָעֶרְכִּי is the better reading. Exceptions are בְּעוֹפֹתַי Ex 15¹⁰, הָעֵרִים 2 S 5^{6,8}, Is 42¹⁸, בְּעֵבֶר Is 24², הָעֶרְבִים Is 65¹¹, בְּעֵשֶׂק Ez 22⁷, הָעֵרִים Pr 2¹³ and הָעֵרֶב Pr 2¹⁷, לְעֵינַי 1 S 16⁷, Ec 11⁷; but לְעֵינַי Gn 3⁶, Pr 10²⁶. Cf. Baer on Is 42¹⁸.

B. When the guttural has *ā* (־) then

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing ה or ע the article is always ה, otherwise it is ה; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הַהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in pause) *the eye*, הַהָרָה *towards the mountain*; but (according to § 22 c) הָהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֵין *the iniquity*.

(2) before ה the article is invariably ה without regard to the tone; *i* e.g. הָרַחֲבִים *the wise man*, הָהֵג *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has ־ the article is ה before ה; e.g. הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*; בְּחֲרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article 'בְּחֲרָבוֹת' *bôḥrābhôth*) Ez 33²⁷, בְּחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36^{35,38}, cf. 2 Ch 27⁴; but ה before ע, as הָעֵמֶרֶם *the sheaves* Ru 2¹⁵.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article ה is generally considered to have been הָל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יִלְקַח from *yilqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هَال (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ل of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. 'al-Qur'an but 'as-sānū (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הָשָׁנָה *the year*.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,¹ cf. Arab. *hāga*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after ׀ consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like בָּמָה, בָּמָה, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *ha* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.²

m The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in אֱלֹהִים 1 K 10^{11,12} (also אֱלֹהִים 2 Ch 27^{9-10,11}), *sandal-wood* (?), and in אֱלִיָּהוּ *hail*, ice = גִּבְיָשׁ (Arab. *gibs*) Ez 13^{11,13}, 38²², but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלִמְלֹךְ Gn 10²⁶ the first syllable is probably אֵל *God*, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אֱלִיָּהוּ Pr 30³¹, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-qaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes בּ, ל, כּ (§ 102) come before the article, the ׀ is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the *š wā* (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. בִּשְׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשְׁמַיִם (so ψ 36⁶); לָעָם *for* לְהָעָם *to the people*, בְּהָרִים *on the mountains*, בְּחֳרָשִׁים *in the months*; also in Is 41², read כְּעֶפֶר instead of the impossible כְּעָפֶר. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40²⁵, 47²², Ec 8¹, Dn 8¹⁶, Neh 9¹⁹, 12³¹, 2 Ch 10⁷, 25¹⁰, 29²⁷; cf., however, 1 S 13²¹, 2 S 21²⁰. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7¹², the Masora requires the elision in the *Qere*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהַיּוֹם *about this time* (Gn 30¹¹, 1 S 9¹³, &c.) and בְּיוֹם *first of all* (Gn 25³¹, &c.). After the copula וְ (and) elision of the ׀ does not take place, e. g. וְהָעָם.

o 3. The words אֲדָמָה *earth*, הָר *mountain*, חֵג *feast*, עָם *people*, פָּר *bull*, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאָדָמָה, הָהָר, הָחֵג, הָעָם, הָפָר; cf. also אֲרֹן *ark* (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 24⁸, but to be read אֲרֹן), with the article always הָאֲרֹן.

§ 36. The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (*who, which*, &c.), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later books, especially Eccles. and the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1⁷), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7¹², 8²⁶, 2 K 6¹¹), אֲשֶׁר is used instead; more rarely שֶׁ Ju 5⁷, Ct 1⁷ (Jb 19^{29,4}); once שֶׁ before א Ju 6¹⁷ (elsewhere שֶׁ before a guttural), before ה even שֶׁ Ec 3¹⁸, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2²².³ [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

¹ An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.,' in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

² In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safu-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

³ The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אֲשׁ (= אֲשֶׁר?), pronounced *asse*, *esse* (also *as*, *es*, *is*, *ys*, *us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before **א** plurals, Gn 33⁵, Is 60⁸, 2 K 18³⁵, and sometimes also of things Gn 33³, Ju 13¹⁷, Mi 1⁶; cf. also **בַּת־מִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24²³; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **אֶת־מִי** *whom?*)—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**מִי־זֶה** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מַה**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **י**, Hb 2¹, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **וַ** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **הַ** (**מָהַ**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מָן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16¹⁵ in explanation of **מָן** *manna*, while **מִן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufasssal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(a) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה** takes a following *C* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה־לָּךְ** *what is it to thee?* and even in one word, as **מִלְכָּם** *what is it to you?* Is 3¹⁶; cf. Ex 4², Mal 1¹³, and even before a guttural, **מָהֶם** Ez 8⁶ *Kethibh*.

(b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14¹⁸, 1 S 20¹) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **הַ**, and, in Gn 31³⁸, Jb 21²¹, before **הַ**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *c-k*) *a* is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **הַ** of the article, except in Ec 2¹²; also before **הַמָּה**, **הַנָּה**, and Hb 2¹⁸ before **עַ**, Gn 31³², 2 K 8¹³ before **נ** and **ר**) or modified to *Sghöl*, especially before **עַ**, **הַ**, and generally before **הַ**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **הַ**, **חַ**, **עַ**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָהַ** or **מָהֶה**, the latter especially before **הַ** or **עַ**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָהַ** and **מָהֶה** are also used (**מָהַ** even before letters which are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule **מָה** is then used, but sometimes **מָהַ** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1⁵, ψ 4³. (On **מָהַ** in the combinations **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָהַ**, and even **לְמָהַ**, 1 S 1⁸, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(c) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule *f* with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָהַ** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מָהַ** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4⁶, 1 S 14¹⁴, 2 K 1⁷, Hag 1⁹ (see Köhler on the passage), ψ 10¹³, Jb 7²¹; cf., however, Pr 31², and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מָה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *g* *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**ו** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **שׁוּ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix **שׁוּ**,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE VERB

§ 38. General View.

a Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into—

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

b (*b*) Verbal derivatives, i.e. secondary verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדַּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדַּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

c (*c*) Denominatives,¹ i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari*, *praedari*, and Eng. *to skin*, *to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל *Qal* and פִּעַל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *root* (§ 52 *h*).

d This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַן *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַן *to pass the summer* (from קַיִץ *summer*, stem קָיַץ *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

§ 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

a 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see *e*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.² From this form the other

¹ Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom., insbes. im theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1896.

² For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטֵל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

In verbs וָי (i.e. with ו for their second radical) the stem-form, given both in Lexicon and Grammar, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial ו, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e. g. וָיב to return (3rd pers. perf. וָיב): the same is the case in most stems with medial ו, e. g. וָי to judge.

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לָמַד to teach; שָׁב to lie, הִשָּׁב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפָּט to contend. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or derivative verbs, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *füllen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *säugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacere* (to throw), *iacere* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γυνάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians בְּנֵינִים, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.¹

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל; cf. to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַל, קָטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (קָטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקָּטַל, הִקָּטַל). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הָהִי, הָהִי, הָהִי have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

¹ The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (קָדַר *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of *עָלָה* *he has done*,¹ which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

	Active.	Passive.
f	1. <i>Qal</i> קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .	(Of. § 52 e.)
	2. <i>Niph'al</i> נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).	
	3. <i>Pi'el</i> קָטַל <i>to kill many, to massacre</i> .	4. <i>Pu'al</i> קָטַל.
	5. <i>Hiph'il</i> הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill</i> .	6. <i>Hoph'al</i> הִקְטַל.
	7. <i>Hithpa'al</i> הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself</i> . [Very rare, <i>Hothpa'al</i> הוֹתְקַטַּל.]	

g There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Po'el* and *Po'al* (see § 55 b); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'al* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpo'el* (see § 55 b); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'al* (see § 54 d); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 d). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'al*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Shaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

¹ This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalid. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for קָדַר, after the example of Moses Qimhi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e.g. קָדַר, קָדַר, קָדַר. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָטַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139¹⁹, Jb 13¹⁵, 24¹⁴); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קָטַל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dages* in the *B'qadk'phath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

§ 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbsystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *a* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the personal inflexions of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional *c* scheme of the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the Paradigms.

PERFECT.	
<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. . . .	3. c. יָ . . .
3. f. פָּ . . .	
2. m. פִּי . . .	2. m. פִּי . . .
2. f. פִּי . . .	2. f. פִּי . . .
1. c. פִּי . . .	1. c. נִי . . .

IMPERFECT.	
<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. . . . י	3. m. י . . . י
3. f. . . . פ	3. f. פִּי . . . פ
2. m. . . . פ	2. m. י . . . פ
2. f. . . . פ	2. f. פִּי . . . פ
1. c. . . . נ	1. c. . . . נ

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

- a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—
- (*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62-65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.
- b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 b-f), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ד, י"ו, and י"ז, as שׁוּן, שׁוּן, שׁוּן, §§ 66, 67, 72).
- c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as שׁוּן, שׁוּן, שׁוּן.
- d* Taking the old paradigm שׁוּן as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ד, the second י, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* נ"ד for a verb whose first radical is נ (*primæ radicalis* [sc. *literæ*] נ); י"י for *mediæ radicalis* י; י"י for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

I. The Strong Verb.

§ 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 c, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43-55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e.g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

- a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is שׁוּן, with *ā* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 c). There is also a form with *ē* (*Sere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ū*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*¹ meaning,

¹ But cf. such instances as Jer 48^b. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *i* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle ō* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātūlū*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Šwā*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Šwā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātūlā, qātūlū*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: קָמַר *to cover with pitch*, from הָמַר *C pitch*; מָלַח *to salt*, from מָלַח *salt*; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy or sell corn*, from שָׁבַר *corn*; see above, § 38 c.

§ 44. *Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.*¹

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *α* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the end of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. Perfect, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were, *killing thou*, or a *killer thou*), a *killer wast thou* = קָטַל אָתָּה; יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרָא־תָּם *ye were fearing* = יָרָא אֲתָּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (אֲנִי) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי־אֵנּוּ, אֵנּוּ *we* (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (אֲנִי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ח (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי־כִי, I.² In the *third* person הִיא (originally חִיא, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and י is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ī*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gram. ii.*), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

² According to Nöldeke, *l.c.*, p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*.

in Hebrew, also *ana* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

- b** 2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Šewā* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; but in pause קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; in pause קָטְלוּ &c.) or before it. In the latter case, however, the *Qames* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Šewā*; as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; cf. § 27 i and § 43 b. On the retention of *ā* with *Melheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 i.

- c** Rem. 1. Verbs middle *ē* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathah* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. Perf.). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs middle *a* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Sere*, and never of *Ḥireq*, of which the *Sere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 p). On the other hand, *Sere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לָ (§ 74 g), before suffixes (§ 59 i), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. דִּבְרָהּ *it cleareth*, Jb 29¹⁰ (not דִּבְרָהּ, cf. 2 S 1²⁸, Jb 41¹⁵; even (contrary to § 29 g) in a closed pausal syllable, e.g. שָׁבַן, Dt 32¹² (out of pause שָׁבַן, Is 32¹⁶); but קָטְלוּ Is 33⁹, &c., according to § 29 g.

- d** 2. In some weak stems middle *a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes *—*, and, in one example, *—*. Thus from יָרַשׁ: יָרַשְׁתָּהּ and thou shalt possess it, Dt 17¹⁴; יָרַשְׁתָּם Dt 19¹; יָרַשְׁתָּם Dt 4¹, and frequently; from יָלַךְ to bring forth, to beget; יָלַדְתִּיךָ ψ 2⁷ (cf. Nu 11¹², Jer 2²⁷, 15¹⁰); from פָּיַשׁ וּפָשַׁתָּם Mal 3²⁰; from שָׁאַל וּשְׁאַלְתִּי I have asked him, 1 S 1²⁰ (Ju 13⁶), and three times שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 S 12¹³, 25⁵, Jb 21²³. Qimḥi already suggests the explanation, that the *ī* (*ē*) of these forms of שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ are also found שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יָרַשׁ, see § 69 s); the *ī* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 s), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *ī* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 k and § 64 f).

- e** 3. In verbs middle *ā*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יָגַדְתָּ thou didst tremble; יָגַדְתָּ in pause for יָגַדְתָּ they were able; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qames haṭuṭh*; יָגַדְתָּ I have prevailed against him, ψ 13⁶; וּיָגַדְתָּ (see § 49 h) then shalt thou be able, Ex 18²³; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Šewā*, e.g. יָגַדְתָּ,

- f** 4. Rarer forms¹ are: Sing. 3rd fem. in תָּ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

¹ Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e. g. אִלָּת *it is gone*, Dt 32³⁶; וְנִשְׁכַּחַת Is 23¹⁵ (in the Aramaic form, for וְנִשְׁכַּחַת; cf. § 72 *c*). This original feminine ending *-ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 *a*; and similarly in stems אִלָּ, either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems אִלָּ § 74 *g*), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *Ṣewa* before the pleonastic ending הָ, e. g. אִלָּתָה § 75 *i*. In Ez 31⁵ the Aramaic form אִלָּתָה occurs instead of אִלָּתָה.

2nd *masc.* הָ for הַ (differing only orthographically), e. g. הָבִיתָ *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal 2¹⁴; cf. 1 S 15³, Gn 3¹² (הָבִיתָ which is twice as common as הָבִיתָ, cf. § 66 *h*); Gn 21²³, 2 S 2²⁶, 2 K 9³, Is 2⁶, ψ 56⁹ (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9⁷, Is 37²³, ψ 60⁴).

2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in הָלַכְתִּי *thou wentest*, Jer 31²¹; *h* cf. 2³³, 3^{4,5}, 4¹⁹ (but read the ptep. שָׁמַעַתְּ, with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 4⁶¹¹, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16¹⁸, &c.); see also Mi 4¹³, Ru 3⁴. הָלַכְתִּי, &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading הָלַכְתָּ (without י) ¹ as in the corresponding pronoun אֲתָּי (אֲתָּי) § 32 *h*. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 *a, c*).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as יָרַעַתָּ ψ 140¹³, Jb 42², 1 K 8⁴⁸, *i* Ez 16⁵⁹ (all in K^{ethibh}), ψ 16³, without a Q^{ere}; in 2 K 18²⁰ also יָרַעַתָּ is really intended, as appears from Is 36⁵. The Q^{ere} requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K^{ethibh} is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

יָ as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for הָ Ez 33²⁶, might just possibly *h* be due to the following הַ (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3¹², § 87 *e*), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in הָלַכְתָּ (according to others הָלַכְתָּ-) Am 4⁹, but the reading is very doubtful; since הַ follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however, אֲתָּנָה § 32 *i*.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination יָרַעַתָּ Dt 3¹⁶ (both before אֵ, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form יָרַעַתָּ Is 26¹⁶; on יָ in the Imperf. see § 47 *m*; on the affixed אֵ in Jos 10²⁴, Is 28¹², see § 23 *i*.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 *c*, note), *m* the 3rd *fem. plur.* in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd *masc.*

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

¹ Where the Masora apparently regards the הָ as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer 2²⁰ (twice), Mi 4¹³, it has rather taken the form as 1st *pers. sing.* (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5⁷, where הָמַתִּי, on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd *sing. fem.*, or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form הָמַתִּי as קַמַתִּי instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* קַמַתִּי (as LXX).

² That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ūn* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG.* vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nun* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*³, p. 6 note.]

plur. by the termination ן , as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21⁷, Jos 15⁴, 18^{12,14,15}, Jer 2¹⁵, 22⁶, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination ן , and to Gn 48¹⁰ in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49²², 1 S 4¹⁵, ψ 18³⁵, Neh 13¹⁰. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that ן is often found as a mistake for ל . On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qerē ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K^{ethibh}, as well as ψ 73², Jer 50⁶ (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22⁴⁰ (where ן is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16¹⁶ (where the *masc.* בְּנֵי requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48⁴¹, 51⁵⁶, Ez 26², ψ 68¹⁴, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in ן . The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd *fem. sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs $\text{לִי$, as וְיָהּ K^{ethibh} six times in the above examples.

n 5. The affirmatives נָה , (נָה), נָהִי , נִי are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mūl* (קָטַלְתָּ , &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Mūra'* (§ 15 c). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (a) by the *pause* (§ 29 i-v), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šwā under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטַלְתָּהּ for קָטַלְתָּהּ (קָטַלְתָּהּ for קָטַלְתָּהּ), and קָטַלְתָּהּ for קָטַלְתָּהּ (קָטַלְתָּהּ for קָטַלְתָּהּ); (b) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the Perfect (see § 49 h).

O 6. Contraction of a final ת with the ן of the affirmative occurs e. g. in בְּרָתִי Hag 2⁵, &c.; cf. Is 14²⁰, &c., in the *Perf.* Po'el; Dt 4²⁵ in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁחַת ; Is 21², &c., in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁחַת . Contraction of a final נ with the affirmative נִי occurs in נִתְּנָהּ Gn 34¹⁶; in *Niph.* Ezr 9⁷, cf. 2 Ch 14¹⁰; in *Hiph.* 2 Ch 29¹⁹; with the affirmative נָה in the *Imperfect Qal* Ez 17²³; *Piel* ψ 71²⁰, where with Baer and Ginsburg הִתְרַצְּנָה is to be read, according to others הִתְרַצְּנָה (cf. in *Polel* הִתְרַצְּנָה Ez 32¹⁰), but certainly not הִתְרַצְּנָה with the Mantua ed., Opitius and Hahn; with נָה in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gn 4²³, Is 32⁹.

§ 45. The Infinitive.

F. Prætorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in *ZDMG.* 1902, p. 546 ff.

a 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent *nouns* (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in Qal קָטַל ,¹ sometimes incorrectly קָטַל), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions (לְקַטֵּל to kill, § 114 f), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal קָטַל , sometimes also קָטַל , obscured from original *qāṭal*), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

¹ Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 f.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).¹

The flexibility and versatility of the *Infin. constr.* and the rigidity *b* and inflexibility of the *Infin. absol.* are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *o* of the *Infin. constr.* may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84^a, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qūṭāl*.

Other forms of the *Infin. constr.* Qal of the strong verb are—

(a) קטל, e.g. שָׁכַב to lie, Gn 34⁷; שָׁפַל to sink, Ec 14⁴; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21³³ the Masora seems to treat לְטַבֵּחַ (verse 20, in pause לְטַבֵּחַ) as an Infinitive = לְטַבֵּחַ; probably לְטַבֵּחַ should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are *d* feminine forms² of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e.g. לְאַשְׁמָה to be guilty, Lv 5²⁶; לְאַהֲבָה to love, שְׂנֵאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; לְזָקֵנָה to be old; לְקָרָא to meet (in לְקִרְיָת § 19 k); לְרַבְעָה to lie down, Lv 20¹⁶; לְרַחֵץ to wash, Ex 30¹⁸, &c.; לְטַמְּאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טַמְּאָה to be unclean, Lv 15³²; לְקַרְבָּה to approach, Ex 36², &c.; cf. Lv 12⁴⁻⁵, Dt 11²², Is 30¹⁹, Ez 21¹⁶, Hag 1⁶; also לְרַחֵק to be far off, Ez 8⁶; לְחַמְּלָה to pity, Ez 16⁵; cf. Ho 7⁴. On the other hand in קטלה Gn 19¹⁸, the original *ā* has been modified to *ē*; cf. חִוֵּקָה Is 8¹¹, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מקטל but cf. also Arab. *magtal*) there occur as *e* *Infin. Qal*: מְשַׁלֵּחַ to send, Est 9¹⁹; מְקַרְא to call and מְפַסַּע to depart, Nu 10² (Dt 10¹¹); מְקַח to take, 2 Ch 19⁷, &c.; מְשָׂא to carry, Nu 4²⁴, &c. (cf. even לְמִשְׁנֹאת Ez 17⁹); also with a feminine ending מְעַלָּה to go up, Ezr 7², &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohista Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4²⁴.

(d) קטלה in יִבְשֶׁת Gn 8⁷; יִבְשֶׁת Nu 14¹⁶; probably also חִרְשֶׁת Ex 31⁵, 35²³.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition ל; as לְקַטֵּל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

¹ The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the *Infin. constr.* קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the *Infin. absol.* (קטול ground-form *qūṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Infin. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

² According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition ל.

g The blending of the ל with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לִשְׁבֹּב Gn 34⁷; לִנְפֹל ψ 118¹³, with *Dageš lene* in the ב = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-tōl*, &c.; but בִּנְפֹל *bin'phōl*, Jb 4¹²; כִּנְפֹל 2 S 3³⁴. Exceptions לִצְבֹּא Nu 4²³, 8²⁴; לִנְתוֹשׁ וּלְנִתוֹן Jer 1¹⁰, 18⁷, 31²²; לִשְׁדוֹד Jer 47⁴; לִטְבוֹחַ Jer 11¹⁰, &c., ψ 37¹⁴; לִבְרוֹק 2 Ch 34¹⁰; according to some also לִקְבֹּב Nu 21⁴ and לִקְבֹּשׁ 2 Ch 28¹⁰ (Baer לִקְבֹּשׁ); on the other hand בִּשְׁבֹּב Gn 35²²; כִּנְפֹר Jer 17². For the meaningless לִרְיוֹשׁ Ezr 10¹⁶ read לִרְשׁ.

§ 46. The Imperative.

- a 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קָטַל (properly *qetāl*, which is for an original *qātāl*), and קָטַל (see below, c), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ They represent the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 b); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e.g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קָטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'el.²
- b 2. The Affirmatives of the 2nd sing. fem. and the 2nd plur. masc. and fem. are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 c). In the same way, the Imperative of the 2nd sing. masc., in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the הַ— *paragogicum* (§ 48 i), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).
- c Rem. 1. Instead of the form קָטַל (sometimes also *plene*, e.g. שְׁמוֹר Ec 12¹³; before *Maqqeph* קָטַל with *Qames ha'aph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i. e. especially verbs middle *ā*) make their Imperative of the form קָטַל, e.g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לְבַשְׁ; שָׁבַב *lie down!* in pause שָׁבַב 1 S 3^{5.6.9}).
- d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šewa mobile* (*qitāl*, *qitālū*, and so שִׁפְּי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even קִשְׁבוּ with *Metheg*, Ex 12²¹; but cf. אִקְפִּי Jer 10¹⁷, and with the same phonetic combination הִשְׁפִּי Is 47²; see analogous cases in § 93 m); less frequently we find an *ō* instead of the *ī*, e.g. מִלְכִּי *rule*, Ju 9¹⁰; קִשְׁבוּ *draw*, Ez 32²⁰; חֲרְבוּ Jer 2¹² (cf. חֲרָבִי Is 44²⁷); on קִסְמִי 1 S 28⁸ *qēšē*, יִצְקִי Jer. 22²⁰ (cf. 1 K 13⁷), see § 10 g. This *ō* arises (see above, a) from a singular ground-form *qitāl*, not from a retraction of the original *ā* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *ī* in the first syllable (cf. also

¹ The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 bb). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

² In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32¹⁰, Jer. 49⁸), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

אָמַרְי, חָנְרִי, מְכַרְי, עֲבָרִי arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ä*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *i*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 *i* and 48 *i*; 61 *b*, 63 *n*.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is אָרַרְי I K 3²⁶; from שָׁמַעְי, שָׁמַעְי *c* &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is 23¹²; even without the *pause* מְלֹכִי Ju 9^{10,12}, K^{eth.}; קָסוּמִי I S 28⁸, K^{eth.} (cf. with this also מְלֹכֶה &c., § 48 *i*); from שָׁמַחְי, שָׁמַחְי Jo 2²¹.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמַעְי occurs once, in Gn 4²³ (for שָׁמַעְיָה) with loss *f* of the הָ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמַעְיָה. Also instead of the abnormal קָרָאְי Ex 2²⁰ (for קָרָאְיָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1²⁰ קָרָאְיָה (cf. מְצָאְיָה 1⁹ and לָבִין 1¹²).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in אָ, Is 32¹¹, see § 48 *i*.

§ 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,¹ in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) *before* the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָטַל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (א, מ, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

¹ On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded*, *completed*, and *past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning*, the *unfinished*, and the *continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin *Imperf.*). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

b 2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first* pers. אָקטל , plur. אָקטל , א is probably connected with אָנ , and ל with לִּי ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *'äqtül* and *näqtül*: the ä of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *S^ghöl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the ä for this sound (cf. § 22 o, but also § 51 p); according to Qimhi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between אָקטל (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and אָקטל , which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqtol*.¹

c The preformative ת of the *second* persons (תָּקטל , ground-form *täqtül*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the ת of תָּהָה , תָּהָם , &c., and the *affirmative* י of the 2nd fem. sing. תִּקְטְלִי with the i of the original feminine form תִּתִּי (see § 32 h). The *affirmative* י of the 2nd masc. plur. תִּקְטְלוּ (in its more complete form, יִי , see *m*) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 a). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,² while the affirmative נָה (also י) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with נָהָה *eae* and נָהָה *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons (י in the masc. יָקטל , ground-form *yäqtül*, plur. יִקְטְלוּ , ground-form *yäqtälü*; ת in the fem. תִּקְטְלִי , plur. תִּקְטְלֵנָה) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With ת might most obviously be compared the original feminine

¹ Cf. § 24 e. In favour of the above view of Qimhi may be urged the phonetic orthography אָטל (in Pr 18²⁴ אָטל), 2 S 14¹⁹ (unless, with Perles, אָטל is to be read), Mi 6¹⁰, for אָטל , and אָטל 1 Ch 2¹⁸ for אָטל (as verse 12). Also הָאָנָה Mi 6¹¹ is probably for הָאָנָה = הָאָנָה , אָפָה Is 10¹² for אָפָה ; אָנָה Is 51¹⁹ for אָנָה ; and conversely אָשָׁבֶר is for אָשָׁבֶר = אָשָׁבֶר . Similarly, אָשָׁי 1 S 14¹⁹ is probably for אָשָׁי or אָשָׁי ; in 2 S 23⁸ אָשָׁבֶר is, according to the LXX, an error for אָשָׁבֶר = אָשָׁבֶר . In Assyrian also the simple י corresponds to the Hebrew י as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable ü, ö, n . In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. Perfect for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac q'älän , q'älün , with the feminine form q'älän , in Western Aram. q'älü , fem. q'älü ; in Arab. qätälü , fem. qätälü , Eth. qätälä , qätälä .

ending ן— of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives ו (וּ) and נָה, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *S^ewa* e before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative נָה. Thus: וְקָטְלוּ, וְקָטְלוּ, וְקָטְלוּ (but in *pause* וְקָטְלוּ, &c.), וְקָטְלוּ נָה.

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ū* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 97). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (b) before *Maggeph* the short vowel appears as *Qames hatuph*, e.g. וּבְכַתְּבָם and he wrote there, Jos 3³² (but cf. also Ex 21³⁷, Jos 18²⁰); (c) it becomes *S^ewa* before the tone-bearing affirmatives וּ— and ו (see above, e; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for וְיִבְלֵנִי; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *S^ewa*, exhibit a long *ū*: הִם יִשְׁפּוּטוּ Ex 18²⁶, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimhi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18^b), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לֹא-תִעַבְדִּי מִנָּה Ru 2⁸; הֵשִׁיבוּ-נָה (in principal pause) Pr 14³. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוּטוּ and תִּעַבְדִּי (for יִשְׁפּוּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14³ הֵשִׁבוּ-נָה is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transitive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and *ō* almost always take *ā* (*Pathah*)¹ in the imperf., e.g. יָרַבֵּן, יָרַבֵּן to couch, שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב to lie down (לָמַד, יִלְמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); יָגַדַל, יִגְדַל to become great (but cf. שָׁכַן and שָׁכַן imperf. יִשְׁכֹּן to dwell and to inhabit, נָבַל imperf. יִבַּל to wither); also from verbs middle *ō*, as קָטַן to be small, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. יָקַצַר he cuts off, יָקַצַר he is cut off, i.e. is short; חָלַשׁ imperf. *ō*, to overcome, Ex 17¹³; imperf. *ā*, to be overcome, Jb 14¹⁰. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. יִשְׁחַךְ and יִשְׁחַךְ he bites, יִחַפֵּץ and יִחַפֵּץ he is inclined (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = he bends, in Jb 40¹⁷). On the *a* of the imperf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), עָע (§ 67 p), פָּפ (§ 69 b), and פָּפ (§ 68 c), and in יָתַן for *yinten* from נָתַן to give, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *Sere* (originally *i*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects² in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וְיִטְבְּלוּ 2 K 7⁸, since טָבַן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel imperf. *a*, imperf. *a*, imperf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. תִּקְטַל (= *tiq-tāl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25²⁰ תִּפְגַּשׁ לָהּ (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּפְגַּשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (תִּקְטְלִי) the form

¹ This *ā* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פָּץ and עָע, and in many verbs פָּפ and פָּפ (§§ 69-71).

² Cf. Barth, 'Das *i*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' ZDMG. 1889, p. 177 ff.

תקטל is found in Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³², in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26¹⁴. In Is 17¹⁰, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably וְהִירָעִין is to be read with Marti for הִירָעִינוּ.—For the 3rd plur. fem. תִּקְטְלֶנָּה we find in Jer 49¹¹, in pause תִּקְטְלֶנָּה (for תִּקְטְלֶנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטְלֶנָּה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assy.), in Gn 30³⁸, 1 S 6¹², Dn 8²². On the other hand, תִּקְטְלֶנָּה appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as תִּשְׁלַחְנָה Ju 5²⁰ (where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלַחְנָה is to be read), and Ob¹³, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of יִשְׁלַח יָד; in Pr 1²⁰, 8³ for הִרְגָּה read הִרְגָּה as in Jb 39²³; in Ez 1¹⁰ read תִּקְרָאֵנָּה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27¹¹, 28⁸, as also in Jb 17¹⁶ (if we read תִּקְרָאֵנָּה with LXX for the 2nd (תִּקְרָאֵנָּה)), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ānnā*.

l For we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive*, simply ׀ *nā*, e.g. Gn 19^{33,36}, 37⁷, Ex 18¹⁹, 15²⁰, Nu 25², Ez 3²⁰, 16⁵⁵; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita תִּקְרָאֵנָּה (2 S 13¹⁸) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form וְתִקְרָאֵנָּה (so also Qimhi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. וְתִקְרָאֵנָּה) for וְתִקְרָאֵנָּה they were high, Ez 16⁵⁰, is irregular, with ׀ inserted after the manner of verbs עָרַע and עָרַי, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in ׀ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms¹ with the fuller ending ׀ (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יִרְיָו Ex 21¹⁸, 22⁸, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְקָטֶינָּה they collect, ψ 104²³; יִרְגָּזֶינָּה they tremble, Ex 15¹⁴; יִשְׁמָעֶינָּה ye shall hear, Dt 1¹⁷; cf. Ex 34¹³, with Zaqeph qaton, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24¹⁵, with Segolta; Is 13⁸ and 17¹³ with Zaqeph qaton, 17¹² with Athnah and Silluq, 41⁵ after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e.g. ψ 11² קָשַׁת יִדְרֹכֶנָּה, cf. 1³, Gn 18^{28,29,30} ׀, 44¹, Nu 32²³, Jos 4⁶ (יִשְׁלַחְנָה); Is 8¹², 1 S 9¹³, Ru 2⁹ יִקְצְרוּ (and יִשְׁאָבֶינָּה); Ju 11¹⁸ after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17², Nu 16²⁰, 32²⁰, 1 S 9¹³, 1 K 9⁶, and often, to avoid a hiatus before ׀ or ׀. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 c, note), as is manifest from Is 26¹¹: בְּלִי-יִהְיוּ יִתְּרוֹ וְיִבְשׁוּ they see not; may they see and become

¹ [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 2¹⁵.]

ashamed. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.¹ In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier נ (old Arabic *inā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ā*.

With an affixed *ā* we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) נִשְׁמָא Jer 10⁶, evidently *n* an error for נִשְׁמָא, caused by the preceding נִשְׁמָא.—In נִשְׁמָא Is 35¹, since ׀ follows, the ׀ is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of נ for א there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending נִ— (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), also always with the tone, for נִ—, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus נִתְּבַקֵּן Ru 2^{8.21}, cf. 3^{4.18}, 1 S 1¹⁴ (נִתְּבַקֵּן), Jer 31²², Is 45¹⁰.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ā* which had become *šwā* in the forms נִתְּבַקֵּן, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. נִתְּבַקֵּן, נִתְּבַקֵּן. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. נִתְּבַקֵּן, in pause נִתְּבַקֵּן. But the fuller forms in *ān* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ū* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

§ 48. *Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.*

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).² The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yāqtūlū*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*; (*b*) a

¹ It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8^{38.48} with 2 Ch 6^{29.38}; 1 K 12²⁴, 2 K 11⁵ with 2 Ch 11⁴, 23⁴.

² The perfect has only *one* form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106 *p*).

jussive, *yäqtül*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yäqtülänmä* and *yäqtülän*, in pause *yäqtülä*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

c 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הַ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶשְׁמְרָה from שָׁמַר.¹ It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הַ has the tone wherever the affirmatives י and י־ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הַ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šwā*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נִפְתְּלֵנוּ *let us break asunder*, ψ 2³; on אֶשְׁמְרָה Is 18⁴ *Q'rē* (cf. also 27⁴, Ezr 8²⁵, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases יִשְׁמְרוּ, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הַ, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אֶפְיִיחָהּ *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ū* and *i*), the vowel which became *Šwā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמְרָה ψ 59¹⁰; cf. Gn 18²¹, Is 41²⁶.

d The change of הַ into the obtuse ה־ seems to occur in 1 S 28¹⁵, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרָה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20⁴, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of הַ into the obtuse ה־ in *l* and in §§ 73 d, 80 i, 90 i. In ψ 20⁴, however, וְיִשְׁמְרֵךָ—with suffix—is probably intended. An הַ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5¹⁰ (twice); Ez 23²⁰, and again in verse 16 according to the *Q'rē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11¹⁷, although there הִתְעַפָּהּ might also, with Qimhī, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ Dt 33¹⁶ (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תִּבְוֹאָה in verse 14), read תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ. For תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ Jb 22²¹ the noun תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הַ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on וְתִבְוֹאֶתָהּ 1 S 25²⁴, see § 76 h.

e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

¹ Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to d) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 58 f) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'el* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יִשָּׁב, juss. יִשָּׁב; from יָמַח and יָמַח, juss. יָמַח; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָוִי and עָוִי, as יָמַח, ind. יָמַח; יָגַל, ind. יָגַל; in all conjugations of verbs לָחַץ, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending הֶ- in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; *Hiph.* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; and in the *Pi'el* יָצַח from the indic. יָצַח (called apocopated imperfects). But almost all ¹ the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending הֶן. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תִּקְטְלִי, תִּמְחִי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּקְמִינִי as ind. Jer 38¹⁵, as jussive Jer 41⁸.

The meaning of the jussive is similar to that of the cohortative, *h* except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109 *h*.

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by הֶ-, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -*annā* or -*an*, in pause -*ā*) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה² (*šomerā*, cf. קָטַל *qāṭal*, § 46 *d*); עֹבֶה, עֹבֶה Jer 49¹¹; שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שָׁמְרָה

¹ Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as יִשְׁאַר 1 S 14³⁶, parallel with cohortatives; and נָרָא Is 41²³ *Keth.*

² On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. *šomerā*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86², 119¹⁰⁷ (cf. also Is 38¹⁴, and שָׁמְרִי ψ 16¹), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Ju 9⁸ *Keth.*, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9¹⁰; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21²³. Cf., however, also מִכְרָה *sell*, Gn 25²¹, notwithstanding the impf. יָמַר Jer 33⁵ (cf. עָרַב Jer 46³), but impf. יִגְרֹד אֶסְפָּה *collect*, Nu 11¹⁶ (for 'אס' cf. § 63 l and the plural אֶסְפִּי), but 2nd masc. אָסַף; נָצַרָה ψ 141³. Barth (see above, § 47 i note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 n. On the other hand, קָרַבָּה ψ 69¹⁹ (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9⁷, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לָךְ *go*, Nu 23¹³, Ju 19¹³, 2 Ch 25¹⁷. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטַלָה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטַלָה, e. g. יִרְשָׁה Dt 33²³. But also without the pause we find מָלוּכָה Ju 9⁸ *Keth.* and צָרֻפָה ψ 26² *Keth.*, on which see § 46 e. On the other hand רָנְתָה, פָּשְׁטָה, חָגְגְתָה Is 32¹¹ are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for חָרְדָה v. 11 read חָרְדָה, and for סָפְרָה v. 12 read סָפְרָה.

l. The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל"ה, e. g. in *Pi'el* גַּל from גָּלָה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה־ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e. g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up!* הֵן *give*, הֵנָּה *give up!*

l. Rem. The form דָּעָה for דַּעָה, best attested in Pr 24¹⁴ (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., דַּעָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31²); for other examples of this change of *a* to *S'ghol*, see above, under *d*, § 73 d, and § 80 i. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Ju 9²⁹ (from רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רָבָה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יִצָּא (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה־, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24¹⁴).

§ 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses¹ is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

¹ The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Mesha* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זכר of Hamāth (cf. Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַאֲשָׁא יָדִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20¹, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), and *Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him, &c.* On the other hand, Is 7¹⁷, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c., 7¹⁸, and it shall come to pass* (perf. וְהָיָה) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*¹), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect is (*a*) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקַּח and *he killed*; before *א* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 *c*) with *Qames*, as וַאֲנִי וַיִּקַּח and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַאֲנִי־אֶמַּח Ez 16¹⁰ according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, § 71; also וַאֲנִי־אֶמַּח 2 S 1¹⁰ according to Qimhi; but in Ju 6⁹ וַאֲנִי should be read according to Baer, and וַיִּקַּח in both places in Ju 20⁶. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative י, in accordance with § 20 *m*.

(*b*) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 *g*), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 *n*), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקַּח (§ 53 *n*). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 *a*), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. וַיִּקַּח, juss.

¹ This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw converse*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

אָרָא, with *wāw* consec. אָרָא and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).¹

c In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ā* to *ō*, *ī* to *ē*, and then to *o* and *e*) are not usual,² at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs אָרָא occurs more rarely; e.g. always אָרָא (or אָרָא, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; Hiph. אָרָא (but generally written אָרָא, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as אָרָא implies *wā'āqōm*); אָרָא and I saw, more frequently than אָרָא, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final אָ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. אָרָא and I sent, Gn 32⁶, 41¹¹, 43²¹, Nu 8¹⁹ (אָרָא, as in Ju 6⁹, 1 S 2²⁸, 2 S 12²⁸, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost א); Ju 6¹⁰, 12⁸, 2 S 22²⁴, ψ 3⁶, 7⁵, 90¹⁰, 119³⁵, Jb 15^π, 19³⁰, Ez 7²⁸, 8²⁵, 9³, Neh 2¹³, 5^{7,8,13}, 6¹¹, 13^{7-11,21} t, &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3⁶, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10¹², אָרָא before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8² אָרָא may have been originally intended; in ψ 73¹⁶ אָרָא and in Jb 30²⁶ אָרָא. In Ez 3³ read אָרָא or אָרָא.

f This אָ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw* copulative, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).³ The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. אָרָא, אָרָא, אָרָא (for אָרָא), where the prepositions אָ and אָ, and the particle אָ, are closely connected with אָ in the same way (§ 102 k).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in אָרָא (for אָרָא § 102 l).—The identity of many consecutive forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

h 3. The counterpart of *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect is *wāw* consecutive of the perfect, by means of which perfects are placed as

¹ The plural forms in אָ also occur less frequently after *wāw* consecutive; cf., however, אָרָא Ju 8¹, 11¹⁸, Am 6⁸, Ez 44⁸, Dt 4¹¹, 5²⁰. The 2nd fem. sing. in אָ never occurs after *wāw* consecutive.

² In the 1st plur. אָרָא Neh 4³ is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. אָרָא, i. e. אָרָא; אָרָא; אָרָא). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niphal*, see § 51 n.

³ In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw* apodosis, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (י, ו, ו, as 2 K 7⁴, and ו); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. וָלֵכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְלֵכְתִּי *and I will go*, Ju 1³, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qames* of the first syllable is *ē* retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle ō* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *ō*, e. g. וְיִכְבְּלוּ Ex 18²³.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, *k* however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וְיִשְׁכְּבוּ Gn 34¹⁶; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הָ and ו, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs נ"ל and ו"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of נ"ל (Jer 29¹⁴), and in ו"ל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17⁶, 26^{4.6.7.10 ff.}, Ju 6²⁶, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24⁵, before נ) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before נ, Nu 20⁸, Dt 20¹³, 1 S 15³, 2 K 13¹⁷; similarly in Pi'al before נ, Ex 25⁵⁴, Jer 27⁴. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *ē* (in נ"ל Gn 27¹⁰ &c., in ו"ל Ex 40⁴, Jer 33⁶, Ez 32⁷); but cf. also וְיִרְאֶה Lv 19^{14.32} and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4²¹, ψ 19¹⁴.¹ With *ā* in the penultima the form is וְנִשְׁמָחָה Is 14⁴, and probably also וְקִרְנָה Jer 2³, 3¹², 1 S 10² with little T'liṣā, a postpositive accent.

But before a following נ the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic *l* grounds, e. g. וְנָאֵם Gn 6¹³, Ex 3¹⁸, Zc 6¹⁰ (by the side of וְנִבְּאֵה, &c. (cf., however, וְקִרְנָה, before נ, Gn 17¹⁹, Jer 7²⁷, Ez 36²⁹); וְהָיָה Ju 6¹⁶, cf. Ex 25¹¹, Lv 24⁵ (but also וְנִבְּאֵה Lv 25²¹). Likewise, before ה, Am 8⁹, and ו, e. g. Gn 26¹⁰, 27¹², Lv 26²⁵ (cf., however, וְקִרְנָה, Ez 38²¹); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67 k and ea.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, *ll* e. g. וְשָׁבַע Dt 6¹¹, 11¹⁵; וְאָבָה Is 14⁴, Ju 4⁸; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2²⁸, Ez 3²⁶, 1 S 29⁸ (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 e), as in וְשָׁבַע Dt 17¹⁴, Ez 14¹³, 17²², Am 1^{4.7.10.12}—but also וְשָׁקַח Dt 21¹¹, 23¹⁴, 24¹⁹, 1 K 8⁴⁰.

¹ The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Ašer alone.

§ 50. The Participle.

- a** 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'el* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ul* (פָּעוּל).¹

Pā'ul is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 e), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pī'el* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *qū'āl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פָּעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 ff.

- b** 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. יָשָׁן *sleeping*, from יָשַׁן; יָגוֹר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָגַר) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 a. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ō* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 q. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשָׁן and יָגַר, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84^a f. The formation of the participle in *Pī'el*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'el* follows a different method.

- c** 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלָה or קָטְלָת) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 e, § 84^a r, s, § 94).

- d** Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ä*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. יָשְׁנָה); and that the *ō* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ā*.¹ In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātil* corresponds to the form *qātil*, and the part. *qātil* to *qōfel*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *ī*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלִים; פָּבֵר, constr. pl. פָּבְרִי).

- e** הוֹמִיךָ ψ 16^b, instead of the form *qōfel*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that הוֹמִיךָ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סָבִיב 2 K 8²¹), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of יָמַךְ. The form יָמַךְ in Is 29¹⁴, 38⁵ appears to stand for יָמַךְ, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יוֹכִיף Ec 1¹⁶) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be יוֹמַךְ; יוֹמְכִי 1 Ch 27³⁰, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבֵר (constr. state of אָבֵר), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32²⁸ (cf. moreover, § 65 d). On הוֹלֵם Is 41⁷ (for הוֹלֵם, see § 29 f).

- f** 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ul*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אֱמוּן *faithful*, Jer 15¹⁸, &c.; בְּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is 26³, ψ 112⁷; עָצוּם *strong*; שָׂכָר *drunken*, Is 51²¹; and even from transitive verbs, אֲחֻזָּה *handling*, Ct 3⁸; זָכוֹר *mindful*, ψ 103¹⁴; יָדוּעַ *knowing*, Is 53²; cf. § 84^a m.

¹ The constr. st. נָאֵם in the formula נָאֵם יְהוָה (the word (properly the whispering) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

² Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qātil-partizipium,' in ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff.

B. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.¹

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *a* prefix² to the stem. This exists in two forms: (a) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *ī*: נָקַטַל for original *nā-qāṭāl*, participle נִקְטֵל, infinitive absolute sometimes נִקְטֹל; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqāṭālā*), found in the imperfect יִקְטֹל for *yinqāṭēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary ה added, הִקְטֹל (for *hinqāṭēl*), and in the infinitive absolute הִקְטֹל. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the *b* prefixed *Nūn*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. נִלְחֵץ *to thrust oneself (against)*, נִשְׁמַר *to take heed to oneself*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּתֵּר *to hide oneself*, נִנָּאֵל *to redeem oneself*; cf. also נִעֲנֶה *to answer for oneself*. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; נָחַם *to trouble oneself*, נִנְחַם *to sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari)*; as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. דָּרַשׁ *to search, to inquire, Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of*, Is 65¹, Ez 14³, &c.; so the Niph. of מָצָא *to find*, יָסַר *to warn, to correct*, Jer 6⁸, 31¹⁸, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. דִּבֶּר *to speak, Niph. d* *to speak to one another*; שָׁפַט *to judge, Niph. to go to law with one another*; יָצַן *to counsel, Niph. to take counsel*, cf. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (βούλει), μάχεσθαι (μάχη), altercari, luctari (נִצָּח *to strive with one another*) *proeliari*.

(c) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *c* meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for one-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpa'el*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong *Niph'al* forms (81) and *Hithpa'el* forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert, 'L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu,' *REJ*, 41, 196 ff.

² See Philippi in *ZDMG*. 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.

self, e. g. **נִשְׂאֵל** to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20^{6,28}, Neh 13⁶), cf. αὐτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive¹ of *Qal*, e. g. **יָלַד** to bear, Niph. to be born; **קָבַר** to bury, Niph. to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e. g. **קָבַר** to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, Niph. to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* **בָּפַד**); **פָּתַר** *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (**חָלָה** *Qal* and Niph. to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, **נִזְכֵּר** to be born a male, Ex 34¹⁹ (from **זָכַר**; but probably **הִזְכֵּר** should here be read); **נִלְבַּב** *cordatum fieri*, Jb 11¹² (from **לָבַב** *cor*); doubtless also **נִבְנָה** to obtain children, Gn 16², 30³.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingātūlū*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form **נִזְאֵל** Is 59³, La 4¹⁴, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, **נִזְאֵל**, perf. Niph., and **נִזְאֵל**, perf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* **נִקְטֹל** is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as **קָטַל** to **קָטַל** in *Qal*, the *ā* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *ā*. Examples are, **נִקְטֹם** Gn 31²⁰; **נִלְחֹם** Ju 11²⁶; **נִשְׂאֵל** 1 S 20^{6,28}, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form **הִקְטֹל** (in connexion with imperfects) are, **הִקְטֹל** Jer 32⁴; **הִקְטֹל** Lv 7¹⁸; once **הִקְטֹל** Ez 14³, where, perhaps, the subsequent **הִקְטֹל** has led to the substitution of **הִ** for **הִ**.—Moreover, the form **הִקְטֹל** is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,² e. g. Ex 22³, Nu 15³¹, Dt 4²⁶, 1 K 20³⁰. On the other hand, **הִקְטֹל** should simply be read for the wholly abnormal **הִקְטֹל** ψ 68³ (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent **הִקְטֹל**, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings **הִקְטֹל** and **הִקְטֹל**).

¹ Cf. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the *Niph'al* (*Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and *qātūl*) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of *Niph.* and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

² But, like **הִקְטֹל**, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7⁹. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic **הִקְטֹל**), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּשָׁלוּ Pr l 24¹⁷ (for בְּהָפֵךְ), בְּהָרִיג Ez 26¹⁵ and בְּעֵטֶיךָ La 2¹¹; also in verbs לָהּ Ex 10⁸ (לְעֵנוֹת); 34²¹ and Is 1¹² (לְרִאיוֹת); in verbs עָוַר Jb 33³⁰ (לְאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *inf. Qal* of the *Kethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2¹¹, cf. ψ 61⁸.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּנָּמַל Gn 21⁸; cf. Ex 31¹⁷, 2 S 12¹⁵ (with final שׁ); 17²³ (with ק); Jon 1⁵ (with מ); see § 29 g. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּפְדְּרָנָה Is 65¹⁷; *Sere* occurs only in תִּעֲנֶנָּה Ru 1¹³, from עָנָה, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּעֲנֶנָּה; cf. even תִּחַמְנָה Is 60⁴.—With *Nūn paragodicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, יִכְדְּרוּ, תִּחַמְנוּ, &c., in pause יִבְהִלֻּן, יִשְׁמְרוּ, &c.; but Jb 19²¹ (cf. 24²⁴) יִחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *v*), or the imperative is followed in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ Gn 32²⁶), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghöl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. יִשְׁעַל בָּהּ Ez 33¹²; לֹא וַיַּעֲדֵר Gn 25²¹; in the imperative, 13⁹.—So always הִשְׁמָר לָךְ (since לָךְ counts as one syllable) Gn 24⁶, &c., cf. 1 S 19²; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּעֲזֹב אֶרֶץ Jb 18⁴ (but cf. וַיַּעֲזֹר אֶלְהִים 2 S 21¹⁴). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32²⁵, Ezr 8²³) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 consec., e.g. וַיִּשְׁפָּאֵר Gn 7²³; וַיִּלָּחֶם Nu 21¹ and frequently, וַיִּצְמָד 25³; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמָר Ex 23²¹, Jb 36²¹, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24⁸, 2 K 6⁹. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2¹² with *Silluq*, Ze 2¹¹ with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24⁴, &c.), see § 29 e, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, &c.

In the imperative, נִקְבְּצִי, for נִקְבְּצִי, with the rejection of the initial ה, occurs in Is 43⁹, and in Joel 4¹¹ in pause נִקְבְּצִי (cf. נִלְוִי Jer 50⁶); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה paragodicum) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21²³, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47²¹, 1 S 30¹⁵).

4. For the 1st sing. of the imperfect, the form אֶשְׁמַל is as frequent as אֶשְׁמַל p e.g. אֶשְׁמַל I shall be inquired of, Ez 14⁸; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21²⁴; cf. 16², Nu 23¹⁶, Ez 20³⁶, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶשְׁמַח I will avenge me, Is 1²⁴; cf. 1 S 12⁷, Ez 26², and in the impf. Niph. of פָּוַ' (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only י under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists in the strengthening α of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *a* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently ¹ this *a* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *a* before a final ר or ס has passed into *S^{ewa}hōl*, see below, *L*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. perfect, there arise forms like קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *a* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתִּי, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (קָטַל), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַל) the original *a* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *S^{ewa}* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattil*, participle *mūqattil*.

b The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *a* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

c Rem. 1. The preformative ה, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun ה *quis? quicumque* (fem. i. e. neuter, הָ, cf. § 85 e).

d 2. The Dageš forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 *d*) when the middle radical has *S^{ewa}* under it (cf. § 20 *m*), e. g. שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח Ez 17¹⁷; בָּקַשׁוּ 2 Ch 15¹⁶ (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 S 28⁷, &c.), and so always in הָלַל praise. The vocal character of the *S^{ewa}* under the *littera dagesse* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Hataph*, as in הָלַח Gn 22²³, with הָ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַל for פָּעַל, &c.; Gn 9¹⁴, Ju 16¹⁶. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *S^{ewa}* under the preformatives (*Hataph-Pathah* under ה in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26^{14f}).

e 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher² (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed perfects of *Pu'al* are in reality

¹ So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsk. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (ZDMG. 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

² As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ḥanāl (see above, § 3 *d*) in the *Kitāb el-luma'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participle,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *P^ual* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יָלַד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally Niph'al. Such *perfects* are the *quffal* form of the stems אָבֵל (*imperfect* הִתְאַבֵּל Is 1²⁰), חָפַשׁ, טָרַף, יָלַד, יָצַר, לָקַח, שָׂפַךְ, שָׁטַף, שָׁנַל, עָבַד, לָקַח. Barth (see below) adds to the list the apparent *P^ual-perfects* of אָמַר, בָּוֹז, זָנָה, כָּרַת, נָפַח, חָצַב, וָנָה, בָּוֹז, אָמַר, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרָה, הָרָג, יָשַׁר; קָרָא, מָרַט, מָרַץ, וָרַע, זָרַח [ורח], see § 67 *m*]; also the infinitives absolute הוֹרֶה וְהוֹנֶה Is 59¹⁸. In these cases there is no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic *ū* of the first syllable (cf. Arab. *qūtilla* as passive of *qātala*), and the *a* of the second syllable is in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39 *f*). Cf. § 52 *s* and § 53 *u*.

2. The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (cf. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical strengthened, § 8.4^b),¹ e. g. לָחַץ *to laugh*, Pi'el *to jest, to make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); שָׁאַל *to ask*, Pi'el *to beg*; hence when an action has reference to *many*, e. g. קָבַר *to bury* (a person) Gn 23⁴, Pi'el *to bury* (many) 1 K 11¹⁵, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other varieties of the *intensive* and *iterative* meaning are, e. g. פָּתַח *to open*, Pi'el *to loose*; סָפַר *to count*, Pi'el *to recount*: [cf. חִשַּׁב, פָּתַח, חָלַף, מְרַצֵּחַ, מֵאָהֶב; תִּפְּשׂוּ, חֲפֹשׂ, רָפֵא].

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in *urging* and *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Pi'el* has also—(b) a *causative* sense (like *Hiph'il*), e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, *Pi'el to teach*. It may often be turned by such phrases as *to permit to*, *to declare or hold as* (the *declarative Pi'el*), *to help to*, e.g. הֵיָה *to cause to live*, צִדֵּק *to declare innocent*, יָלַד *to help in child-bearing*.

(c) *Denominatives* (see § 38 b) are frequently formed in this conjugation, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e.g. *בָּנָה* *to make a nest, to nest* (from *בֵּן*), *עָפַר* *to throw dust, to dust* (from *עָפָר*),

¹ Analogous examples, in which the strengthening of a letter has likewise an intensive force, are such German words as *reichen*, *recken* (Eng. to reach, to rack); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken*: cf. *Strich* (a stroke), *Strecke* (a stretch); *wachen* from *wachen*; others, in which it has the causative sense, are *stechen*, *stecken*; *wachen* (*watch*), *wecken* (*wake*); *έλλάω* to bring to an end (cf. the stem *τέλω* to end, in *τέλος*, *τελέω*); *γεννάω* to beget, from the stem *γίνομαι* to come into being (cf. *γένος*).

לָקַח *to gather the clouds together* (from לָקַח), שָׁלַשׁ *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from שָׁלַשׁ); probably also דִּבֶּר *to speak*, from דִּבֶּר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'el*, cf. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, וָנֶבֶל prop. *to injure the tail* (וָנֶבֶל), hence *to rout the rear of an army, to attack it*; לָבַב *to ravish the heart*; דִּשְׁאֵן *to remove the ashes* (דִּשְׁאֵן), חָפַטָא *to free from sin* (חָפַטָא), שָׁבַר *to break any one's bones* (שָׁבַר); cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם *to lop the boughs*, Is 10³³ (from קָטַע *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. כָּלַל *to stone, to pelt with stones* (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and *to remove stones* (from a field), *to clear away stones*; cf. our *to stone*, used also in the sense of *taking out the stones* from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive (Pu'al)* follows naturally from the above, e.g. בָּקַשׁ Pi'el *to seek*, Pu'al *to be sought*.

i In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. גָּלָה, Pi'el *to uncover*, *Qal* *to reveal, also to emigrate*, i.e. *to make the land bare*.

lc Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. חָרַח in Pi'el *to be broken in pieces*, Jer 51⁶⁶; פָּחַד *to tremble*, Is 51¹³, Pr 28¹⁴; רָוָה *to be drunken*, Is 34^{5,7}; כָּעַט *to be few*, Ec 12²; but in Is 48⁸, 60¹¹ instead of the Pi'el of פָּתַח the Niph'al is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maggeph* (Ec 9¹⁵, 12²) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. גָּדַל Is 49²¹ with גָּדַל Jos 4¹⁴, Est 3¹; מָלַט Ez 33⁵ with מָלַט Ec 9¹⁵; קָצַץ 2 K 8¹⁶ with קָצַץ 129⁴; but *Qames* never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָבְצָה Mi 1⁷; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and שָׁפַרְתִּי), קָטְלָנוּ. In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבֶּר *to speak*, כָּפַר *to pardon*, and כָּבַשׁ *to wash clothes* (also כָּבַשׁ Gn 49¹¹) take *S'ghöl*, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, כָּפַר, כָּבַשׁ (2 S 19²⁶); the pausal form of כָּפַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41⁵¹, נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי *he made me forget*, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מִנְשָׁח.

n 2. In the imperfect (and *jussive* Ju 16²⁶), *infinitive*, and *imperative* Pi'el (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maggeph*, is usually shortened into *S'ghöl*, e.g. יִבְקֶשׁ-לִי *he seeks for himself*, Is 46²⁰; קָדַשְׁ-לִי *sanctify unto me*, Ex 13². Pausal-forms with *S'ghöl* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחֶקֶה Dt 32¹¹, אֶרְחֶם Ho 2⁹ (cf. Ex 32⁹ in the infinitive, and Gn 21⁹ in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the imperfect Pi'el has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ך), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Haſeph-Pathah*, under the preformative נ; אָרָה Lv 26³³, Ez 5¹², 12¹⁴ and וְאִסְעֶרֶם Ze 7¹⁴ (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ם (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. הַרְבֵּינוּ ψ 58² (but Gn 32²⁰ הַרְבֵּינוּ, cf. 2 K 6¹⁰, Dt 12³; so before *Silluq* ψ 58³, Jb 21¹¹ and even before *Zageph qafon* Dt 7⁵. Instead of הַרְבֵּינוּ, forms like הַרְבֵּינוּ are also found, e.g. Is 3¹⁰, 13¹⁸, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also הַרְבֵּנוּ ψ 55¹⁰ occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding הַרְבֵּנוּ) and קַרְב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37¹⁷.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of Pi'el has sometimes the special form קָטַל given in O the paradigm, e.g. יָפַר *castigando*, ψ 118¹⁸; cf. Ex 21¹⁹, 1 K 19¹⁰ (from a verb אָרָה); ψ 40² (from a verb לָהַךְ); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָטַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָטַל (with *ā* attenuated to *ī* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8⁵ שָׁלוּ; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָטַר Jer 44²¹; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12¹⁴ (נָאֵץ נֶאֱצָה). On the other hand, שָׁלַם Dt 32³⁵ and דָּבַר Jer 5¹³ are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵ (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1² (after תְּחִלָּתָהּ), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimhi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really *perfect* of Pi'el.

The *infinitive construct* Pi'el, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in p יָפַר Lv 26¹⁸; וְיָפַרָה ψ 147¹; with ך of the *fem.* before a suffix צִדְקָתָהּ Ez 16⁵². On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. Pa'il (קָטַלָהּ), see § 84^b e.

Instead of the abnormal מֵאִסְעֶרֶם (so Baer, Is 62⁹) as ptep. Pi'el, read מֵאִסְרֵם with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In Pu'al *ō* is sometimes found instead of *ū* in the initial syllable, e.g. q מֵאִסְרֵם dyed red, Ex 25⁵, &c., Na 2⁴, cf. 3⁷ שִׁדְרָה; Ez 16⁴, ψ 72²⁰, So¹¹. According to Baer's reading also in הַרְצָחָהּ ψ 62⁴, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali הַרְצָחָהּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ū* is written fully, e.g. יוֹלֵךְ Ju 18²⁰.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of Pu'al we find הִנָּב Gn 40¹⁵.—No instance of the *inf.* r constr. occurs in the strong verb in Pu'al; from לָהַךְ with suffix עָנוּתוֹ ψ 132¹.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle* Pu'al without the preformative (מְ), s e.g. אָבַל Ex 3²; יוֹלֵךְ (for מְיֹלֵךְ) Ju 13⁸; לָקַח 2 K 2¹⁰; סֹעֶרָה Is 54¹¹. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30²⁴, Ec 9¹² (where וּקְשִׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for יָקַ = מְיֹקַשׁ); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26¹⁷, since הִתְעַלָּה as *Mit'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18^{2,7} (but also מְאִשְׁשֶׁה); Pr 25¹⁹ (where, however, read מוֹעֲדָתָהּ); so also in the participle Pi'el מֵאֵץ Ex 7²⁷, 9² (always after אָם, but cf. also הַמְאִינִים Jer 13¹⁰, where, however, הַמְאִינִים = הַמְאִינִים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מְהַר Zp 1¹⁴ (and Is 81³?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבַל only occurs in Qal, they are *perfect participles* of former *passives* of Qal (see e), and in Jer 13¹⁰, 23³², *perfect participles* of Pi'el.—On מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45², see § 65 d.

§ 53. *Hiph'il and Hoph'al.*

a 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'il*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 i) in the perfect ה (with the *ā* attenuated to *i*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ā*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqtālā, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטִילָהּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ā* to *i*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic אִקְטִיל, beside הִקְטִיל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *i*,¹ —, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 g. Similarly in the infinitive construct הִקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יִקְטִיל and מִקְטִיל, which are syncopated from יִהְיֶה and מִהְיֶה; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtīl* and *muqtīl*) point to an original *i* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *i* to *ē* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see *m*); on הִקְטִילָהּ, הִקְטִילָהּ cf. § 26 p. On the return of the original *ā* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c., under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 f.

b In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ā* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטִיל or הִקְטִיל, *Imperf.* יִקְטִיל (syncopated from יִהְיֶה) or יִקְטִיל, *Part.* מִקְטִיל or מִקְטִיל (from מִהְיֶה); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטִיל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle* *Hiph'il*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ō* or *ū*.

c 2. The meaning of *Hiph'il* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e.g. הִנְיֹחַ to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדִּישׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e.g. הִדְרִיךְ to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָשָׂה, in *Hiph'il*, Jb 9³⁰, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'il* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 ce). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* occur side by side in the same sense, e.g. הִפְרִיחַ *perit*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

¹ This *i* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs יָעַ, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'il*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, ZAW. 1883, p. 52 f.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. *כָּבֵד* *gravem esse*, Pi'el to honour, Hiph'il to bring to honour, also to make heavy. Verbs which are intransitive in Qal simply become transitive in Hiph'il, e.g. *נָטַח* to bow oneself, Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Among the ideas expressed by the causative and transitive are included, *d* moreover, according to the Hebrew point of view (and that of the Semitic languages in general, especially Arabic), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the Hiph'il-form. To these inwardly transitive or intensive Hiph'ילים belong: (a) Hiph'il stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the Qal stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the Hiph'il.) Thus *אָהַל* *to be bright, to shine* (to give forth brightness); opposed to *חָשַׁךְ* to become dark; *נָבַר*, *חָזַק* to be strong (to develop strength), *עָמַף* to be weak; *אָרַף* to be long (to acquire length); *גָּבַהּ* to be high; *הָוּם* to be in tumult, *זָעַק* to cry out, *רָעַר* to make a noise, to exult; *חָלַף* to sprout (to put forth shoots), cf. *פָּרַח* to bloom, *עָרַף*, *שָׁקַף* to overflow; *חָרַשׁ*, *חָשָׂה*, *סָכַת*, *צָמַת* to be silent (*silentium facere*, Pliny); *מָתַק* to be sweet; *צָלַח* to have success; *שָׁפַל* to be low; *אָדַם* to become red, *לָבַן* to become white.

(b) Stems which express in Hiph'il the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: *אָמַן* to become firm, to trust in; *בָּאֵשׁ* to become stinking; *וָוַר* to become boiling, to boil over; *חָלַהּ* to become ill; *חָסַר* to come to want; *חָרָה* to become hot; *יָבַשׁ* to become dry, to become ashamed; *יָתַר* to attain superiority; *שָׁקַת*, *רָגַע*, *קָיַן* to become awake; *עָוַר*, *קָיַן* to become quiet; *שָׁמַם* to be astonished. The Hiph'il forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: *נָגַשׁ* to draw near; *קָרַב* to come near; *רָחַק* to withdraw far off (all these three are besides used as causatives); *קָדַם* to come before.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: *חָטָא* to err; *חָלַק* to flatter (to act smoothly); *יָטַב* to act well, to do good; *סָכַל* to act foolishly, *שָׁכַל* to act wisely; *עָרַם* to act craftily; *צָנַע* to act submissively; *רָעַע*, *רָשָׁע* to act wickedly, godlessly; *שָׁחַת*, *תָּעַב* to act corruptly, abominably; *שָׁלַם* to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.

Further, there are in Hiph'il a considerable number of denominatives which *g* express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives,¹ e.g. *אָצַר* to set over the treasury, Neh 13¹³ (unless *אֶצְרִיָּה* is to be read, as in Neh 7²); *בָּבַר* to bring forth a firstborn; *נָשַׁם* to cause to rain; *רָזַע* to produce seed; *יָמַן* (Hiph'il *הֵימָן*) to go to the right, cf. *הֵשִׁמָּאֵל* to go to the left; *פָּרַם* to get or to have hoofs; *קָרַן* to get or to have horns; *שָׁכַל* to produce abortion; *שָׁלַב* to become snow-white; *שָׁמַן* to grow fat; *שָׁרַשׁ* to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptation *הִאֲזִיחוּ* Is 19⁶, they have become stinking, from *אֲזִיחָה* stinking or stench, with retention of the N prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

¹ The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb *עָשָׂה* (to make), e.g. to make fat, for, to produce fat upon his body, Jb 15²⁷; to make fruit, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, Jb 14⁹, Ho 8⁷, cf. the Lat. *corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere*, and the Ital. *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אָזן (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; cf. לָשׁן to move the tongue, to slander, and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füßeln*, *näseln*, *schwänzel*; שָׁבַר to sell corn; שָׁכַם to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.] ?); opposed to הָעָרִיב.

h 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלַךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a *passive* of *Qal*, as נָקַם to *avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, *u*).

i Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ä*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *Šewä* (see *n* and *o*).

h 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הִקְרַשׁ Ju 17³; less frequently it takes *Yodh*, e.g. הִשְׁמִיר Am 9⁸; cf. Dt 15¹⁴, Is 59⁴, Jer 3¹⁵, 23³², 44²⁵, Jb 34³⁵, Ec 10¹⁰. With *N* instead of *h* (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁמֵּם Jer 25². Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Dt 32⁸ (Sam. בְּהִנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהִנְחִל), Jer 44^{19,20}, Pr 25², Jb 13⁸ (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֹׂה Dt 26¹² (which looks like an infinitive *Hiph'il* with elision of the *h*, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֹׂה, since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בָּעֲשֹׂר Neh 10³⁹ perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בָּעֲשֹׂר) was intended, as in 1 S 8^{15,17} (= to take the tithe). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הִקְטִיל the form הִקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הִשְׁמִיר to destroy, Dt 7²⁴, 28⁴⁸; cf. Lv 14⁴⁶, Jos 11¹⁴, Jer 50³⁴, 51³⁸ and הִקְצוּת Lv 14⁴⁸ from קָצָה; scarcely, however, Lv 7³⁵ (see § 155 *l*), 2 S 22¹ (ψ 18¹), 1 K 11¹⁶ (after *עַר*), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הִשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions¹; [cf. Driver on Dt 3⁸, 4¹⁵, 7²⁴, 28⁵⁵].

With *ä* in the second syllable there occurs הִזְכִּיר Ez 21²³ (cf. the substantival infin. הִזְכֵּר 1 S 15²³).—In the Aram. manner הִשְׁמַעוּת is found in Ez 24²⁸ (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11²³). On the elision of the *h* after prefixes, see *g*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 *g*) and *h*—*paragogic*, e.g. הִשְׁמִירָה attend to, נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה ψ 118²⁵, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not הוֹשִׁיעָה as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הוֹשִׁיעָה ibid. v. 25^b. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aṭṭi*) is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הַשִּׁיחַ make fat, and becomes *Š'ghöl* before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַשְׁכֵּן־נָא Jb 22²¹.—The form הִקְטִיל for הִקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94¹, Is 43⁸, Jer 17¹⁸ (cf. § 69 *v* and § 72 *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הִקְטִיל, e.g. 2 K 8⁶; cf. ψ 142⁵.—In La 5¹ הִבִּיטָה is required by the *Q^{re}* for הִבִּיט.

¹ As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. *Hiph.*, see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. p. 72 f.

4. In the *imperfect Hiph'il* the shorter form with *Sere* prevails for the jussive *72* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e.g. **אֶל-תַּגְדֵּל** *make not great*, Ob 12; **כִּיתֵּת** *let Him cut off!* ψ 12⁴; even incorrectly **תַּגְדֵּל** Ex 19⁸ and **יִגְדֵּל** Ec 10²⁰; cf. also **יִבְעֵר** Ex 22⁴, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 *h*, and **יִאָּכֵר** Jb 39²⁶ before the principal pause. Similarly, after *ו* consec., e.g. **וַיִּבְדֵּל** *and He divided*, Gn 1⁴. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e.g. **וַאֲשַׁכֵּיד** Am 2⁹ (but generally without *י*, as **וַאֲסַתֵּר** Ez 39^{23 f.}, &c.); cf. § 49 *e* and § 74 *l*, but also § 72 *aa*; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4⁸; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105²⁸. With *ā* in the principal pause **וְהוֹרֵר** Ru 2¹⁴, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49⁴; before a sibilant (see § 29 *g*) **וַיִּנֵּשׂ** Ju 6¹⁹; in the lesser pause **וַיִּנְקֶה** La 3⁵. Before *Maggeph* the *Sere* becomes *S'ghōl*, e.g. **וַיַּחֲקִיבוּ** Ju 19⁴. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms **יִקְטִילוּ**, **יִתְקַטְּלוּ**, even in the jussive and after *ו* consecutive, e.g. **וַיִּדְבְּקוּ** Ju 18²². The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S'edā*, are **וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ** Jer 9²; **וַיִּדְבְּקוּ** 1 S 14²², 31², 1 Ch 10²; **וַיַּעֲבִרוּ** Jer 11¹⁵; **וַאֲזַרְהָ** Neh 13¹³, if it is *Hiph'il* of **אָצַר**, but probably **וַאֲזַרְהָ** is to be read, as in 7²; perhaps also **תִּתְקַבְּרוּ** Jb 19⁸ (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17²⁰, 1 K 20³³, ψ 65¹⁰, and in Jb 9²⁰, unless the form be *Pi'el* = **וַיַּעֲקִשְׁנִי**, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yag'il*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. **יִשְׁלַח** Is 44²⁸), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 11¹¹ **תִּרְשָׁא**, with euphonic *Ga'ya* (see § 16 *h*).

5. In the *participle*, **מֹוֹצֵא** ψ 135⁷ appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *mag'il*; yet the *Sere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S'edā* (see above, *n*) in **מְהַלְכִים** Ze 3⁷ (probably, however, **מְהַלְכִים** should be read), also in **מְהַלְכִים** Jer 29⁸, **מַעֲזָרִים** 2 Ch 28²³ (but as *ם* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle *Qal* is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, *n*), and in the **מַחֲזִירִים** 1 Ch 15²⁴ &c. (where the *Kethibh* **מַחֲזִירִים** is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as **מַחֲזִירָה** Nu 5¹⁵, **מַשְׁבֵּתָה** Lv 14²¹; in pause **מַשְׁבֵּתָה** Pr 19¹⁴.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as **הִקְלַמְנִי** 1 S 25⁷; *p* cf. Gn 41²⁸, 2 K 17¹¹, Jer 29¹, Mi 6⁸, Jb 16⁷; with the original *ā* in the first syllable **וְהִרְאֵיתִי** Na 3⁵.—In **אֶחְלִיתִי** 1 I have stained, Is 63³, *ā* stands at the beginning instead of *h*, cf. above, *k*, on **אֶשְׁבִּים**. On the other hand, **וְהִתְאֵוִירָהוּ**

¹ Most probably, however, **נִאֲלַתִּי** (*perfect Pi'el*) is to be read, and the *ā* is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, **וְאִדְרַכְכֶם** and **וַיִּנֵּן** (instead of **וַיִּנְּן** and **וַיִּנֵּן**) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i.e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

amongst all the forms of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

§ 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*¹ is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *h* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*gattēl*, *gattal*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic הִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. 'et²). Like the preformative נִ (הִנֵּן) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al*^b (see *h*), *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'tel* and *Hithpalpel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ט, צ, or ש, the ה and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n¹), and at the same time the ה after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הִשְׁתַּמֵּר; הִשְׁתַּבֵּל to become burdensome, for הִשְׁתַּבֵּל; הִשְׁתַּבֵּר to justify oneself, from צָבַר. The only exception is in Jer 40³, הִתְשַׁבֵּר, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ה of the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. הִדְבֵּר speaking, conversing; הִדְבֵּס to be crushed, הִדְבֵּר to purify oneself, הִדְבֵּס to defile oneself, הִדְבֵּס to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Ju 19²².) The assimilation of the ה occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנָּבֵא to prophesy, as well as הִנָּבֵא (cf. Nu 24⁷, Ez 5¹³, Dn 11¹⁴); הִנָּבֵא Nu 21²⁷ (cf. Is 54¹⁴, ψ 59⁶); הִנָּבֵא Pr 26²⁶; with ש Ec 7¹⁶; with ר Is 33¹⁰.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under *b*, *d* when ה and י come together, as well as a change of ה to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִיָּבֵא Is 1¹⁰) the ה is assimilated to the י, —unless indeed הִיָּבֵא, imperative *Niph'al* of יָבַח, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (a) reflexive of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַוֵּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses to make oneself that which is predicated by the stem, to conduct oneself as such, to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to

¹ A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpa'el im Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

² So also in Hebrew הִתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20²⁵; cf. ψ 76⁶ (הִתְחַבֵּר).

affect to be of a certain character. E. g. הִתְגַּדַּל *to make oneself great, to act proudly*; הִתְחַכֵּם *to show oneself wise, crafty*; הִתְחַלֵּף *to pretend to be ill*; הִתְעַשֵּׂר *to make, i. e. to feign oneself rich*; הִשְׁתַּחֲרִי Nu 16¹³, *to make oneself a prince*; הִתְנַבֵּא 1 S 18¹⁰, *to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave*. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e. g. אָבַל *to mourn*, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses *reciprocal* action, like *Niphal*, § 51 d, e. g. הִתְרָאָה *to look upon one another*, Gn 42¹; cf. פָּ 41^s;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed *with regard to* or *for* oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niphal*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e. g. הִתְפָּרַק Ex 32² and הִתְנַצַּל Ex 33⁶ *to tear off from oneself*; הִתְפַּשֵּׁט *exuit sibi (vestem)*, הִתְפַּחַח *solvit sibi (vincula)*; הִצְמִיד Jos 9¹², *to take (something) as one's provision*; without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for oneself (ambulare)*; הִתְפַּלֵּל *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1¹⁵); הִתְחַקֵּה *to draw a line for oneself*, Job 13²⁷; on Is 14², see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it *passive*, e. g. הִיא תִּתְהַלֵּל Pr 31³⁰ *she shall be praised*; הִשְׁתַּחֲבִיחַ *to be forgotten*, Ec 8¹⁰, where the reflexive sense (*to bring oneself into oblivion*) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niphal*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: הִפְתָּא *to be defiled*, Dt 24⁴; infinitive הִכְבַּם *to be washed*, Lv 13^{55,56}; הִדְשִׁנָּה (for הִתְדַשְּׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) *it is made fit*, Is 34⁶. On הִתְפַּקְדוּ, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְנַחֵךְ *to embrace Judaism*, from יהודה (יְהוּדָה) *Judah*; הִצְמִיד *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צִידָה *provision for a journey* (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Piel*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in ל, ק, ט, פ) has retained the original *Pathah* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Piel*, to י and then lengthened to יֵי), e. g. הִתְאַפַּף Dt 4²¹, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13⁷, 15⁸; with י consecutive Is 8²¹; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. תִּתְחַכֵּם Ec 7¹⁶; cf. Dt 9^{8,18}, 1 S 3¹⁰, 2 S 10¹², 1 K 11⁹, Is 55², 58¹⁴, 64¹¹, ψ 55²; הִתְחַנֵּן 1 K 20³², ψ 37⁴, Est 5¹⁰; יִתְאַפֵּס 1 S 13¹².—In Lv 11⁴⁴, 20⁷ and Ez 38²³, י takes the place of א in the first syllable of the stem before ש (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before ל. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7¹⁶), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpa'al*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, § 55) the original א always returns in pause as *Qamez*, e. g. הִתְאַבֵּל ψ 93¹; יִתְאַבֵּל Ez 7²⁷; יִתְחַקֵּה Jb 18⁸; יִתְלַבֵּד 38⁸; יִתְחַבֵּד Jos 3⁶; cf. Jb 33⁶ and § 74 b.—The א also appears before the fuller ending יֵי in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in ψ 12⁹, Jb

9^s, 16¹⁰.—Like the *Pi'el* הִתְקַלְּהוּ (§ 52 n), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like הִתְקַלְּנָה Ze 6⁷; cf. Am 8¹³, and so in *Hithpo'el*, Jer 49³, Am 9¹³; with *e* only in La 4¹.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'el* הִתְקַלְּבוּ occurs in Dn 11²³ (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמָעוּ in Ez 24²⁰).

2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַלְּ (connected with *Pi'el*) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb קָרָה (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathah* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qames* in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְקַרְּרָה Ju 20^{15,17}, *imperfect* יִתְקַרְּרָה 20¹⁵, 21⁹. The corresponding passive form הִתְקַרְּרָה also occurs four times, Nu 1⁴⁷, 2²³, 26⁶², 1 K 20²⁷. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic 'Ithpe'el (Western Aramaic אִתְקַלְּ, Syr. אִתְקַלְּ) and the Ethiopic taqat'la, Arab. 'iqtatata, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'el* forms, the doubling of the *p* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the *n* transposed, occurs in הִלְתַּחֵם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלְתַּחֵם) in the inscription of the Moabite king Meša', with the meaning of the O. T. *Niph'al* נִלְחָם to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the *imperfect* with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּלְתַּחֵם; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, בְּהִלְתַּחֵמֹהּ in his fighting against me.

§ 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 g) some may be classed with *Pi'el*, others with *Hiph'il*. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the *n* of *Hiph'il*. Amongst the conjugations analogous to *Pi'el* are included the *passive* forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'el*.

The following conjugations are related to *Pi'el*, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Pō'el* קוּטַל, passive *Pō'al* קוּטַל, reflexive *Hithpō'el* הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. qātūlā, pass. qūtūlā, and conj. VI. reflexive tāqātūlā; *imperfect* יִקוּטַל, *participle* מְקוּטַל, *imperfect passive* יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ō* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: *participle* מְשַׁפְּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9¹⁵; מְלוֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101⁵ Keth. (The *Qere* requires מְלֹשְׁנִי mēlōšnā as Na 1³ וַיִּנְדְּלוּ they have poured out, ψ 77¹⁸ (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדְעָתִי I have appointed, 1 S 21³ (unless הוֹדְעָתִי should be read); יֹשֵׁעַר Ho 13³; נִשְׂרַשׁ to take root, passive

שָׁרֵשׁ, *denominative* from שָׁרַשׁ root (but יָרַשׁ to root out); in Hithpō'el הִתְנַשְׁעוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25¹⁶; imperf. 46⁸; from a verb שָׁרַח Is 10¹³. The participle מְנַחֵץ Is 52⁵ is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַחֵץ and מְנַחֵץ.

- c Po'el proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"ע § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative Pi'el) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing *aim* (Ziel-stamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9¹⁵, ψ 101⁵, and עוֹיֵן 1 S 18⁹ Q^{re} (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 52 s; § 55 f: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוּטֵל is connected the formation of quadriliterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 p, § 56).

- d 2. Pu'al, generally with the *ā* attenuated to *ī*=Pi'al¹ (Pi'al), קָטַל and קָטַל; the *ē* in the final syllable also arises from *ī*, and this again from *ā*; passive Pu'al קָטַל, reflexive Hithpu'al הִתְקַטַּל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'igtallū and xi. 'igtallū, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. שָׁאֵן to be at rest, רֶעֶנָּה to be green, passive אֲמַל to be withered, all of them found only in the perfect and with no corresponding Qal form. (For the barbarous form צִמְחָהֶיךָ ψ 88¹⁷ read צִמְחָהֶיךָ; for נִפְלַל Ez 28²³, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נִפְלַל. These forms are more common in verbs ו"ע, where they take the place of Pi'el and Hithpu'al (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e 3. Pa'al'al: קָטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָהַרְהָר to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38¹¹, from סָהַר to go about; passive הִמְסָרְהָר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16¹⁶, La 1²⁰, 2¹¹. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוֹצֵר (denom. from הִצְוֹצָרָה a trumpet, but only in the participle, 1 Ch 15²⁴ &c. K^{eth.}) by absorption of the first *r*, lengthening of *ā* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ā* to *ō*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֲהָבֵי הָבָה Ho 4¹⁸ (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֲהָבֵי הָבָה) read אֲהָבֵי, and for the equally meaningless יִפְּרִיֵּת ψ 45³ read יִפְּרִיֵּת. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K^{ethibh}. On the employment of Pa'al'al in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84^b n. Closely related to this form is—

- f 4. Pi'pel (pass. Pō'pal), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ע, and ע"ע, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גָּלַל=גָּלַל; reflexive הִתְגַּלַּל to roll oneself down; בָּלַל from בָּלַל, passive בָּלַל; cf. also טָאָטָא (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimhi; others טָאָטָא) Is 14²³, and with *ā* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, בָּרָרָר from בָּרָר Nu 24¹⁷ (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 45⁴⁵ בָּרָרָר) and Is 22⁵, in the participle; שָׁנָשָׁן Is 17¹¹ to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָלַע, the emended reading of Jb 39³⁰ instead of the impossible יִלְעָלַע; also

¹ Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pi'el in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

כִּאֲמָה Is 27⁸, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* כִּאֲמָה; perhaps also שִׁנָּה Ez 39³ for שִׁנָּה. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,¹ e.g. צִפְצָף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from נָרַר, עוּף, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpa'el* we find יִשְׁתַּקְשֹׁקֵן Na 2⁵; וְהִתְחַלְחַל Est 4¹; וְהִתְמַרְמַר Dn 8¹, 9¹¹. Of the same form is אֶדְדָּה Is 38¹⁵, if contracted from אֶתְדַּדְּהָ or אֶתְדִּירָה from the root דָּר or דִּי, and also הִתְמַחֲמָה tarry ye, Is 29⁹ (but read probably הִתְמַחֲמָה, (in pause) Gn 19¹⁸, &c., if it is to be derived from מָחָה, and not *Hithpa'el* from מָחָה.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

h

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el* ²): תִּקְטֹל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְגְּלִיתִי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from תָּגַל a foot?) Ho 11³; from a stem לָ"ה, the imperfect יִתְחַרַּר to contend with, Jer 12⁵; participle, 22¹⁵ (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְגֵּם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מִתְרַגֵּם Ezr 4⁷.

6. *Saph'el*: שִׁקְטֹל, frequent in Syriac, e.g. שִׁלְהָב from לָהַב to flame; whence *i* in Hebrew שִׁלְהָבֶת flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁבְלֹל a snail (unless it be from the stem שָׁבַל), and שִׁקְעוּרֹת hollow strakes, cf. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

* * *

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

k

7. קִטְלַט, passive קִטְלַט; as קִחְסַפּס peeled off, like scales, Ex 16¹⁴, from חָסַף, חָשַׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְטֹל, in וְרִיף a rain-storm, from רָף.

9. נִתְקַטֵּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew ³) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וְנִתְוַסְרוּ for וְנִתְוַסְרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23⁴⁸; נִבְכָּר probably an error for הִתְבַּכֵּר to be forgiven, Dt 21⁸. On נִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ Pr 27¹⁵, see § 75 x.

§ 56. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadriliteral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

¹ Cf. Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinno*, our *tick-tack*, *ding-dong*, and the German *vitruwarr*, *klingklang*. The repetition of the radical in verbs ע"ע also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, טָפַף to drip along. The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e.g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln*, *-ern*, e.g. *stimmern*, *trillern*, *tröpfeln*, to trickle.

² The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

³ [See Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: כָּרַסָּם, *imperfect* יִכְרַסְתָּנָה *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80¹⁴ from כָּרַס, cf. נָוָם. *Passive* הִתְפַּשׁ *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33²⁵. *Participle* מְכַרְבֵּל *girl, clothed* (cf. Aramaic כָּבַל *to bind*), 1 Ch 15²⁷. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals פָּרָשׁ Jb 26⁹, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from פָּרַשׁ *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to פֿ, and the second to י. Moreover, the reading פָּרָשׁ also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: הִשְׁמָאֵל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאֵל and הִשְׁמָאֵל *to turn to the left* (denom. from שָׂמַל Gn 13⁹, Is 30²¹, &c. On הִשְׁמָאֵל cf. § 53 p.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,² may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֹת the accusative sign (before a suffix אָתָּה, אַתָּה) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, קָטַלְתָּהּ or קָטַלְתָּ *he has killed him*. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.³ Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. *Niph'al* or *Hithpa'el* (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself*, not קִדְּשׁוֹ, which could only mean *he sanctified him*.⁴

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59-61).

¹ This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

² An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in ψ 109⁸ (since נִלְחָם is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is. 44²¹; with *Hithpa'el* Is 14² (הִתְנַחֵל *to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession*); cf. above, § 54 f, and § 117 w.

³ On the cases where אֹת is necessary, see § 117 e.

⁴ The exceptions in Jer 7¹⁶, Ez 34^{2,8,10} are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between אֹתָם (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5¹⁰ אֹתָם after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part II, in the *נביאים ראשונים*, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.', *AJSL.* xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

A.	B.	C.
To a form ending in a Vowel.	To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.	To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.
Sing. 1. com. אֲנִי	אֲנִי (in pause אֲנִי־)	אֲנִי me.
2. m. אֶנִּי	אֶנִּי (in pause אֶנִּי־ , also אֶנִּי־)	אֶנִּי thee.
f. אֵנִי	אֵנִי אֵנִי־ , rarely אֵנִי־	אֵנִי
3. m. הוּא , הוּ	הוּא , הוּ (הוּ)	הוּא him.
f. הִיא	הִיא	הִיא her.
Plur. 1. com. אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנֵנוּ us.
2. m. אֲנִיכֶם	אֲנִיכֶם	אֲנִיכֶם you (vos).
f. ¹		
3. m. הֵמָּה , הֵם	הֵמָּה (from הֵמָּה־), הֵם־	הֵמָּה (from הֵמָּה־) eos.
poet. הֵמָּה־	הֵמָּה־	הֵמָּה־
f. הֵנָּה	הֵנָּה , הֵנָּה־}	. . . . .¹ eas.

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes אֲנִי , אֶנִּי , הוּא , הִיא (and אֵנִי , when a long vowel in an open *c* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, אֲנִיכֶם and הֵמָּה always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הוּא , by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה , frequently gives rise to הוּ (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written הוּ , much less frequently הוֹ (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix הִיא should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as הִיא־ or הִיא־ , on the analogy of *āhā*; instead of הִיא־ , however, it was simply pronounced הִיא־ , with the rejection of the final vowel,

¹ According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, אֲנִיכֶם occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. אֲנִיכֶם occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.— הֵמָּה occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dt 32²⁶, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, הֵמָּה־ from הֵמָּה־ is to be read), while the forms הוּ (2nd f. pl.) and הוֹ and הוּ (3rd f. pl.), added by Qimhi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ך is consonantal; but the weakening to ךֿ is also found, see below, *g*.

- c* 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(a) One beginning with a consonant, as ךֿי, ךֿה, ךֿו (only after ך), ךֿנ, (ךֿה) ךֿ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. יִקְטִלְנִי; יִקְטִלְהוּ, for which by absorption of the ך we also get יִקְטִלְנִי, pronounced *qəṭaltū*; cf. § 8 *m*.

- f* (b) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*¹ (יִ, וִ, וִ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e.g. קָטַלְנִי, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם (on קָטַלְתָּ, the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. יִקְטִלְהוּ, יִקְטִלְתָּם; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form *i* also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from ךֿי (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With ךֿ, ךֿה, the connecting sound is only a vocal *šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus ךֿי, ךֿה, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ (qəṭaltā), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, ךֿי, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*a*) reappears as *Seghōl* with the tone ךֿי (also ךֿי, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final ך of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

- g* Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* and *pers. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ. Gn 27⁷, 1 K 18⁴⁴, &c., in *pause* also קָטַלְתָּ (see below, *i*); *fem.* קָטַלְתָּ, ψ 103⁴, 137⁶. Instead of the form קָטַלְתָּ, which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Ju 4²⁰, Ez 27²⁶), קָטַלְתָּ occurs as *fem.* Is 60⁹ (as *masc.* Dt 6¹⁷, 28⁴⁵, Is 30¹⁹, 55⁵ always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is 54⁶, Jer 23³⁷.—In the 3rd *masc.* קָטַלְתָּ Ex 32²⁵, Nu 23⁸; in the 3rd *fem.* קָטַלְתָּ without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2³, Jer 44¹⁰; Am 1¹¹, with

¹ We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd *pers. fem. sing.* קָטַלְתָּ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *qəṭlat-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *qəṭlat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *a*, *i*, as Prätorius (*ZDMG.* 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (*ibid.* p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs לָחַץ (לָחַץ = מָחַץ from *məḥāni*), in which the final *e* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the impf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly לְשֹׁמֵר .—The forms מִי , מִי , מִי occur 23 times, all in poetry¹ (except Ex 23³¹) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15¹⁰, 23³¹, ψ 73⁶; with the imperfect Ex 15⁵ (מִי for מִי), 15^{7,9,12,15,17,17}, ψ 2⁶, 21^{10,13}, 22⁵, 45¹⁷, 8c⁸, 14c¹⁰; with the imperative ψ 59^{12,12}, 83¹²]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on יִי and יִי as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48⁹ וַיִּבְרַךְ (cf. וַיִּבְרַךְ 1 Ch 14¹¹ according to Baer), יִי has lost the tone before *Maggeph* and so is shortened to יִי .—In Ez 44⁸ וַיִּשְׁמֹן is probably only an error for וַיִּשְׁמֹן .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g. יִי , יִי , יִי (*me*) with יִי (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (*אֲנִי* in *אֲנִי*, &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and sometimes intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable² (*ān*)³ is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *S^ghōl*. This is called the *Nūn energicum*⁴ (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32¹⁰ *bis*) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. וַיִּבְרַךְ *he will bless him* (ψ 72¹⁵, cf. Jer 5²²), וַיִּבְרַךְ Jer 22²⁴; וַיִּבְרַךְ *he will honour me* (ψ 50²³) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24¹³ וַיִּבְרַךְ . On examples like וַיִּבְרַךְ Gn 30⁶, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nūn* is assimilated to the following consonant (*נ*, *כ*), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so *ה*), and the *Nūn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

¹ Thus in ψ 2 מִי occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and יִי only twice.

² It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see *l*, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *REJ.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux . . .'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are יִי and יִי , but with *waw* consec. וַיִּי and וַיִּי or וַיִּי ; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always וַיִּי , וַיִּי , in the 1st pers. more often וַיִּי than וַיִּי , and always וַיִּי .

³ According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz. 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *in*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

⁴ So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

1st pers. נִּצַּח (even in pause, Jb 7¹⁴, &c.), נִּצַּחְךָ (for נִּצַּחְךָ , נִּצַּחְךָ).

2nd pers. נִּצַּחְךָ (Jer 22²⁴ in pause נִּצַּחְךָ) and, only orthographically different,

נִּצַּחְךָ (Is 10²⁴, Pr 2¹¹ in pause).

3rd pers. נִּצַּח (for נִּצַּחְךָ),¹ fem. נִּצַּחְךָ for נִּצַּחְךָ .

[1st pers. plur. נִּצַּחְנוּ (for נִּצַּחְנוּ), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nûn energetic does not occur.

lc Rem. The uncontracted forms with Nûn are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15², Dt 32¹⁰ [*bis*], Jer 5²², 22²⁴); they are never found in the 3rd fem. sing. and 1st plur. On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of נִּצַּח as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31¹⁵ [but read נִּצַּח and cf. § 72 cc], hardly in Ho 12⁶; cf. הִנֵּנוּ behold us, Gn 44¹⁸, 50¹⁸, Nu 14⁴⁰ for הִנֵּנוּ (instead of הִנֵּנוּ ; see § 20 m).— In Ez 4¹² the Masora requires הִנֵּנוּ , without Dagesh in the Nûn.

l That the forms with Nûn *energeticum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in *pause*. Apart from the verb, however, Nûn *energeticum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This Nûn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two *energetic moods* (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaghtulan-ka* or *yaghtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

§ 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz. :—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending נָ or נָ is used for נָ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides נָ we find נָ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with נָ .²

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem. נָ , the original form of נָ , appears; cf. נָ , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc. נָ for נָ . The only examples are Nu 20⁵, 21³, Ze 7⁵. The fem. נָ never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

b We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'il*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

¹ On נָ = נָ Nu 23¹⁸, see § 67 o.

² On the *ā* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. הקטיל	3. c. הקטילו
3. f. הקטילת	
2. m. הקטילת, הקטלת	2. m. הקטלתו
2. f. הקטילתי, הקטלתי	
1. c. הקטילתי	1. c. הקטילנו

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hiḥ'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see d).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see e) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (a) the *Qames* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Ṣewa*; (b) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the 3rd *sing. fem.* and 3rd *plur.* had become *Ṣewa*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc.* without a suffix) is lengthened to *e*, e.g. אֶהְבֵּיךָ 1 S 18²², Pr 19⁷.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— d

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. קטל	3. c. קטלו
3. f. קטלת (קטלת, see g)	
2. m. קטלת (קטלת, see h)	2. m. קטלתו
2. f. קטלתי (קטלת, see h)	
1. c. קטלתי	1. c. קטלנו

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Ṣere* in the *Perfect Pi'el* changes sometimes into *Ṣeḡhol*, and sometimes into vocal *Ṣewa*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶּם and הֶם, since they *c* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֵּן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶּם alone occurs, ψ 118²⁶. The form קטל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd *sing. masc.* before כֶּם and כֵּן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קטלֹה (especially in verbs לִיח; in the strong verb only in Jer 20¹⁵ in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קטלו, according to § 23 k; likewise in the 2nd *sing. masc.* קטלתֹה to קטלתו.—As a suffix of the 1st *sing.* קִי occurs several times with the 3rd *sing. masc. perf. Qal* of verbs לִיח, not only in *pause* (as קִינִי ψ 118⁵; קִינִי Pr 8²² with *D^ohi*), but even with a con-

junctive accent, as הָרָנִי Jb 30¹⁹; עָנִי 1 S 28¹⁵ (where, however, the reading עָנִי is also found). With a sharpened נַ : דָּנִי Gn 30⁶, יִסְרָנִי 1 S 18¹⁸.

g 3. The 3rd sing. fem. קָטְלָהּ (= קָטְלָה) has the twofold peculiarity that (a) the ending *ath* always takes the tone,¹ and consequently is joined to those suffixes which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, ךִּי, הִי, ךִּי, נִי), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58 f; (b) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz. הָיָה־הָ, e.g. אֲהַבְתִּיָּהּ she loves thee, Ru 4¹⁵, cf. Is 47¹⁰; שָׁנַבְתָּם she has stolen them, Gn 31³²; שָׂרַפְתָּם it burns them, Is 47¹⁴, Jos 2⁶, Ho 2¹⁴, ψ 45⁷. For הָיָה־הָ, הָיָה־הָ &c., in pause הָיָה־הָ is found, Jer 8²¹, ψ 69¹⁰, and הָיָה־הָ Ct 5⁶; and also without the pause for the sake of the assonance הָיָה־הָ, she was in travail with thee, ibid. The form קָטְלָהּ (e.g. Ru 4¹⁵) has arisen, through the loss of the ה־ and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נָה־הָ and נָה־הָ for נָה־הָ and נָה־הָ, cf. § 58 i), from the form קָטְלָהּ, which is also found even in pause אֲהַבְתִּיָּהּ 1 S 18²⁸; elsewhere it takes in pause the form קָטְלָהּ Is 59¹⁶; so קָטְלָהּ from קָטְלָהּ; cf. 1 S 1⁶, Is 34¹⁷, Jer 49²⁴, Ru 3⁶; in pause Ez 14¹⁵, always, on the authority of Qimhi, without *Mappiq* in the ה־, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the 2nd sing. masc. the form קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g. הָרַצְתָּנוּ בְּרִצְתָּנוּ thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down, ψ 60⁸; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form קָטַלְתָּנִי is used, e.g. חָקַרְתָּנִי ψ 139¹; in pause, however, with *Qames*, e.g. עֹבַדְתָּנִי ψ 22²; Ju 1¹⁵ (with *Zaqeph qaton*); but cf. also צָרַפְתָּנִי ψ 17³ with *Mer'kha*.—In the 2nd sing. fem. הָיָה־הָ is also written defectively, רָמִיתָנִי 1 S 19¹⁷, Ju 11²⁵, Jer 15¹⁰, Ct 4⁹. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the ordinary form הָיָה־הָ, viz. הָשַׁבְעָתָנוּ thou (fem.) dost adjure us, Ct 5⁹, Jos 21^{7,20}; cf. Jer 2²⁷, and, quite abnormally, with *Sere* הָוִירְתָּנוּ thou (fem.) didst let us down, Jos 21⁸, where הָוִירְתָּנוּ would be expected. In Is 8¹¹ יִסְרָנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

i 5. In verbs *middle ē*, the *ē* remains even before suffixes (see above, c), e.g. אֲהַבְתִּי Dt 15¹⁶, אֲהַבְתִּי 1 S 18²⁸, cf. 18²²; יִרְאֶהוּ Jb 37²⁴. From a verb *middle ō* there occurs יִבְלִיתִי I have prevailed against him, ψ 13⁵, from יָבַל with *ō* instead of *ē* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44 e).

§ 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a In those forms of the *imperfect* Qal, which have no affirmatives, the vowel *ō* of the second syllable mostly becomes — (simple *Šewā mobile*), sometimes —; thus in the principal pause, Nu 35²⁰, Is 27³, 62², Jer 31³³, Ez 35⁶, Ho 10¹⁰; before the principal pause, ψ 119³³; before a secondary pause, Ez 17²³; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos 23⁵. Before הָיָה־הָ,

¹ הָיָה־הָ Ct 8⁵ is an exception. כָּם would probably even here have the tone (see e); but no example of the kind occurs in the O.T. In Is 51³ the *imperfect* is used instead of the *perfect* with a suffix.

בָּם, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatuph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרוּךְ (but in pause יִשְׁמְרוּךְ or יִשְׁמְרוּךְ; with *Nān energicum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלוּ, the form תִּקְטְלוּ¹ is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes in three places: Jer 2¹⁹, Jb 19¹⁵, Ct 1⁶.

Rem. 1. יִחַבְּרֶךְ ψ 94²⁰ is an anomalous form for יִחַבְּרֶךְ (cf. the analogous יִחַבְּרֶךְ § 67 n) and יִפְגֹּשֶׁךְ (so Baer; others יִפְגֹּשֶׁךְ Gn 32¹⁸ for יִפְגֹּשֶׁךְ. To the same category as יִחַבְּרֶךְ belong also, according to the usual explanation, חַבְּרֶךְ (from חַבְּרֶךְ), Ex 20⁶, 23²⁴, Dt 5⁹, and נַעֲבֶךְ Dt 13⁸. As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *ō* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יִעֲבֹרְנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23²⁴ (on the analogy of which Dt 13⁸ was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have a in the second syllable of the imperfect, and imperative, *c* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiæ* and *mediæ gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the imperfect (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Ṣewā* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וַיִּלְכְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29¹⁴; וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ 3⁶ וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Jos 8² וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ ψ 145¹⁸; but יִקְרָאָהוּ Jer 23⁶, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ and וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּדְבַּרְנִי Gn 19¹⁰, cf. 29³², Ex 33³⁰, Nu 22³³, 1 K 22²⁴ *Qere*, Is 56³, Jb 9¹⁸; also נָתַן, Gn 27^{10,31}, Jb 7¹⁴, 6³⁴, 13²¹ (in principal pause); וַיִּפְרֹדֶה Gn 37³⁰, cf. 16⁷, 2 S 11²⁷, Is 26⁶, Jb 28²⁷, 1 Ch 20²; וַיִּפְרֹדֶה Is 63¹⁶ (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּדְבַּרְנִי Ex 29⁶, cf. 2¹⁷, Nu 21³⁰, Dt 7¹⁵, ψ 74⁸; even וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם 118¹⁰⁻¹²; וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Ex 2¹⁷, and וַיִּחַבְּרֶךְ Hb 2¹⁷ (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיִּחַבְּרֶךְ); even וַיִּדְבַּרְנִי (δ from *āhu*) Ho 8³; cf. Ex 22²⁰, Jos 2⁴ (but read וַיִּתְּנֶם); 1 S 18¹ *Keth.*, 21¹⁴ (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14⁶ (where read with the old versions וַיִּדְבַּרְנִי); Jer 23⁶ (see § 74 e), ψ 35⁸, Ec 4¹².—On pausal *Ṣeḡhol* for *Ṣere* in וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ Gn 48⁹ and וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ) Ju 16⁹, see § 29 g.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in *e*, viz. תִּדְבַּרְנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19²; וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶינָהּ (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60^{7,10}; Pr 5²² (i but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ with two other examples Pr 1²⁸, 8¹⁷, Ho 5¹⁵; cf. וַיִּנְכַּח ψ 63⁴, 9¹²; וַיִּנְכַּח Jer 5²²; וַיִּנְכַּח Jer 24⁴, all in principal pause. [See Büttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Pō'el*, the *Ṣere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; but before the suffixes תִּ and בָּם it is shortened to *Ṣeḡhol*, e.g. וַיִּבְרָךְ Dt 30⁴, ψ 34¹², Is 51³. With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Gn 32²⁷; also in Pr 4⁸, where with Qimḥi וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם is to be read, *ē* is

¹ This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 40¹, Ez 37⁷. In the latter passage וַיִּתְּנֶם is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּתְּנֶם, intended to suggest the reading וַיִּתְּנֶם, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצֻמוֹת.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is יִשְׁרָף Dt 32⁷. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g. אֶמְצִיכֶם Jb 16⁸, cf. Ex 31¹⁸, Is 1¹⁵, 52¹²; so in *Po'el*, Is 25¹, ψ 30², 37³⁴, 145¹, and probably also in *Qal* אֶסְפֶּךָ 1 S 15⁶; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g. תְּלַבֵּשֵׁנִי Jb 10¹¹ (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g. וְיַלְבִּישֶׁם Gn 3²¹ and often); but cf. above, f, Dt 32⁷. Forms like תַּעֲשִׁירֶנָּה *thou enrichest it*, ψ 65¹⁰, 1 S 17²⁵, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (*i*), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (*u*) is affixed to the affirmative *ʔ*, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending *u*; cf. וְיַמְלִיכֻם Gn 26¹⁸ (previously also with a perf. דִּמְלִיכֻם ; Gn 26¹⁸, 33¹³, Ex 2¹⁷ (where וַיִּשְׁעֶן occurs immediately after); 39^{18,20}, 1 S 6¹⁰ (where also בְּנִיחֶם is for בְּנִיחֶן , a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For יִהְיֶה Ze 11⁵ read perhaps יִהְיֶה with M. Lambert.

§ 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The *infinitive construct* of an *active verb* may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a *verbal suffix*, i.e. the *accusative* of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g. לִּדְרֹשֵׁנִי *to inquire of me*, Jer 37⁷. As a rule the infinitive (as a *noun*) takes *noun-suffixes* (in the *genitive*, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g. עָבְרִי *my passing by*; מָלְכִי *his reigning*, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qūl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūṭil*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following *Begadkephath* to be spirant, e.g. בְּכַתְּבוֹ *in his writing*, Jer 45¹; cf., however, הִפְּכִי Gn 19²¹; נִגְּבִי (so ed. Mant.; others נִגְּבִי) Ex 12²⁷; עֲצִבִי 1 Ch 4¹⁰; before ךָ and $\text{ם$ —also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. בְּאַחֲפֶךָ Ex 23¹⁶, Lv 23³⁹ (but in pause לְהַרְגֶךָ Gn 27⁴²), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form *qūl* generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form *qūl* (before a suffix *qūl* or *qūl*), § 84^a a; § 93 q.

b Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *o* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qūl* before suffixes, e.g. בְּבָנְדִי Ex 21⁸; מְכָרִי Am 2⁶ (but מְכָרָה Ex 21⁸), נִפְּלִי 2 S 1¹⁰ (but נִפְּלִי 1 S 29³), לִשְׁטִנִּי Ze 3¹, שִׁבְרִי Lv 26²⁶, Ez 30¹⁸ &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form *qūl* (§ 45 o) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also שִׁכְּבָה Gn 19^{38,39}—elsewhere שִׁכְּבָה and שִׁכְּבִי) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qūl*, as וְעָפָה Jon 1¹⁵ (and, with the syllable loosely closed,

פָּעַמָּה Ju 13²⁵), מִהֶאֱדָר and רָקַעַד Ez 25⁶; sometimes *qīl*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בִּמְחֶהָ, בִּלְעִי, בִּקְעָם, בִּפְנֵי, בִּתְחִי, בִּרְבִּיעָה. — Contrary to § 58 f נִי (1 Ch 12¹⁷) and נִי (Ex 14¹¹) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נִי. On מִרְדּוֹפִי *my following* ψ 38²¹ (but *Q^{re}* רִדְפִי), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 a.

2. With the suffixes הָ and כֶּם, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכַלְךָ *thy eating*, Gn 2¹⁷; אֲכַלְכֶּם Gn 3⁵; עֲמַדְךָ (others עֲמַדְךָ) Ob 11, i.e. with *ē* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קִצְרְכֶּם *your harvesting*, Lv 19⁹, 23²² (with retention of the original *ū*), and מִאֲסַבְכֶּם (read *mō'ās'khēm*) *your despising*, Is 30¹²; cf. Dt 20²; on בְּמִצְאֲכֶם Gn 32²⁰ (for בְּמִצְאֵי, see § 74 h. — Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energeticum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 i), as יִסְרְךָ Dt 4³⁰, cf. 23⁵, Jb 33²², all in principal pause.

Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִשְׁמַרְךָ Ex 14¹⁸; הִשְׁמַרְךָ Dt 28²⁰ (in *pause*, הִשְׁמַרְךָ verse 24); הִשְׁפִּיכְמוֹ ψ 37³³; הִזְכַּרְכֶּם Ez 21²⁰; הִשְׁמַרְכֶּם Dt 7²⁰. In the *infinitive* of *Piel* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 f) the *ē* before the suff. הָ, כֶּם, becomes *S^gghōl*, e.g. הִבְרַךְ Ex 4¹⁰, and with a sharpening to *i* הִבְרַשְׁכֶּם Is 1¹⁵ (see § 60 f). In the *infinitive Pöel*, הִבְשַׁכְכֶּם occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *i*) Am 5¹¹, but probably הִבְשַׁכְכֶּם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction כֶּ has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* שֶׁ.

2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before suffixes (קַטְלֵךְ) is due probably (see § 46 d) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūtūl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* is not followed by *Dageš lene*, e.g. קַתְּבֶם *kōthbhēm* (not *kōthbēm*), &c.¹ As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 d) and *infinitive* (see above, c), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e.g. קַתְּבֶה Is 30⁸; cf. 2 S 12²⁸. — The forms קַטְלֵי, קַטְלֵי, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קַטְלֵנָה, the masc. form (קַטְלֵי) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class *g* belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qames* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 c), e.g. שְׁלַחֲנִי *send me*, Is 6⁸; בְּהַנִּי ψ 26²; קְרֹאֲנִי ψ 50¹⁵; שְׁמַעֲנִי Gn 23⁸. In Am 9¹, בְּצַעַם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בְּצַעַם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בְּצַעֲמוֹ, as הִתְרַגְּתֶם Am 9⁴ from original הִתְרַגְּתֶמוֹ. — In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

¹ שְׁמַעֲנִי *šām'renī* required by the Masora in ψ 16¹ (also שְׁמַעֲנִי ψ 86³, 119¹⁰⁷; cf. Is 38¹⁴ and עֲמַדְךָ Ob 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 c and § 48 i note.

חֲקַטֵּל, but חֲקַטִּיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 g), e. g. חֲקַטִּילָהּ *present it*, Mal 1⁸.

h 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 f. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šwā* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל: קָטַלְתִּי, &c.; but before *Šwā mobile* קָטַלְתָּ, &c., or with the original *i*, קָטַלְתָּ Ex 23⁴, &c., קָטַלְתָּ 2 K 22²⁰ (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 S 15⁶; cf. § 68 h); with a middle guttural (קָטַלְתָּ), קָטַלְתָּ; with a third guttural, קָטַלְתָּ Is 43⁴, but קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ Jer 28¹⁶, cf. § 65 d. The form קָטַלְתָּ, with suffix קָטַלְתָּ; before *Šwā* sometimes like קָטַלְתָּ Is 48¹⁷, קָטַלְתָּ 51¹², sometimes like קָטַלְתָּ 52¹². In Is 47¹⁰ קָטַלְתָּ is irregular for קָטַלְתָּ; instead of the meaningless קָטַלְתָּ Jer 15¹⁰ read קָטַלְתָּ.

Also unusual (see above, d) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd *sing. masc.* with *energicum*, as קָטַלְתָּ Jb 5¹; cf. Dt 8⁶, 12^{14, 23}.

§ 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niph'al* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 h, 64 e). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִחַמֵּד, which elsewhere is attenuated to *i*, יִחַמֵּד.—In guttural verbs *א* and *ה* are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the *א* in some verbs *א"ב* (§ 68), in a few *א"ע* (§ 73 g), and in most *א"ל* (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the *א* was at least originally a full consonant, while the *ה* in verbs *ה"ל* was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal *ה* at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a *ר* also, according to § 22 g, r, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

Ho 3¹, אָחַז *seize thou*, Ex 4¹ (on אָפּוּ *bake ye*, Ex 16²³, see § 76 *d*); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אֲחַז, אֲכַל, אֲכַלְכֶם Is 5²⁴; אָחַב Ec 3⁸. Sometimes, however, *Hatafeph-Pathah* is found as well, e.g. infinitive אָחוּ 1 K 6⁸; אֲכַלְכֶם Nu 26¹⁰ (before a suffix אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲכַלְכֶם § 61 *d*); cf. Dt 7²⁰, 12²⁸, Ez 25⁸, ψ 102⁵, Pr 25⁷ (אֲכַלְכֶם), Jb 34¹⁸, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לָחֹסוּ Is 30²; לָחֹפֵר Jos 2²¹. (on Is 2²⁰, cf. § 84^b *n*); לָחֹתוֹת Is 30¹⁴, Hag 2¹⁶; קָחֶשֶׁב Ex 31⁴, &c.; לָעוֹר 2 S 18⁸ *Qere*, but also בָּעוֹר 1 Ch 15²⁶.

הִתְהַלֵּיתִי Ju 9^{9,11,18} is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *k* הִתְהַלֵּיתִי (Hiph'il), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of הִתְהַלֵּיתִי nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִתְהַלֵּיתִי. But the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *Sewa*, but to *Qames*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *a*) at least in a shortened form. The *Seghol* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 *n* (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e.g. in הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, § 35 *k*). For the accusative after הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, instead of the usual כֵּן, Jb 3¹⁷ affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this *i* cf. § 48 *i*) into *Seghol*, e.g. אֲסַפֶּה *gather thou*, Nu 11¹⁶; עֲרַכְהָ *set in order*, Jb 33⁵; חֲשֵׁפֵי *strip off*, Is 47² (on this irregular *Dages* cf. § 46 *d*), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e.g. אֲהַבֶּה Am 5¹⁵, ψ 31²⁴; cf. Zc 8¹⁰; אֲחַוֶּה Ct 2¹⁵; cf. also in verbs לִי, עָנִי *sing ye*, Nu 21¹⁷, ψ 147⁷ (compared with עָנִי *answer ye*, 1 S 12⁸) and אֲלִי Jo 1⁸.—*Pathah* occurs in חַבֵּלְהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20¹⁶, and probably also in ψ 9¹⁴ (חַבֵּלְהוּ).—As a pausal form for הִתְהַלֵּיתִי (cf. the *plur.* Jer 2¹²) we find in Is 44²⁷ הִתְהַלֵּיתִי (cf. the *imperf.* הִתְהַלֵּיתִי) with the *o* repeated in the form of a *Hatafeph-Qames*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 *h* and § 46 *e*.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the *imperfects* in *a* with *m* *Seghol* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e.g. יִתְהַלֵּלְכֶם *regularly* gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time *l*, e.g. יִזְוֶה, יִחַצֶה &c. (but cf. יִחַצֶה &c., יִחַצֶה Pr 6²⁷, יִחַצֶה ed. Mant., Ex 3²⁰). Even in the strong verb יִחַצֶה is found along with יִחַצֶה. Cf. also וַיַּעֲבֹד Ez 23⁵; וַיַּעֲבֹד Gn 27⁸⁶ (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲבֹד); וַיַּחֲלֹק Neh 9²², and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gn 49²⁸, &c.—תִּתְהַלֵּב Pr 1²² is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read תִּתְהַלֵּב with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בָּאֵר, נֶאֱבָר, § 93 t.—On יִחְבְּרֶה § 94²⁰ for יִחְבְּרֶה (according to Qimhi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 b.

- n יִנְאֵם § 8⁸ and יִנְעֹם to deal subtilly, 1 S 23²², Pr 15⁵, 19²⁵, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*, 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 i),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים § 83⁴.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיִּחְלֶקֶם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24³) 1 Ch 23⁶ and וַיִּחַ 24³ (partly analogous to תַּעֲבֹדֶם § 60 b) the Qal וַיִּחְלֶקֶם is to be read. The form יִרְדֶּה § 7⁸ which is, according to Qimhi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal (יִרְדֶּה) and *Pi'el* (יִרְדֶּה), can only be understood as a development of יִרְדֶּה (cf. § 64 h on יִצְחָק, and § 69 x on תַּחֲלֶה Ex 9²³, § 73⁹). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שִׁמְעָה § 28 e, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יִרְדֶּה (impf. Qal) and יִרְדֶּה (impf. *Pi'el*).

II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- o 3. The above-mentioned (f, 3) change of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ to $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e.g. הֵעֲבִירָהּ, but הֵעֲבִירָהּ Nu 3⁶, 8¹³, 27¹⁹, הֵעֲבִירָהּ, but הֵעֲבִירָהּ Jer 15¹⁴, Ez 20³⁷; even in the 3rd sing. וַיִּהְיֶינָה § 77².—On the contrary $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ occurs instead of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49^{8,30}; and in the infinitive Jer 31³². The preformative of עָתָר in *Hiph'il* always takes a in a closed syllable: Ex 8⁴ הֵעֲבִירוּ; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22²⁷.

- p 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ is sometimes changed into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$, and in *Hoph'al* $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ into $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ (cf. § 23 h); הֵעֲבִירָהּ Jos 7⁷, הֵעֲלָה Hb 1¹⁵, הֵעֲלָה Ju 6²⁸, 2 Ch 20³⁴, Na 2⁸, always before *y*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הֵ or הֵ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (אֶעֱמֹד) see § 64 c. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qāl*; cf. § 93 g, and (on אֶמֶן &c. for אֶמֶן) § 84^a g.—In the imperfect consecutive בֹּרַח הַיָּחִיד the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* תַּעֲבֹדֶם Ex 20⁵, &c., see § 60 b.

III. הָיָה and חָיָה.

- q 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal הָיָה and חָיָה, *Niph'al* נִהְיָה but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הָיָה (2nd plur. הָיִיתֶם Jos 2¹³, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 8¹⁹). Initial ה always has *Hateph-Seghol* instead of vocal *Segol*; הָיָה, הָיִיתֶם, 1 S 23⁷, הָיִיתֶם (except הָיִי be thou! fem. Gn 24⁶⁰). The 2nd sing. fem. imperative of חָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16⁶; the infinitive, with suffix, חַיִּיתֶם Jos 5⁸. After the prefixes ה, כ, ב, ל, מ (= מן) both ה and ח retain the simple *Segol* (§ 28 b) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Segol*; hence in the perfect Qal הָיִיתֶם, imperative חַיִּיתֶם, infinitive לְחַיֵּיתָ &c. (cf. § 16 f, e). The only exception is the 2nd sing. masc. of the imperative after *wāw*; וְחַיֵּה Gn 12², &c., וְחַיֵּה Gn 20⁷.

§ 64. *Verbs Middle Guttural*, e.g. שָׁחַט *to slaughter*.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following¹:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *S^ewa*, it necessarily takes a *Ḥateph*, and almost always *Ḥateph-Pathah*, e.g. *perfect* שָׁחַט, *imperfect* יִשְׁחַט, *imperative Niph'al* הִשְׁחַט. In the *imperative Qal*, before the affirmatives *i* and *u*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Ḥateph-Pathah*, thus, וְשַׁחֲטֵה, וְשַׁחֲטֵה, &c.; in אֶשְׁחַט the preference of the *א* for *S^eghol* (but cf. also אֶשְׁחַט Jer 13²¹) has caused the change from *a* to *e*; in שְׁחַטְוּ Jb 6²², even *e* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. לְשַׁחֲטָה *to love*, לְשַׁחֲטָה *to pine*; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְשַׁחֲטָה Is 9⁶; the doubtful form שְׁחַטְהוּ Ho 5², is better explained as *infinitive Piel* (= שְׁחַתְהוּ).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal* שְׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* וְשַׁחֲטָה and וְשַׁחֲטָה, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Piel*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם *he fights*, יִנַּחֵם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *S^eghol* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as וְיִלָּחֵם, וְיִנַּחֵם Gn 41⁸ (cf., however, וְיִנַּחֵם 1 K 12⁶, &c. But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שְׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְשַׁחֲטֵה, וְשַׁחֲטֵה; with *suffixes* (according to § 60 *c*), *imperative* וְשַׁחֲטֵה, *imperfect* וְשַׁחֲטֵה.

With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are נָעַל 2 S 13¹⁷; *c* וְנָעַל Ex 4⁴, 2 S 2²¹, *fem.* וְנָעַל Ru 3¹⁵ (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Ḥateph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* וְנָעַל Neh 7³; without the *pause* וְנָעַל Ct 2¹⁵); קָעַר Ju 19³.² Finally וְעָמַח for וְעָמַח, Nu 23⁷, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the *imperfects* in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as וְיָנַח, וְיָנַח Lv 5¹⁵, Nu 5²⁷ (but וְיָנַח 2 Ch 26¹⁶); cf. וְיָנַח Ez 16³⁸; וְיָנַח Jb 35⁶. Also in the *perfect Piel*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נָחַם *to comfort* (cf., however, נָחַם, נָחַם, נָחַם);

¹ *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

² Also Ju 19⁵ (where Qimhi would read *s^ead*), read *s^ead*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for Metheg, cf. § 9 *u* (*c*) and § 16 *b*.

but *א* and *י* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

d 3. In *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before *ח*, *ה*, and *י*, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e. g. *Pi'el* שָׁחַק נֶחְלִי Jos 14¹, יִבְעֲרֵתִי 1 K 14¹⁰, נָהַג Ex 10¹³ (cf., however, יִבְהֵל Gn 34¹⁹; גִּלְתָּהּ Ex 15¹³, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִבְהֵל, &c.; in verbs לָחַד, e. g. רָעָה), *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּוָה ψ 36¹³ from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן¹ Ez 21¹⁸, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵץ Jb 9²⁰); *Hithpa'el perfect* and *imperative* הִפְתְּרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 g, 29 v, 54 k) הִפְתְּרוּ Nu 8⁷, 2 Ch 30¹⁸; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23¹⁸, &c.

e The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with *ר* (קָרָה Ez 16⁴ is an exception; פָּרַחַח also occurs, Ju 6²⁸), e. g. בָּרַךְ (in *pause* בָּרַךְ, *imperfect* יִבְרַךְ, *Pu'al* בִּרַךְ. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאֵר, גָּאֵל, מָאֵן, פָּאֵר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאֵשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאָה (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29²³) to commit adultery, נִאָּן to despise (in the *participle*, Nu 14²³, Is 60¹⁴, Jer 23¹⁷; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* נִאָּן ψ 74¹⁰), נִאָּר to abhor La 2⁷ (also נִאָּרְתָּה ψ 89⁴⁰) and נִאָּל ψ 109¹⁰; moreover, in the *infinitive* נִאָּשׁ Ec 2²⁰, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Jb 33²¹, cf. § 14 d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׁאַל to ask, to beg, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Sere* when the vowel of the *א* stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׁאַלָה Gn 32¹⁸, Ju 4²⁰; שָׁאַלְתִּי ψ 137³; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 S 12¹³, 25⁵, Jb 21²⁹; שָׁאַלְתִּיהוּ Ju 13⁶, 1 S 1⁵⁰. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hithpa'el*-form הִשְׁאֲלִיתִיהוּ 1 S 1²⁸ the *א* is merely attenuated from *ā*.

g 2. In *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Sere* of the ultima to be shortened to *Seghōl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e. g. לְשִׁרְחָ שָׁם to minister there, Dt 17¹², even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39¹⁴, Jb 8¹⁸ (see § 29 g). (b) after *two consecutive*, e. g. וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed, Gn 1²² and frequently, וַיִּדְרֹשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10¹¹, וַיִּתְחַפֵּץ Dn 2¹.

¹ בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimhi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21⁶ *h* (elsewhere יִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 g (c) and § 63 n); יִצְחָק Gn 32⁵ (for יִצְחָק); in the *perfect Piel* אֶחָדָה Ju 5²⁸ (perhaps primarily for אֶחָדָה); according to Gn 34¹⁹ אֶחָדָה would be expected), and similarly יִתְחַנֵּן ψ 51⁷ for יִתְחַנֵּן; in the *imperative Piel* קַרְבַּ Ez 37¹⁷ (cf. above, § 52 n); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הִרְחַק Jb 13²¹ and הִמְעַד ψ 69²⁴, in both cases probably influenced by the closing consonant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 q); without the *pause* הִרְחַק Pr 4²⁴, &c.; but also הִנְחַת Jo 4¹¹.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׁ Ezr 8¹, &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתַיַּחֵשׁ Neh 7⁶⁴; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׁ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וְנִאֲשָׂא Ez 9⁸ (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשְׂאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׂאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְנִאֲשָׂא (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְרוּ Is 44¹⁸ (also יִתְאַרְרוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Piel* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *o* for יִתְאַרְרוּ; cf. § 55 b מִלְּשֵׁנִי ψ 101⁵ *Qere*; on the other hand Qimhi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Piel*, with an irregular *o* for *u*, as in the reading אֶלְקִטָּה Ru 2²⁷; cf. § 10 h.

5. A few examples in which *h*, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 g.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.¹

1. According to § 22 d, when the last syllable has a vowel incommensurable with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* (§ 25 b) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלַח, *part. pass.* שְׁלֵיחַ, *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלַח is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58⁹, and שְׁלַח Nu 20³. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלַחָה Gn 35¹; שְׁלַחָה Nu 35¹⁹; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18²³, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ā* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ō*, originally *ā*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus שְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes שְׁלַחָה, שְׁלַחָה, see § 60 c.

¹ Verbs שָׁלַח in which the *h* is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. שָׁלַח to be high, שָׁלַח to be astonished, שָׁלַח (only in *Hithpa'el*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלח Jer 5⁷, Keth. (אסלח Qth); in the *imperative* טבח Gn 43¹⁶. On such cases as אשעה Is 27⁴, cf. § 10 h.

c (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with *ē* and *ā*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e.:—

d Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle* Qal, P^{er}el and Hithpa^{er}el, the forms שלח (with suff. שלחי, but שלחך), משלח (with suff. משלחך), and משתמע are used exclusively; except in verbs ליע where we find, in close connexion, also שמע ψ 94⁹, רנע Is 51¹⁵, Jer 31³⁵, רנע Is 42⁶, 44²⁴, רוקע ψ 136⁶, שמע Lv 11⁷, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu^{er}al is מרבע Ez 45² according to the best authorities (Kittel מרבע).

e 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf. Niph'al*, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. P^{er}el* the (probably more original) form with *ā* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē* in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e.g. with D^{hi} ψ 86⁴ in the *imperative* P^{er}el; with Tiph^{ka} 1 K 12³² in the *infinitive* P^{er}el; Jer 45¹ *imperfect* Hithpa^{er}el; Jer 16⁶ *imperfect* Niph'al), cf. e.g. יפרע Nu 27⁴, with יפרע 36³; וישבע Dt 1³⁴, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* Niph'al השבע Nu 30³ (elsewhere השבע Jer 7⁹, 12¹⁶ twice, in each case without the pause); תבקע Hb 3⁹, with תבקע Ez 13¹¹; פלע to devour Hb 1¹³, Nu 4²⁰ with פלע La 2⁸; for *infinitive* Hithpa^{er}el, cf. Is 28²⁰. The *infinitive absolute* P^{er}el has the form שלח Dt 22⁷, 1 K 11²²; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always שלח except לשלח Ex 10⁴.—יבחר Hb 1¹⁶ has ē, though not in *pause*, and even יבחר 2 K 16⁴, 2 Ch 28⁴; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative* Niph'al האבח Ez 21¹¹; *jussive* P^{er}el תאחר ψ 40¹⁸; cf. § 52 n. An example of *ā* in the *imperative* P^{er}el under the influence of a final ך is בחר- Jb 36², in the *imperfect* Niph'al ותעצר Nu 17¹³, &c.—In יפרח Jb 14⁹ (cf. ψ 92¹⁴, Pr 14¹¹), Barth (see above, § 63 n) finds an *i-imperfect* of Qal, since the intransitive meaning is only found in Qal.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of Hiph'il which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e.g. הוצלח prosper thou, יבטח let him make to trust, ויצמח and he made to grow (so in Hithpa^{er}el ותמחה, &c., Hb 2³); even in *pause* ויצלח 1 Ch 29²³, and, with the best authorities, ויוצח 1 Ch 12¹⁷; וישעבם Is 35⁴ is perhaps to be emended into וישע (='ושיע').—In the *infinitive absolute* Sere remains, e.g. הגבה to make high; as *infinitive construct* הגבה also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6²⁵); on הוצע as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25^{26, 33}), cf. § 53 h.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent* S^{wa} stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e.g. שלחתי, שלחתי. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the S^{wa}, שבתה Jer 13²⁵ (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14³, לקחת, is to be read, not לקחת.

h Rem. The soft combination with compound S^{wa} occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e.g. ידענוך we know thee, Ho 8² (cf. Gn 26²⁹, ψ 44¹⁸, 132⁶). Before the suffixes ך and כם, the guttural must have ך, e.g. אשלחך I will send thee, 1 S 16¹; ואשלחך Gn 31²⁷; אשמיעך Jer 18².

On the weak verbs ל, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.¹

§ 66. *Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn* (נ), e.g. נָשַׁב to approach.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* *a* in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the triliteral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (*a*) in the *infinitive construct*. This *b* occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נָשַׁב, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* properly נִשְׁבֵּחַ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי²; with *suffix* נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי Gn 33³; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי to touch, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי (also נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי, see below); נִשְׁבַּח to plant, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי (also נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי, see below); on the verb נָתַן to give, see especially *h* and *i*. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *o* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָפַל to fall, *imperfect* נִפְּלָה, *infinitive* נִפְּלָה, with *suffix* נִפְּלָה, also נִפְּלָה; לָנִדָּר Nu 6², &c.; cf., moreover, לָנִדָּר Gn 20⁶, &c., נִדָּר Ex 19¹² (even לָנִדָּר Jb 6⁷; cf. Jer 1¹⁰); with *suffix* נִדָּרְתִּי Lv 15²³. Also נִדָּר Is 5¹⁶ (but לָנִדָּר Ec 3²); נִשָּׂא Is 1¹⁴, 18³; with *suffix* נִשָּׂאְתִּי ψ 28² (elsewhere נִשָּׂאְתִּי, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), לָנִשְׁקָר 2 S 20⁹.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs *c* with *a* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָשַׁב, *imperative* נִשְׁבֵּחַ (more frequently with *paragogic* *ā*, נִשְׁבַּח; before *Maqqeph* also נִשְׁבֵּחַ Gn 19⁹), *plur.* נִשְׁבַּחוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō*, נִשְׁבֵּחַ Ru 2¹⁴ (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29 e, before נִשְׁבַּח) and נִשְׁבֵּחַ Jos 3⁹ (before נִשְׁבַּח), 1 S 14³³ (before נִשְׁבַּח) and 2 Ch 29³¹; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִשְׁבַּח drive, 2 K 4²⁴ (*imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִשְׁבַּח 2 K 19²⁹, Is 37³⁰, Jer 29^{5.28}; cf. also the verbs נִלָּח, which are at the same time נִלָּח Ez 32¹⁸, נִלָּח Ex 32³⁴, נִלָּח Ex 8¹, &c.; the verb נִלָּח נִשְׁבַּח ψ 10¹² (usually נִשְׁבַּח); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נִצָּר, נִתֵּן, &c.

¹ Cf. the summary, § 41.

² The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).

d 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,¹ e.g. יִפֹּל for *yinpāl*, *he will fall*; שִׁי for *yingaš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, *he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)²; also in the *perfect Niph'al* נִיגַשׁ for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִגִּישׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbus*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) הִגִּישׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

e The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a *preformative* is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פָּחַד (§ 71), and even in verbs עָוָה (§ 67). The *infinitive* וְעָוָה and the *imperative* עָוֹה, also וְעָוָה (Gn 19⁹) and וְעָוָה, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פָּחַד (§ 69).—On יָקַח, קָח, and קָחָה, from לָקַח *to take*, see *g*.—In יָקַח (imperfect *Niph'al* of קָח), and in similar forms of verbs עָוָה (§ 72), the *full* writing of the *ō* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָח, &c.—Also אָסַף (ψ 139⁸) is not to be derived from אָסַף, but stands for אָסַף (with a sharpening of the *ā* as compensation for the loss of the *l*), from אָסַף *to ascend*, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשְׁקִי Ez 39⁹, יִשְׁקִי Is 44¹⁵, and the *Niph'al* הִשְׁקָה ψ 78²¹ are most probably from a stem שָׁקַל, not שָׁקַל.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e.g. יָנַח, imperfect יִנַּח Jer 3⁵ (elsewhere יָנַח); also from יָנַח the pausal form is always יִנַּח (without the *pause* יָנַח Pr 20²⁸); similarly in Is 29¹, 58⁸, ψ 61⁸, 68⁸ (where, however, יָנַח is intended), 140^{2,5}, Pr 2¹¹, Jb 40²¹, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* הִנַּחַת ψ 68⁸, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e.g. לָהֲנִיחַ Ez 22²⁰, הִנַּחַת Ju 20³¹; for לָהֲנִיחַ Nu 5²² read לָהֲנִיחַ, according to § 53 q. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e.g. יָנַח *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יָנַח (also יָנַח) *he will descend*, Jer 21¹⁸ (even יָנַח Pr 17¹⁰; without apparent reason accented as *Mi'el*, plur. יָנַחוּ Jb 21¹⁸ (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יָנַח and יָנַחוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from יָנַח); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נָחַם *he has grieved*.

g 2. The *l* of לָקַח *to take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פָּחַד (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יָקַח, cohortative (§ 20 m) יָקַחָה, imperative קָח, in *pause* and

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פָּחַד, פָּחַד, פָּחַד, פָּחַד' in the *REV.* xxvii. 136 ff.

² An *imperfect* in *a* (יָנַח) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before *suffixes* קָח (on נָחַם-קָח Gn 48⁹, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָחָה; קָחִי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29¹, Ez 37¹⁶, Pr 20¹⁶, לָקַחִי 1 K 17¹¹, perhaps a mistake for קָחִי לָקַח, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַת (once קָחַת 2 K 12⁹, cf. § 93 h); with לְ, לְקַחַת; with *suffix* קָחָתִי *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּח. — The meaningless form קָח Ez 17⁵ is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַם Ho 11³ read יִקַּחְהֶם.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in a, is the only example of a *h* verb נ"ח with *imperfect* in נ (יִתֵּן for *yintēn*; יִתֵּן¹ only in Ju 16⁹, elsewhere before *Magqeph* יִתֵּן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* יֵתֵן or (very frequently) הֵתֵן (but in ψ 8² the very strange reading הֵתֵן is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נִתְּנָה); before *Magqeph* יִתֵּן, *sem.* יִתֵּן, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nûn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נִתְּנָתִי for *nātkānti*; נִתְּנָתִי or, very frequently, נִתְּנָתִי, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nûn* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נִתְּנָתִי Lv 26²⁶, Ezr 9⁷.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* i (as נִתְּנָתִי from נִתְּנָתִי), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תִּת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 201; but with suffixes הֵתֵנִי, הֵתֵנִי, &c.; before *Magqeph* with the prefix לְ = לְתִת, e. g. Ex 5²¹, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15⁷. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Nu 20²¹ and יִתֵּן Gn 38⁹; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לְתִת 1 K 6¹⁹ read either לְתִתִּי or simply לְתִת, just as the *Q'ré*, 1 K 17¹⁴, requires תִּת for תִּתִּי.

In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e. g. נִשְׁכַּנְתִּי, cf. § 19 c and § 44 n. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in נִתְּנָתִי (for נִתְּנָתִי) 2 S 22⁴¹, cf. § 19 i. — On the *passive imperfect* יִתֵּן, cf. § 53 u.

§ 67. *Verbs v"y*, e. g. סָבַב *to surround*.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only *a* two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs *v"y*. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

¹ P. Haupt on Ju 16⁹ in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *indālin*, *ināmdān*) from *nadānu* = נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.¹ The appearance of a general contraction of trilateral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 b and q. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of trilateral forms.

The development of biliteral to trilateral stems (ע"ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of transitive verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e.g. קָבַב, קָבְבָה, קָבְבִי : קָבַב Gn 33^b (but with suffix קָבַבְנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to make strait, צָר to be in a strait; see further details, including the exceptions, in aa. The development of the stem takes place (a) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e.g. שָׁרַר, שָׁרָר), and (b) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, קָבַב, קָבְבָה, קָבְבִי, in Pó'el and Pó'al, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבְבָה, סוֹבְבִי.

b 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the *second* and *third* radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 b), e.g. קָבַב answering to קָבַל to the ground-form *qāḇālāt*, e.g. קָבַב to the ground-form *qāḇālā*; *infinitive*, קָבַל to *qāḇālā*.

c 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under a), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 l) in the final consonant of the word, e.g. קָבַב, not קָבַב, but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e.g. קָבַבְנִי, קָבַבְתִּי, &c.

d 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is ו, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* '־, e.g. קָבַבְנִי, קָבַבְתִּי, *imperfect* קָבַבְתִּי (for *sabb-tā, sabb-nā, tasöbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

¹ So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 b, c; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.¹

The *perfect* תָּמַנְו (for תָּמַנְוּ) Nu 17²⁸, ψ 64⁷ (Jer 44¹⁸ תָּמַנְו with *Silluq*), owing *e* to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs תָּמַנְו (cf. תָּמַנְו from תָּמַנְו).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִכַּב for *yā-sēb*, *imperative* כַּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *z*, either the original *ā* (from which the *z* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִכַּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sēb*, or the *z* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִכַּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ā* of the *Hoph'al*, כַּב for *hā-sēb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šewā*, according to § 27 k (under *ā* and *h* compound *Šewā*), e.g. תָּכַב, but תָּכַבְנָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* תָּכַב, but תָּכַבְנָה; *perfect* תָּכַבְנָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfections, there is another (common in *g Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִכַּב or יִכַּב, the first radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִכַּב 1 K 9⁸, יִכַּב Gn 24²⁶; with *a* in the second syllable, יִכַּב Lv 11⁷, יִכַּב Is 17⁴, יִכַּב Is 2⁹, &c., יִכַּב Am 5¹³ and frequently, יִכַּב Dt 9²¹, &c., יִכַּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5⁸, &c., יִכַּב Lv 24¹¹, יִכַּב Ez 47¹², &c., יִכַּב (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1¹; in the plural, יִכַּב Nu 14²⁵, &c. (in pause יִכַּב ψ 102²³); perhaps also יִכַּב, יִכַּב (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִכַּב 1 S 2⁹; יִכַּב Jb 24²⁴); with suffix תָּכַבְנָה occurs (cf. § 10 h) in Nu 23²⁵; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִכַּב, *Hoph'al* יִכַּב, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. יִכַּב Gn 43²⁸, &c., for יִכַּב and they bowed the head; יִכַּב and they beat down, Dt 1⁴⁴ (from כָּתַב Dt 32⁸; יִכַּב Ex 15¹⁶, Jb 29²¹ (cf., however, יִכַּב Ju 18²⁸, 1 S 5⁸, יִכַּב Jer 46⁵, Jb 4²⁰). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תָּכַבְנָה (without the separating vowel, for תָּכַבְנָה, cf. 1 S 3¹¹ and below, *p*) they shall tingle, 2 K 21¹², Jer 19³.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

¹ Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rödiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs לָלֵךְ. We must, however, regard כָּבַד as formed on the analogy not of לָלֵךְ, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גָּלְאוּ (= *gālūtā*, cf. Arab. *gāzūtā*), while תָּכַבְנָה follows the analogy of תָּכַבְנָה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

- h 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (a) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יָבַח for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 b, 63 b, and for verbs יָעַץ § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niphal* נָסַב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 a); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִנָּסַב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs יָעַץ) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, *imperfect* יִנָּסַב from *yū-sab*, &c.
- i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (i) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e.g. יָמַר for *yā-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִנָּסַב from *hū-sēb* (ground-form הִנָּסַל, § 53 a), as well as of the participle מְסַב (ground-form מְסַל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *i*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 a). The *ē* lengthened from *i* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e.g. הִקְטֹוֹן. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.
- k 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הִנָּה, י and ' (2nd sing. fem. imperfect); e.g. 3rd sing. fem. perfect הִתְהַה, in pause הִתְהָה; with ר and gutturals הִתְהַר (for הִתְהָר), on the other hand, with *wāw consecutive* וְהִתְהַר Is 6¹² (but וְהִתְהָר Ex 1¹⁶). In the 3rd plur. perfect the tone-syllable varies; along with הִתְהָלוּ, we also find הִתְהָלוּ and הִתְהָלוּ Is 59¹², שָׁלוּ Hb 3⁶, &c.; but in *pause* always הִתְהָלוּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in יִתְהַב, יִתְהָב; *perfect Hiph'il* הִתְהַב, הִתְהָב; *imperfect* יִתְהַב, יִתְהָב, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e.g. הִתְהַבְתִּי, &c.; except before the endings הִם and הֵן in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *i* and *u* (or *ö*, see *n*), hence הִתְהַבְתִּי from הִתְהָב, יִתְהַב from יִתְהָב; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *Šewā*, see above, *f*.
- l 8. In several verbs יָעַץ, instead of *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs יָעַץ, cf. § 72 m), generally with the same meaning,¹ e.g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלֵל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; cf. the *Hithpa'el* from רָעַע

¹ Sometimes both *Pi'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e.g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; הִנָּן to *make pleasing*, הִנָּן to *have pity*; הִנָּב to *turn, to change*, הִנָּב to *go round, to encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24^{19 f.}); in a few verbs also *Pilpāl* (§ 55 f) is found, e. g. הָלַל to roll, *Hithpalpāl* הִתְהַלַּל to roll oneself (from הָלַל); imperative with suffix הִתְהַלְּלִי exalt her, Pr 4⁸; שִׂעֲשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive שִׁעֲשַׁע to be caressed (from שִׂעֲשַׁע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Piāl*, *Puāl*, and *Hithpaāl*.—For תִּתְהַבֵּר 2 S 22²⁷ read, according to ψ 18²⁷, תִּתְהַבֵּר.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *m* which it is customary to refer to trilateral stems with middle *ō* (like יָבַל § 43 a); viz. רָפוּ they are exalted, Jb 24²⁴ to רָמוּם; רָפוּ they sho', Gn 49²³ to רָבַב; וָרָר Is 1⁶ to וָרָר. But this explanation is very doubtful: וָרָר especially is rather to be classed among the passives of *Qal* mentioned in § 52 e.

2. Imperfects *Qal* with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the *n* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָחַן, יָמַר, יָעַז, יָרַן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is evil); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *z*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and *e*, § 72 h, and specially Barth in *ZDMG*. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Hölēm* of the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect (יָבַל, יָבַל) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צֹר bind up, Is 8¹⁶; בָּלָשׁ ψ 37⁵; דָּוָם ver. 7; לָבַז to plunder, Est 3¹³, 8¹¹). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō*, in a sharpened syllable *ū*, or not infrequently even *ō* (see above, *h*). Examples of *ō* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maggeph* or in the imperfect consecutive, רָנָה (rōn) to rejoice, Jb 38⁷; וָיָסַב Ju 11¹⁸ (once even with *ū* in a toneless final syllable, Ex 16²⁰); on the other hand, in the plur. וַיִּסְבּוּ, fem. וַיִּסְבִּינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing affirmative or suffix, e. g. imperative 2nd sing. fem. רָפִי, רָפִי (cf. *f*); חַנּוּנִי pity me; קָלְוָה Jer 50²⁶; יִשְׁדָּם Pr 11⁸ Q⁹⁶; תִּתְהַבֵּר Ex 12¹⁴ (for the defective writing, cf. יִסְבְּרוּ Jb 40²²). In יִחַנְךָ Gn 43²⁰, Is 30¹⁹ (for יִחַנְךָ) this *ō* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרֵה make yourselves naked Is 32¹¹, cf. the *o* analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the infinitive absolute רָעָה Is 24¹⁹ (as *h* follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָעַע, cf. קָב Nu 23²⁵ and שָׁל Ru 2²⁰); so also are the imperatives קָבְהוּ־לִי Nu 22^{11.17}, and אָרְהוּ־לִי 22⁶, 23⁷, with *h* *paragogic*. We should expect קָבְהוּ, אָרְהוּ. If these forms are to be read *qāballi*, 'ārallī, they would be analogous to such cases as מִן־פָּרָה (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* הָ causing no change in the form of the word (קָב like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'ārallī, then in both cases the *Qames* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of *ā* (קָבַח-לִי, &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַע *curse him*, Nu 23¹⁸, for קָבַע or קָבַע.¹

p 3. Examples with *Paltaḥ* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are פָּר (in לָבֹרָם *to prove them*, Ec 3¹⁸); רָר Is 45¹; שָׁר Jer 5²⁶; בָּשָׂנָם *in their error*, Gn 6⁸ (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בָּשָׂנָם, from .שָׁ = .שָׁ = .שָׁ and בָּשָׁ also; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also בָּל *take away*, ψ 119²²; and the imperfects יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19⁸, &c. (on the *ā* of the preformative cf. *n*); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24⁹; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7⁴; תִּישָׁם *it is desolate*, Ez 12¹⁹ (in pause תִּישָׁם Gn 47¹⁹); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gn 16⁴ (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וַיִּצֹר Gn 32⁸, &c.; וַיִּרַע Gn 21¹¹, &c., cf. Ez 19⁷); in the 1st sing. *imperfect* יִתְחַם² ψ 19¹⁴, abnormally written fully for יִתְחַם, unless יִתְחַם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יִתְחַם. — In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2⁸ varies between יִשְׁלֹךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלֹךְ (ed. Mant., Jabl.). — The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original *i* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'il in the same sense: וַיִּגַּל Gn 29¹⁰; יִגַּל Is 31⁵, &c.; וַיִּסַּף Ex 4c²¹, ψ 91⁴, &c.; perhaps also וַתִּסְפֶּינָה 1 S 3¹¹ and וַיִּהַל Jb 31²⁵, &c.; in accordance with this last form, (בְּ)הִלּוּ Jb 29³ would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'il (for בְּהִלּוּ), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתִּרְצֵן Ju 9⁵⁸ may probably be added to the list.

q Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *i* lengthened to *ū* (instead of *ō*), e.g. יִרְדֵּן, if the text is correct, in Pr 29⁶; יִשְׁדֹּר ψ 91⁶ (unless it be simply an imperfect from שָׁדַר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יִרְדֵּן (if from רָדַן) Is 42⁴, &c. (also defectively יִרְדֵּן ψ 18³⁰; but in Ec 12⁶, according to Baer, וַתִּרְדֵּן; וַתִּרְדֵּן Ez 24¹¹ (on the sharpening of the *n* cf. *g* above).³

r A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לָבֹר (פָּר) Ec 9¹; בָּחַק Pr 8²⁷ (cf. בָּחַקוּ Pr 8²⁹) for בָּחַקוּ, and in the *imperfect* יִבְחֹשׁ Gn 27²¹. (The forms חָזַת in ψ 77¹⁶ שָׁפוּת Ez 36³ חָלֹתִי ψ 77¹¹, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ו stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the *aramaizing imperfect*, see above, *g*.

s 4. In the *participle*, the *aramaizing* form שִׁסְפֹּרֶה for שִׁסְפֹּרֶה occurs in K^{thibh}, Jer 30¹⁶ (the *Q^{re}* indicates a *participle* from שָׁסַף); רָעָה Pr 25¹⁹ appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

¹ For נָ as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹנָה, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nūn* of the Phoenician suffix נָם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

² Also in Ez 6⁶, instead of תִּישְׁמְנָה, which could only come from יִשְׁם, תִּישְׁמְנָה is intended, and יִישְׁמְנָה in the same verse is probably only an error for יִישְׁמְנָה.

³ According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *ū*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in *pause* נָסַב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qameṣ* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נָסַם *it melts*, Ez 21¹², 22¹⁵; נִסְבָּה (for נִסְבָּה Ez 26²; *part.* נֹסֵם *mollen*, 1 S 15⁹, Na 21¹; נָסַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20¹⁰, Is 49⁶ (*perf.* נִסְלָל); with *ṣ*, e.g. נִסְלָלָם *they are rolled together*, Is 34⁴; cf. 63¹⁹, 64², Am 3¹¹, Na 1¹², Ec 12^{6b}. In the *imperfect* with *ṣ* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs נָעַל (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ṣ*), we find תִּרְדָּמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 48² (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with *Qinḥi*, Olshausen, König); יִרְעַע *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11¹⁵, 13²⁰; תִּרְרֹץ (for *tirrōṣ*) Ez 29⁷; with *ṣ* in the second syllable הִתְחַל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21⁹, but הִתְחַלָּה Ez 22²⁶, and יִתְחַל Is 48¹¹, יִתְחַל Is 7⁸, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הִמָּס *to melt*, ψ 68³ (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17¹⁰ as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִתְחַל Ez 20⁹, 14²², but with suffix הִתְחַלָּה Lv 21⁴; also הִבֹּז *to be plundered*, and הִבֹּק *to be emptied*, Is 24³; in the *imperative*, only הִבְרִי *be ye clean*, Is 52¹¹. On הִרְמוּ *get you up*, Nu 17¹⁰, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְמוּ Ez 16¹⁷, &c., cf. 72 *ad.*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, נָחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22¹⁶, 25³ (from נָחַל); נָחַר (from נָחַר) ψ 69⁴, 102⁴ (also נָחַר Jer 6²³); נָחַת *fractus est* (from נָחַת) Mal 2⁵; cf. with this in the *participle*, נֹחֵמִים (for *nihāmim*) Is 57⁵, and נִאֲרִים Mal 3⁹: in the *imperative* and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ṣ* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁדָּנָה Mic 2⁴ is abnormal.

III. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמָּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפָּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17¹⁴, in *pause*, cf. § 29 *q*; otherwise הִפָּר, *plur.* הִפְּרוּ Is 24⁵. In הִפְּיר ψ 33¹⁰, Ez 17¹⁹, cf. ψ 89⁴, and in הִשְׁפִּיר Ho 8⁴ (perhaps also in הִשְׁפִּיר Hab 21⁷, but cf. § 20 *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ע, see *z*. Also הִפֵּר Dt 28⁵², הִתּוּ (in *pause*) Is 18⁵; *inf.* לְהִפְּרִי *to cleanse*, Jer 4¹¹, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִרָק 2 K 23¹⁵, הִקָּל Is 8²³; הִרָק Jb 23¹⁶; *plur.* הִרְכּוּ 1 S 5^{9,10} (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעוּ); *imper.* הִשְׁעֵם *besmear*, Is 61¹⁰; *plur.* הִשְׁפּוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21⁵; *imperfect* תִּרְעַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצָּל (on *ṣ* in the first syllable, see under *i*) *shadowing*, Ez 31³ (but מִסִּיָּה Ju 3²⁴ is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ע, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיָּה, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיָּה. So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16²⁶ *Qere*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְחַמֵּק Is 33¹).

The *ṣ* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *z*, e.g. זָח Gn 31⁷ (see also *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53 *k*) to find the *ṣ* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפְּרִי Ze 11¹⁰. Instead of *Hafeph-Pathah* a *Hafeph-*

S^ghōl is found under the preformative in הִקְלִיטִי 2 S 19¹⁴, and a *Pathah* occurs before ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִקְלִיטִי Is 9⁸; cf. Gn 11⁶, Dt 2³¹, 3²⁴, 1 S 22¹⁵, Est 6¹³—in all these cases before ה.—On בָּהֶלֶךְ Jb 29³, see above, p.: on יְהִיחֶתֶתִי Jer 49³⁷, see below, *dd*.

α 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ā* is retained (§ 22 *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ē*, e.g. יִרְעֶ 1 K 16²⁵: so also with ר, as יִרְעֶר 2 Ch 28²⁰, Dt 2⁹—but cf. also יִפְרֶר Neh 4⁹.

β 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. to § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, יִפְכֵּב Ex 13¹⁸, &c.; cf. Ju. 16²³; אֶל-תִּפְכֵּב Ex 23²¹, but read אֶל-תִּפְכֵּב from מָכָה; יִכְתֹּב Dt 1⁴⁴ (cf. Nu 14⁴⁵), but יִכְתֹּבוּ Ju 18²⁰, 1 S 5⁸, 2 Ch 29⁶; אֶחָל *profanabo*, Ez 39⁷; תִּתֵּן Jb 22³; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), יִהְיֶה 1 K 18²⁷, but Jer 9⁴ יִהְיֶהֱלֵךְ, Jb 13³ תִּהְיֶהֱלֵךְ; with *i* in the second syllable יִשִּׁים Jer 49²⁰, 50⁴⁵; cf. וְנָשִׂים Nu 21³⁰; in the *perfect* הוֹלִיחָהּ La 1⁸. In *Hoph'al*, הִמְכִּי they are brought low, Jb 24²¹; יִכְתֵּב he is smitten, Is 24¹² (*plur.* יִכְתֹּבוּ Jer 46⁵, Mi 1⁷); in *pause*, יִחַקֵּב Jb 15²³, but also יִכְתֹּבוּ Jb 4²⁰ (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יִכְתֹּבוּ); with *ō* in the initial syllable, הִשְׁמִיחָהּ (*infinitive with suffix* = הִשְׁמִיחָהּ, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26³⁴ f., cf. 2 Ch 36²¹; בָּהִישְׁפָּחָהּ, with irregular syncope for בָּהִישְׁפָּחָהּ, Lv 26⁴³.

IV. In General.

γ 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"ו (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. יָכַב and יָקַם, יָקַם and יָקַם); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e.g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw* consecutive, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *l*).

αα 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in α, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i.e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e.g. סָבַב, סָבְבוּ (but before a suffix also סָבְבוּנִי, as well as *the uncontracted* form, is found, e.g. בָּזַז to plunder, *plur.* בָּזְזוּ; in other parts, only בָּזְזוּ Dt 2³⁵, as well as בָּזְזוּ Dt 3⁷; וְכָמְתִי Ze 8^{14,15} and וְכָמְתִי Jer 4²⁸. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25¹², Pr 30³²; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5⁹. Apart from Qal the only example of a developed form is יְהִיחֶתֶתִי Jer 49³⁷.

bb On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. דָּק Dt 9²¹ (Ex 32²⁰ דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָת, *fem.* חָתָה; מָר, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָר, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. חָרָה Ez 24¹¹); שָׁח, *fem.* שָׁחָה; חָס, &c.; *plur.* חָסוּ, חָסוּ, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עָשָׂה ψ 68.

cc The intransitive but developed perfects הִלָּל (also הִלָּל), נָדָדָה, חָלָל (also נָדָדָה) (in *pause* נָדָדָה, סָרָר, עָשָׂה, *plur.* in *pause* עָשָׂה ψ 31¹¹), שָׁחָה, צָלָל (also שָׁחָה), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ה are לְסַבֵּב Nu 21⁴; לְשָׁדֹד Jer 47⁴; לָנוּז Gn 31¹⁹ (also לָנוּ Gn 38¹³); cf. also לְחַמֵּם Is 47¹⁴, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחַמֵּם; with *suffix* לְחַנְנֵכֶם Is 30¹⁸, and, from the same

form לְהַנִּיחַ ψ 102¹⁴; also שְׁחַח Is 60¹⁴, בָּנָה 1 S 25², בָּמַס Is 10¹⁸, בָּעֵז Pr 8²⁸, בָּעָרוֹר Pr 26⁸.—*Imperative* שִׁדְרִי Jer 49²⁸ (cf. § 20 b, and *ibid.* also on הִנְיִי ψ 9¹⁴); in the *imperfect*, יָדֹר Na 3⁷ (ψ 68¹⁸; cf. Gn 31⁴⁰) from נָדַר ; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, יִשְׁדְּרִם Jer 5⁶ is anomalous for יִשְׁדְּרִם (Pr 11³ Q^{er}; the eastern school read the Po'el יִשְׁדְּרִם in the *Kethibh*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *Sewa*. Cf. also יָתַן Am 5¹⁵ (elsewhere יָחַן). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form יִכָּבֵב is found, Jb 11¹²; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of רָנַן , thus *imperative* הִרְנִינִי , *imperfect* תִּרְנִן , *infinitive* הִשְׁמִיחַ Mi 6¹⁸; *participle* מְשִׁיחִים Ez 3¹⁵. That the developed (trilateral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in ψ 118¹¹ after a biliteral form גִּם־סָבְבוּנִי .

11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaizing forms, such as יָדְמוּ and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* הִמְנוֹנוּ Nu 17²⁸ (Jer 44¹⁸; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* נִבְּחוּ 1 S 14³⁸ (הִ *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *Sewa* נִבְּלָה Gn 11⁷ for נִבְּלָה (cohortative from בָּלַל); יָזְמוּ *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs ע"ע אָמְשָׁךְ (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects Qal*, הִצְרִי Is 49¹⁹ (*plur. masc.* Jb 18⁷); יִרְעוּ Neh 2⁸; also הִישְׁמַחְהוּ Ez 6⁶ (for which read הִשְׁמַחְהוּ = הִישְׁמַחְהוּ) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* נִסְכְּהוּ for נִסְכְּהוּ Ez 41⁷; נָלְיוּ Ju 5⁵ for נָלְיוּ ; נִמְלָחִם for נִמְלָחִם Gn 17¹¹ (as if from מָלַל not מָלַל to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19³, Jer 8¹⁴; *imperfect* הִפְקִיחָהוּ Ze 14¹²; *participle* נִהְיָהוּ , cf. *u*. So also נָפְצוּ 1 S 13¹¹, נָפְצָהוּ Gn 9¹⁹ (cf. Is 33³), are *perfects Niph'al* from פָּצַץ (= פָּצַץ), not *Qal* from נָפַץ .—In *Hiph'il* הִתְלַחְתָּהוּ (for הִתְלַחְתָּהוּ) Ju 16¹⁰ (2 S 15³⁴); הִעָרָהוּ for הִעָרָהוּ Pr 7¹³ (cf. Ct 6¹¹, 7¹³).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in לְהַפְרִיחַ Lv 26¹⁵.—On the *perfect* דָּלִיּוּ Pr 26⁷, cf. § 75 *u*.

12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see *cc* *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. וְהִצְרִינִי Jer 10¹⁸ before לָהֶם) after 1 *consec.*, Ex 33^{10,22}, 2 K 19³⁴, &c., also Is 44¹⁶ (וְהִמְנוֹתִי before רִי); ψ 92¹¹ (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the *Lexicon*), 116⁸, perhaps also Jb 19¹⁷, וְהִמְנוֹתִי (though in this passage, and in ψ 17⁸, the form might be an *infinitive* in *eth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19¹⁷); in the 2nd *sing.* וְקִצְתָּהוּ (before אֵל) Dt 25¹²; in the 3rd *plural*, רַבּוּ *multi sunt*, ψ 3², 104²⁴, Jer 5⁸, 1 S 25¹⁰; רַבּוּ *they are soft*, ψ 55²² קָלִי *they are swift*, Jer 4¹⁸, Hb 1⁸; וְנָפּוּ *they are pure*, Jb 15¹⁵, 25⁵, La 4⁷; וְשָׁחוּ *they did bow*, Hb 3⁶; וְחָרּוּ *they are burned*, Is 24⁶. A by-form of שָׁחַו (ע"ע , cf. § 72 *dd*) is שָׁחַו ψ 49¹⁵, 73⁹.

(*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) רָנִי *sing.* Is 54¹, רָנִי *plur.* Zp 14¹⁴, Ze 2¹⁴; רָנִי Is 44²⁸, 49¹³, Jer 31⁷ (but רָנִי *lament*, La 2¹⁹), רָנִי *keep (thy feasts)*, Na 2¹, Jer 7²⁹; עָרָהוּ (= עָרָהוּ) before אֵל , ψ 68²⁹. On the retention of the short vowels *ä* (*ö*) and *i* before *Dages forte*, in place of the tone-long *o* and *e*, see above, *k*; on the change of the vowel of the preformative into *Sewa*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"ב e.g. אָכַל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a* So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b* 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אָכַר to perish, אָבַח to be willing, אָכַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפַח to bake) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ō*, e.g. אָכַל.¹ In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יָאָחַז (18 times) and יָאָחַז (3 times) *he takes hold*; יָאָסַף (see *h*), also יָאָסַף, *he collects*. This *ō* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *ā* (§ 9 *q*), and the *ā* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ā* to *ā*; cf. § 23 *a*.
- c* In the second syllable *ō* (for original *ā*) never appears, but either *ē*² or *ā*; and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing heavy affirmative ון, e.g. אָכַלְוּ, Dt 18¹, without the pause אָכַלְוּ, Dt 4²⁸. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יָאָמַר and אָמַר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תָּאמַר I K 5²⁰, in the 3rd *fem.* תִּאמַר Pr 1²¹; in the *plural* יֵאָמְרוּ Jer 5², ψ 145^{a, 11}, תִּאמְרוּ Jer 23³⁸, with *Segolta*; cf. also תִּאכְלוּ I S 17, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e.g. תִּאכְלוּ לֶעֶד ψ 9¹⁹, but in *pause* תִּאכְלוּ ψ 1⁶; cf. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תִּאכְלֶינָה Zc 11⁹.
- d* When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָכַר and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e.g. וְיָאכַר יוֹם 3³, וְיָאכַל and *he did eat*; in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw consecutive*

¹ So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yōkul*.

² On this *ē* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ā*), cf. § 27 *w*, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אָכַל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אָכַל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic אָכַל, as well as by the fact that יָאָחַז and יָאָסַף are found along with יָאָחַז and יָאָסַף.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* נִאֲמַר; cf. נִאֲכַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *Seghôl*, נִאֲמָר, and he said (except לוֹ וְנִאֲמַר Pr 7¹³).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of עָבַל, see below) always has the form נִאֲכַל (but *plur.* always נִאֲכְלוּ, נִאֲכַלְתֶּם, נִאֲכַלְתֶּם; except נִאֲמַר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3², 4¹, &c., but not in 32⁶, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of נָחַם is always נִחַם and נִחְמוּ, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, נִחַמְתִּי, Ju 20⁶; cf. נִחַמְתִּי Gn. 3^{12,13} in *pause*.—נָכַח and נָכַח are, at the same time, verbs נ"ל, hence *imperfect* נִכַּח (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š^{wa}, as נִאֲכַלְתִּי, but נִאֲכַלְתֶּם.—In a few cases, instead of the *ô* in the first syllable an *ê* is found, which is due to contraction from the group $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}\text{---}$ (or $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}\text{---}$) in place of $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}\text{---}$; e.g. תִּתְּנָהּ it shall come, Mi 4⁸, from תִּתְּנָהּ (from תִּתְּנָהּ); אֶהֱבֶה (for אֶהֱבֶה) I love, Pr 8¹⁷, also (four times) אֶהֱבֶה Mal 1², &c., with suffixes אֶהֱבֶה Ho 11¹, 14⁵, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise אֶהֱבֶה, &c., from אֶהֱבֶה, אֶהֱבֶה); נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי and I stayed, Gn 32⁵. The *infinitive construct* of נִאֲמַר with לִ is always לִנְאֹמַר *dicendo*, for לִנְאֹמַר.—According to Barth (ZDMG. 1889, p. 179) נִאֲכַל Nu 11²⁵ is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of נִ to *ô*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since נִאֲכַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For נִאֲכַלְתִּי Jb 20²⁶ we should simply emend 'נִאֲכַל'; the view that it is *imperfect Pô'el* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ô* to *ê*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of ψ 62⁴ (see § 52 g) and ψ 101⁶ *Qere* (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pô'el* ('נִאֲכַל' = 'נִאֲכַל' = 'נִאֲכַל') rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that 'נִאֲכַל' stands for 'נִאֲכַל', *Pu'al* (cf. נִאֲכַל for נִאֲכַל, § 27 g); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation 'נִאֲכַל'.

2. In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two נ's would ordinarily *g* come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23 f), as נִאֲמַר¹ (for נִאֲמַר), &c., and even *plene* נִאֲמַר Neh 2⁷, &c., נִאֲמַר ψ 42¹⁰. In the other cases, also, where the נ is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ô* or *ê*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of נִאֲכַח, as נִאֲכַח for נִאֲכַח ψ 104²⁰; נִאֲכַח 2 S 6¹ (but for נִאֲכַח Jb 27¹⁰ read נִאֲכַח = נִאֲכַח with the LXX); cf. also in

¹ The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of נִאֲ to *â* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the נ was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Nöldeke (ZDMG. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yâ'kûlû*, *tâ'kûlû*, but the 1st pers. 'âkûlû, not 'â'kûlû.

the 1st pers. Mi 4⁶ and אֶסְכֶּךָ 1 S 15⁶, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*; instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֶסְכֶּךָ (with *i*, according to § 60 f). But תִּמְסֹכֶנּוּ Ex 5⁷ (for תִּמְסֹכֶנּוּ, אֶסְכֶּךָ 1 S 18²⁰ (for תִּמְסֹכֶנּוּ), and יִמְסֹכֶנּוּ Jb 27¹⁹ (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יִמְסֹךְ. Furthermore, יִמְסֹכֶנּוּ ψ 135²⁰ (where certainly יִמְסֹךְ is to be read); אֶסְכֶּךָ Pr 1¹⁰ (cf. § 75 hh); וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ 1 S 25²⁴; וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ Ex 42⁵; תִּמְסֹכֶנּוּ 2 S 19¹⁴; וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ 2 S 20⁹; תִּמְסֹכֶנּוּ thou gaddest about (from אֶסְכֶּךָ, Jer 2³⁶; וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ Dt 33²¹ (for וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 n), וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ or וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

- i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲחֲזָה Nu 32³⁰, Jos 22⁹; *Hiph.* וְנִאֲחֲזָה Nu 11²⁵ (but the statement in verse 17 is וְנִאֲחֲזָה, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וְנִאֲחֲזָה (for וְנִאֲחֲזָה?) and he laid wait, 1 S 15⁵, and אָזַן I listen, Jb 32¹¹ (on the analogy of verbs אָזַן); cf. also אֶסְכֶּךָ (δ from א) I give to eat, Hos 11⁴; אֶסְכֶּךָ (δ from א) I will destroy, Jer 46⁸; וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ 2 S 20⁵ *Q're* (for וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ); the *K'thibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ, from יִמְסֹךְ as a secondary form of אֶסְכֶּךָ; but וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ = וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ for וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וְיִמְסֹכֶנּוּ Neh 13¹³, cf. § 53 n.—*Infinitive* לְהִסְכֹּךְ Ez 21³³ (= לְהִסְכֹּךְ unless it is rather *inf.* *Hiph.* from סָכַךְ); *Participle* מְסֹכֵן Pr 17⁴ (clearly by false analogy of verbs מְסֹכֵן, for מְסֹכֵן); *Imperative* הִסְכֵּךְ bring (from אֶסְכֶּךָ) Jer 12⁹. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21¹⁴, cf. § 76 d.)
- k 2. In the *Pi'el* the *h* is sometimes elided (like ה in יִקְטִיל, יִקְטִיל, thus מִלֵּךְ (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מִלֵּךְ Jb 35¹¹; יִהְיֶה (if not a mere scribal error) for יִהְיֶה Is 13²⁰; וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ thou hast girded me, 2 S 22⁴⁰, for וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ, as ψ 18⁴⁰; וְתִמְסֹכֶנּוּ Ez 28¹⁶; cf. § 23 c.

§ 69. Verbs פ. First Class, or Verbs originally פ, e.g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

- a Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (a) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד to give birth to, Arab. and Eth. *wāladā*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

Yôdh, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (b) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nān* in verbs ו"ב (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו"ב (i. e. ו"ב with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct* *Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see *h*) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* ו"ב, ו"ב with an unchangeable¹ *Sere* in the first syllable and original *z* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus ו"ב, ו"ב, ו"ב; see *æ*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (ו"ב, ו"ב).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šwā*, e. g. ו"ב, ו"ב, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Šwā* in such cases as ו"ב, &c., but is lengthened to *Qames* in *pause* (ו"ב) and before suffixes (ו"ב).

B. *Imperative* ו"ב with *aphaerests* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *z*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* ו"ב from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs ו"ב (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives ו"ב, ו"ב (see below, *m*) point to a ground-form *ā'at*, *ūdat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. 606), assign to ו"ב, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in ו"ב, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *z* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

¹ The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. ו"ב Ho 14¹⁰), but also in ו"ב Ex 33^{13, 17}. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ē* occurs (with the exception of ו"ב ψ 72¹⁴, elsewhere pointed ו"ב) only in Mi 1⁸ and Ez 35⁹ *Keth.*; in ψ 135⁸ the Masora prefers to point ו"ב.—Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yāld*, for example (see above), became *yild* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēld* instead of *yēld*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *ē*) to a trilateral form.

d In more than half the number of verbs פ"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yōdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יִצֹק, יִרֹשׁ, and *infinitives* יִכּוּר, יִרֹא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִירֹשׁ, properly *yigraś*, merges with the preceding *z* into *z*.

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ā*.

e (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yōdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'al*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wāḏādā*, imperf. *yāḏādu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wāḏāḏū*, *yawḏālu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

f (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. יָצַק 2 K 4⁴¹ and יִצֹק *pour*, Ez 24³ (cf. יִצְקִי 1 K 18³⁴ and the *inf.* יִצְקָה Ex 38²⁷); רָשָׁ take possession, Dt 1²¹, 1 K 21¹⁵ (but cf. *s*), רִשָּׁ (in pause for רִשׁ) Dt 24³¹; plur. רִשְׁוּ Dt 1⁸, 9²³, but also, with הַ— *paragoge*, רִשְׁוֶה Dt 33²³. In the *imperfect* יִיקָר Dt 32²² and יִקָּר Is 10¹⁶ it shall be kindled; יִיקָר it was precious, 1 S 15³⁰ and יִיקָר ψ 49⁹ (cf. יִיקָר ψ 72¹⁴).—The form וַיִּחַמְדוּ Gn 30³⁹, for וַיִּחַמְדוּ, beside וַיִּחַמְדוּ verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 *k*.

g (c) On יָרַד Ju 19¹¹ for יִרַד and יָשׁב Jer 42¹⁰ for the *infinitive absolute* יִשְׁבּ, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יָרַד Ju 5¹³ (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יָרַד (= יִרְדֶּה) to have dominion.

h (d) The eight verbs,¹ of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַךְ to bring forth, יָצָא to go forth, יָשַׁב to sit, to dwell, יָרַד to descend, also הֵלַךְ to go (cf. below, *x*); and with *ā* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע to know, יָחַד to be united, יָקַע to be dislocated. Examples of the other formation (יִירֹשׁ, &c.) are יָנַח to be wearied, יָעַץ to counsel, יָשָׁן to sleep, יָרֹא (*imperfect* יִירֹא, *imperative* יִרֹא) to fear.

i 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e.g. הֵיִשָּׁב, הֵיִשָּׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הֵקָטַל, הֵקָטַל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הֵתְנוּדַע from יָדַע, הֵתְנוּדַע from יָדַע; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. וָלָךְ offspring from יָלַךְ to bear. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

¹ A ninth יָפַח to add, is also to be included. In the Meša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסְפַּח (cf. יִסְפִּי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30¹ (Nu 32¹⁴, Dt 29¹⁸) סָפַח for סָפַח. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* יִסְפּ Is 29¹, Jer 7²¹ corresponds to שָׁבּ; thus in proof of a supposed סָפַח addere, there remains only אִסְפַּח Dt 32²¹, for which, according to 2 S 12⁸, read אִסְפַּח.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *ū*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e.g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ō* (ו); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e.g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nūwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšūbh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yōdh* in the *perfect* and *participle k* *Qal*, יָשַׁב, &c., יָשִׁיב, יָשִׁיב, even when *!* precedes, e.g. יִשְׁבֶּה (but יִשְׁבֶּהָם), according to § 24 *b*), also throughout *Pī'el* and *Pū'al*, e.g. יִחַל to wait, יֵלֵד to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִחַל מִיָּדָע known (from יָדָע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e.g. הִתְיַלֵּד, הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַחֵשׁ (as against הִתְיַדָּע, &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs פ"י in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *šere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (ו, וי) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הוֹלִיד, is rare.) Verbs פ"י have forms like שָׁב (דָּע), שָׁבַת, in common with verbs פ"ן. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ע.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (שָׁבַת), ground-form *sibt*, *m* *שָׁבַת*; cf. above, c) with suffixes is pointed as שָׁבַתִּי, ¹רָשַׁתִּי (the strong form only in לִירָשְׁנִי Ju 14¹⁵). The masculine form is very rare, e.g. יָדַע to know, Jb 32^{6,10}, as also the feminine ending הָ, e.g. יָדָעָה ²Ex 24, לָדָה Is 37² (2 K 19³); Jer 13²¹, Ho 9¹¹; מִיָּרְדָה ²to descend, Gn 46³, where the change of the *š* into vocal *šwā* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, יָדַעַת is formed, with *suff.* יָדַעַתִּי, &c.; but from יָצָא, יָצָאת, יָצָאתִי. From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30⁴ in *Qere* מִיָּרְדִי (the *Keth* requires מִיָּרְדִי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מִיָּרְדִי). For לָת 1 S 4¹⁸ (generally explained as a case of assimilation of *l* to *n* in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לָת = *lidt*, see above, c) read simply לָתִי.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יָרָא to fear, Jos 22²⁵, with *preposition* לִיָּסֵר Is 51¹⁶ (but 2 Ch 31⁷ according to Ben Naphtali לִיָּסֵר, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *š*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיָּסֵר, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישָׁן; Ec 5¹¹; לָרָא 1 S 18²⁰ is irregular, but probably לָרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *suff.* בִּיָּסֵרִי Jb 38⁴, cf. Ju 14¹⁵, Ezr 3¹²; with *sem.* יָכַלֵּת to be able, Nu 14¹⁶. On יָבִשָׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 *a*.

¹ יִשְׁבֶּהָם ψ 23⁶ can hardly be intended for an *infin.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשַׁב; but read יִשְׁבֶּהָם.

² The infinitives יָדָעָה and יָרָדָה belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has יָתֵן to give, for יָתַת; הָלַךְ to go, for הָלַכָת; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

0 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הָ, e.g. יִשְׁבָּה *sit thou*, יִרְדָּה *descend thou*. From יָתֵב *to give*, Arab. *wāḥabā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form יָתֵב *give*, lengthened יִתְּבָה generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11³⁴ even addressed to several persons (Gn 20²¹ יִתְּבָה before א' to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* יִתְּבִי Ru 3¹⁵, *Mil'ra'* on the analogy of the plural יִתְּבוּ (once in Jb 6²² יִתְּבוּ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32³), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פִּי, הִבִּי, הִבִּי would be expected.—On יִדְעָה Pr 24¹⁴, cf. § 48 l.

p 3. The *imperfect* with י' elided takes ä in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under f), also in יִתְּרֵר Jer 13¹⁷ (cf. La 3⁴⁸) and in the pausal form יִתְּרֵר Jb 27²¹, &c. (from יִתְּרֵר, see x); on יִתְּרֵר Is 10¹⁶ see above, f. The ä in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative הָ (תִּתְּרֵנָה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under c), by which ä takes the place of i in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with ä in the second syllable shorten the ä to *S^ghöl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבֶּנָּה Gn 44³³; יִרְדֶּב, יִשְׁבֶּב; but ä is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִשְׁבֶּה Ex 16²⁰, Ju 9³⁹, in both cases with *nasog 'aḥor*, § 29 e. The pausal is either of the form יִשְׁבֶּה Ru 4¹ or יִרְדֶּב ψ 18¹⁰; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is יִתְּרֵר, &c., except יִתְּרֵר Jb 19¹⁰, see x.—For יִירָע ψ 13³⁶ (cf. the note above, on b and the analogous cases in § 70 d) *Yir'ec* is intended.

q The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the i can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 f), e.g. יִירָשׁוּ Is 40²⁰, יִירָעוּ Is 65²³; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירָאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of יִירָא).—On יִירָשׁוּ Gn 50²⁶, 24³³ *K^{eth.}*, and יִירָשׁוּ Ex 30³², see § 73 f.

r From יִיבֵל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִיבֵל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִיבֵל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from יִיבֵל, just as, according to § 47 b, יִיבֵל is differentiated from יִיבֵל. Cf. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *waru'a*, *yauḡalu* (*yōḡalu*) from *waḡala*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūḡal*, &c., from *waḡala*. Others regard יִיבֵל as an *imperfect Heph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 u.—יִיבֵל occurs in Jer 3⁵ as 2nd *sing. fem.* for יִיבֵל, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִירָה or יִירָה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *imperf. Qal* (not *Heph'al*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed *imperf. Qal* יִירָה Nu 21³⁰ is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *imperf. Qal* is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13¹⁷) or *infinitive Qal* (ψ 64⁵), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35²³; but in 2 S 11²⁴ by the *participle Heph'al*).

s 4. The attenuation of ä to i in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 d (cf. § 64 f) occurs in verbs פִּי in a few forms of פִּי Nu 11¹², Jer 2²⁷, ψ 2⁷, &c. (always after פִּי), as well as of פִּי, e.g. פִּי, &c., Dt 4¹, 8¹, 17¹⁴, 19¹, 26¹, 31⁸ (always after פִּי for פִּי). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial פִּי was pronounced, as in Syriac, like i (§ 47 b). In the case of פִּי, however, a secondary form פִּי (cf. § 44 d) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wāriḡā*. The forms

וַיִּשְׁנֶה Ez 36¹² and וַיִּרְשָׁנָה ψ 69³⁶, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *i*.

5. As an exception, the imperfect *Niph'al* sometimes has a *i* instead of the *t* 1, e.g. וַיִּחַל and he stayed, Gn 8¹² (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיַּחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19¹³; 1 S 13⁸ *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶנְשָׁב, not אֶנְשֵׁב, cf. § 51 p.—In the participle the plural נִגְיִי (from נִגָּה, with depression of *o* to *i*, cf. § 27 n) is found in Zp 3¹⁸; cf. La 1⁴. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִגְלִי null^{ed}khū, 1 Ch 3⁵, 20⁸, for נִגְלִי which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the imperfect *Pi'el* elision of the first radical (*i*) sometimes takes place *u* after *wāw* consec. (as in the case of א, § 68 k), e.g. וַיִּינֶה for וַיִּנֶּה and he has grieved, La 3³³ וַיִּדְּרוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יִדְּרוּ, which may also be a true verb פ"י (on the other hand, in יִדְּרוּ גִזְרִל they have cast lots, Jo 4⁸, Ob 11, Na 3¹⁰, a perfect *Qal* of יָדַר is required by the context; but as this, being a transitive perfect, ought to have the form יָדְדוּ according to § 67 a, perhaps we should read יָדַר). So from a verb פ"י, of the second class, וַיַּבֵּשׁוּהוּ and he made it dry, Na 1⁴; cf. וַיִּשְׁרָם 2 Ch 32²⁰ *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׁרָם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׁרָם).

7. The imperative *Hiph'il*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, sometimes has *i* in *v* the second syllable; הוֹשִׁיבִי Is 43⁸; הוֹשִׁיבִי ψ 94¹ (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹשִׁיבִי). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיבִי-נָא see § 53 m. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *i*, as הוֹשִׁיבִי, cf. also הוֹשִׁיבִי Pr 25¹⁷ (as in the *infin.* constr. הוֹשִׁיבִי Jb 6²⁸; see § 65 f). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיבִי, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 g). הוֹשִׁיבִי Gn 8¹⁷ *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹשִׁיבִי, see § 70 b) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive* *Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S^gghōl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. וַיִּזְכֶּק that he may increase, Pr 1⁵, before זָכַק; cf. Ex 10²⁸ and Dt 3²⁶ after אָל; הוֹשִׁיבִי Pr 30⁶ is anomalous; in pause, however, also הוֹשִׁיבִי as *jussive*, Jb 40³² (usual *jussive* in pause וַיִּשְׁב, &c., which occurs even without the pause after *wāw* consecutive, Gn 47¹¹, Jos 24³, 2 S 8⁴, &c.). With a final guttural יָרַע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and וַיּוֹכַח, &c.; with a final ר in pause וַתִּתֵּן Ru 2¹⁴: on וַיִּשְׁעֶב Is 35⁴, cf. § 65 f).—On forms like הוֹשִׁיבִי, see § 53 g.

In *Hoph'al* *o* stands instead of *i*, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4^{22, 28}, הוֹדַע 2 S 20¹³, 20 and perhaps in יוֹדַע (for יוֹדַע) Pr 11²⁶; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוֹדַעַת Is 12⁵ *Qere* (*Keth.* מוֹדַעַת).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הוֹלִיֵּת Gn 40²⁰, for הוֹלִיֵּת = הוֹלִיֵּת; cf. above, *i*, on נִגְלִי, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הָלַךְ to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ"י class, since it forms (as if from הָלַךְ) *imperfect* יִלְכֶּה, with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּלְכֶּה (in pause וַיִּלְכֶּה Gn 24⁶¹, &c.), 1st sing. וַאֲלַךְ (but in Jb 19¹⁰ וַאֲלַךְ); *infinitive construct* לֵכָה with suff. לֵכָהי (*S^gghōl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נִכְדִּי, cf. also נִגְדִּי); *imperative* לֵךְ, לֵכֵה, in the lengthened form לֵכֵה (as an interjection referring even to a feminine, Gn 19³², or a plural, Gn 31⁴⁴) and לֵךְ (Nu 23¹⁸, Ju 19¹⁸, 2 Ch 25¹⁷); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיֵּךְ (also in Ex 2⁹ הוֹלִיֵּכִי 2nd fem. *imperative* is to be read for הוֹלִיֵּכִי, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following *הִינָקְרוּ*; *imperfect* *יִקְרָא*, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always *יִקְרָאֵךְ* Lv 26¹⁸, Am 2¹⁰, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of *הִקְרָא* are also found: *imperf.* *יִקְרָא* (ψ 58⁹, &c.; but *תִּקְרָאֵךְ* Ex 9²³, ψ 73⁹; cf. § 64 a and h); *תִּקְרָאֵךְ* Jb 16²², also Meša' inscription, line 14, *אִתְקַרְךְ*; *inf.* *הִקְרָא* (Ex 3¹³, Nu 22¹⁸ f. 16, 1 Ec 6^{8.9}); *imperative plur.* *הִקְרְבוּ* Jer 51⁵⁰. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always *הִקְרָא*, *participle* *הִקְרָאֵךְ*, *infinitive absolute* *הִקְרֹךְ*, *Niph'al* *נִקְרָאֵךְ*, *Piel* *הִקְרָאֵךְ*, *Hithpa'el* *הִתְקַרְבָּךְ*, so that a *י* never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete *יִקְרָא*. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent *י* forms of *הִקְרָא* with Praetorius (ZAW. ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'il, of which the ground-form *hahlikh* became *halikh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs *אִפְּ*, *hōlikh*. This *hōlikh* being referred to a supposed *haulikh* (properly *hawlikh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs *אִפְּ*.

§ 70. Verbs *אִפְּ*. Second Class, or Verbs properly *אִפְּ*,
e. g. *יָטַב* to be good. Paradigm L.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly *אִפְּ* differ from verbs *יִפְּ* in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yōdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form *יָבֵשׁ*,² the *imperfect* *יִבְשֵׁן*, *יִבְשֵׁן* (in *pause* *יִבְשֵׁן*), also written *יָבֵשׁ*, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ā* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. *וַיִּבְשֵׁן*, except *וַיִּבְשֵׁן* Gn 9²¹, and *וַיִּבְשֵׁן* Gn 2^{7.19}, unless *יָבֵשׁ* is to be included among verbs *אִפְּ* (cf. *נוֹצַר* Is 43¹⁰).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form *הִיטִיב* is regularly contracted to *הִיטִיב* (rarely written *הִיטִיב*, *הִיטִיב*, &c.); *imperfect* *יִיטִיב*, *יִיטִיב*. Instances of the uncontracted form are *יִיטִיבוּ* Pr 4²⁵, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; *יִיטִיב* (*imperative*) ψ 5⁹ *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires *הוֹטִיב* according to the form of verbs *אִפְּ*; cf. Is 45², *אִיטִיב* *Keth.*, *אִיטִיב* *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8¹⁷ *Qerê*; *מִיטִיבִים* 1 Ch 12², to be explained as a denominative from *יָטַב*; *אִיטִיבִים* Ho 7¹² (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading *אִיטִיבִים*.

¹ Cf. above, m, note 2.

² This may be inferred from *בִּיבֵשׁ* (= *בִּיבֵשׁ*) Is 27¹¹, which with its fem. *יִבְשֵׁת* Gn 8⁷, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms *יָטַב*, &c. (in Paradigm L. of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב *to be good* (only in the *imperfect Qal* and in *Hiph'il*; in the *perfect Qal* טָוֵב, a verb עָלָה is used instead), יָנַק *to suck*, יָקַץ *to awake*, יָצַר *to form* (but see above, a), יָלַל only in *Hiph'il* הִילִיל *to bewail*, יָשַׁר *to be straight, right*, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic *yūbiṣā*) *to be dry* (but *Hiph'il* הוֹבִישׁ 2 S 19⁶, on the analogy of verbs פ"ב; on Is 30⁵, cf. § 72 x), and the *Hiph'il* הִמְיִן (denominative from הָמִין), infin. לְהִמְיִן 2 S 14¹³ *to go to the right*.

2. In some examples of the *imperfect Hiph'il* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יִמְיִב Jb 24²¹; יִלִּיל Is 15^{2,3}, 16⁷; יִלִּיל Jer 46³¹; plur. יִלְלוּ Ho 7¹⁴, cf. Is 65¹⁴. Qimhi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yōdh* and *He*, arising from the unsynepated forms הִילִיל, &c. (cf. Is 52⁵). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יִמְיִב, יִלִּיל) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are: *perfect Hiph'il* וְהִיטְבֹתִי Ez 36¹¹ with separating vowel (for הִיטְבֹתִי) on the analogy of verbs ע"ז; *imperfect יִמְיִב* for יִמְיִב 1 K 14⁷; הִיטְבִי (*imperfect Qal* for הִיטְבִי) Na 3⁸; וְהִנִּיחָהוּ *imperfect Hiph'il* Ex 2⁹, either an error for וְהִנִּיךְ, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* הִקִּין (from הִקִּין) is always used instead of הִקִּיין from יָקַץ; hence also הִקִּיצֹתִי, הִקִּיצֹתִי, imperat. הִקִּיצֵהוּ, infin. הִקִּיץ.—On יִבְשֶׁהוּ Na 1⁴, see § 69 u).

§ 71. Verbs פ"ב. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yōdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ"ב, the *Yōdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nūn*,¹ is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (prop. וָצַע) *to spread under*; *Hiph'il* הִצִּיעַ, *Hoph'al* הִצַּע, יָצַת *to burn*, imperfect יִצַּח, *Niphal* נִצַּח, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיחַ (in Is 27⁴ also אֲצִיחֶה is to be read with König; in 2 S 14³⁰ the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethib* הוֹצִיחֶה, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ב, to the imperative הִצִּיחֵה in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַנ, *Hiph'il* הִצִּינַי *to place*, *Hoph'al* הִצַּנַי; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from נָצַב, viz. נָצַב (*Niphal*), הִצִּיב, יָצַב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַצַּב; instead of the anomalous וְהִתְנַצַּב Ex 2⁴ read with the Samaritan וְהִתְנַצַּב, i.e. וְהִתְנַצַּב. Besides the common form we find once אָצַק in Is 44³ (from יָצַק *to pour*) with a *transitive* meaning, beside אָצַק *intransitive*, 1 K 22³⁵. Elsewhere the *imperfect*

¹ These verbs, like verbs ע"ע (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"ב.

consecutive has the form וַיֵּצֵר Gn 28¹⁸, 35¹⁴, &c., cf. § 69 *f*, where also other forms of וַיֵּצֵר are given; וַיֵּצֵר and וַיֵּצֵר (Is 44¹², 49⁸, Jer 1⁵ *Qere*), from וַיֵּצֵר to form, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also וַיֵּצֵר Ho 10¹⁰; וַיֵּצֵר (for וַיֵּצֵר according to § 47 *k*) 1 S 6¹²; וַיֵּצֵר 2 Ch 31⁷ (cf. § 69 *n*) and וַיֵּצֵר Is 28¹⁶. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיֵּצֵר 1 K 3¹⁵ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jahl., Baer וַיֵּצֵר) and in וַיֵּצֵר Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16³ (cf. וַיֵּצֵר verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of וַיֵּצֵר (cf. וַיֵּצֵר § 69 *t*).

§ 72. Verbs וַיֵּצֵר (*vulgo* וַיֵּצֵר), e. g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a* 1. According to § 67 *a* a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the trilateral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i. e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 *a*), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 *b*), the *ā* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs וַיֵּצֵר or more correctly (see below) וַיֵּצֵר .¹

¹ The term וַיֵּצֵר was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or ו in the case of verbs וַיֵּצֵר) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piel* (וַיֵּצֵר), the ו usually passing into ו as in קָם , cf. Arabic *qawwimā*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e. g. מָוֶת death, compared with מָוֶת to die. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawcam* (in verbs וַיֵּצֵר e. g. *kayat*) was always assumed, and יָקָם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* יָקָם to original *qawūm*, the *participle passive* יָקָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like וַיֵּצֵר , קָם (see *m*) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קָם , קָם , &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָם , leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These וַיֵּצֵר stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real וַיֵּצֵר stems of the strong forms, such as וַיֵּצֵר , וַיֵּצֵר , &c. (see below, *gg*).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to וַיֵּצֵר stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwa'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to וַיֵּצֵר stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 *a*, note). On the other hand, the old view of ו and ו as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ע"י, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ע"י *b* generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 *b*; § 67 *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (a) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e.g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *plur.* קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קָמָה, &c.¹; (b) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs *middle e* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מָת *he c* is dead; verbs *middle o* have the form אָרַר *he shone*, בָּשָׁ *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.² Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'il* and *d Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original *ā* is the basis of the form and not the *ī* attenuated from *ā* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יָבוֹשׁ), hence יָקִים, for *yāqām*; נָקֹם for *nāqōm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הָקִים for *hūqām*; *participle* מְקִים (on the *Şere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הִקֵּם for *hūqām*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes vocal *Šewā* when the tone is moved forward, e.g. יִמְיָנֵנִי *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nūn paragogic*; יִמְיָנֵהוּ (without *Nūn* יִמְיָנֵהוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הִימִיר Jer 2¹¹ (beside הִמִּיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִימִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the *ā* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ע"ע).

¹ In Aramaic, however, always קָמָה; also in Hebrew grammars before Qimhi קָמָה, קָמָה, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e.g. קָמָה Mi 7⁸, קָמָה 2 K 7^{3.4}.

² According to Stade (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in מָת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *i*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ā* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אָרַר, &c. (from *au*). But *ō* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בָּשָׁה, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i.e. due to lengthening of an original *ā*, and similarly the *ē* of מָת to lengthening of an original *ī*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה is always, and in בָּשָׁה, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

f 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יָקַם (also in Arabic *yāqāmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם (yāqām), יָקַם (in *pause* יָקַם); *imperative* יָקַם, with normal lengthening of the *ā* in the 2nd *plur. fem.* יָקַם, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *ā* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* יָקַם. In *Hiph'il* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *ī* (יָקַם, *imperfect* יָקַם, *jussive* יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם, יָקַם); on the transference of this *ī* to the *Hiph'il* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

g The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* יָקַם is to be traced to the ground-form with *ā* unobscured, Arab. *qātīl*, § 9 *g*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qā'im*,¹ which after absorption of the *ī* became יָקַם, owing to the predominating character of the *ā*. The unchangeableness of the *ā* (*plur.* יָקַם, *constr.* יָקַם, &c.) favours this explanation.

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ā* (now *ā*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, יָבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* יָבֹא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָבֹא (but cf. יָבֹא 1 S 14²⁷) and יָבֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* יָבֹשׁ, בָּשׁ (see above, *c*), most probably also in יָבֹשׁ 2 K 12⁹, יָבֹשׁ Gn 34¹⁵ from an unused *to consent*, and perhaps in יָבֹשׁ 1 S 4⁵, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yī-bāš*. Finally the *Niph.* יָקַם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יָקַם from *yīqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yīqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *i* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and יָ regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* (as in יָבֹא לְיָבֹא Lv 7³⁰, cf. יָבֹא Mi 2¹²), before the termination of יָ. As in verbs עָע (§ 67 *d* and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'il*, however, before the *i*, instead of the *ī* an *ē* is somewhat often found² (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

¹ So in Arabic, prop. *qā'im*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *ā*, cf. Aram. יָבֹא; but also contracted, as *šāk*, *hār*, for *šā'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

² יָבֹא 1 S 6⁷ (cf. 2 Ch 6²⁵) could only be an orthographic licence for יָבֹא; perhaps, however, יָבֹא was originally intended.

secutive, Dt 4³⁹, 30¹, as well as before the affirmatives הָם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22², 1 S 6⁸, 1 K 8³⁴, Ez 34⁴. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הָקִים, הָקִימוֹת, הָקִימוֹת (or הָקִי; on הָעֲרִיחָה Ex 19²³, cf. *x*), but וְהִקְמֹתָ, &c., Ex 26³⁰, &c.; Dt 4³⁹, Nu 18²⁶ (cf., however, וְהִקְמֹנוּ Mi 5⁴). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect *Niphal*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (נִקְוֹתִי); cf. *v*. In the imperfect *Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel ' always bears the tone (תִּקְוִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *k* instead of *u* and *i* we find in imperfect *Qal* תִּבְאֹנָה (see § 76 *g*); וְתִשְׁבְּנָה Ez 16⁴⁵ (also תִּשְׁבְּנִינָה in the same verse); וְתִשְׁבְּנָה 1 S 7¹⁴ (cf. Ez 35⁹ *Q're*; on the *Kethibh* תִּשְׁבְּנָה cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְתִאֲרֹנָה 1 S 14²⁷ from אֲרֹן (*Kethibh* וְתִאֲרֹנָה and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִבְטֹתָ Ex 20²⁵, also הִנְפִּיטֹתִי Jb 31²¹; וְהִטִּילֹתִי Jer 22²⁶; וְתִשְׁבְּנָה Jb 20¹⁰; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְאִינָה Lv 7³⁰ from בֹּא. *Seghol* without ' occurs in the imperfect *Qal* in חֲמוֹתָנָה Ez 13¹⁹, Zc 1¹⁷; and in *Hiph'il* Mi 2¹²; the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is תִּקְיֹמָה Jer 44²⁵, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for תִּקְיֹמָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תִּקְיֹמָה or תִּקְיֹמָה.

6. The tone, as in verbs ע"ע (cf. § 67 *k*), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ע"ע before the affirmatives הָם, הֵן, ' ; thus קָיָה (but also קָיָה 2 K 19²¹, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following קָיָה; after *wāw* consecutive קָיָה Is 23¹⁷); קָיָה (but also קָיָה, cf. Is 28⁷, 29⁹, Na 3¹⁸, ψ 76⁶, Pr 5⁶, La 4¹⁸; וְקָיָה 1 S 8¹¹; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13³²; וְקָיָה Is 19¹; before ע, ψ 131¹, Pr 30¹³, La 4¹⁴); תִּקְיָה, תִּקְיָה, but before a suffix or with *Nûn* paragogic וְיִסְכּוּם 2 Ch 28¹⁵; וְקָיָה Dt 33¹¹, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ע"ע. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (with consonantal *i*, see below, *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'el* עָוֵר to surround, only in עָוֵרִי ψ 119⁶¹; and with change of *i* to *i*, קִים Est 9³¹, קִימוּ Est 9²⁷, *impf.* וְאִקְיָמָה ψ 119¹⁰⁶, *inf.* קִים Ez 13⁶, Ru 4⁷ &c., Est 9²¹ &c., *imperat.* קִימִי ψ 119²⁸; וְהִיבִיחֵם Dn 1¹⁰ from הִיב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִתְפַּיֵּיִר Jos 9¹², which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צִיד. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pôlél* (see § 55 *c*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually

employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e.g. קומם *to set up* from קים; מוֹתָה *to slaughter*, 1 S 14¹³, 17³¹, 2 S 1⁹, from מוֹת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוֹמָם, from רוֹם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. הִתְעוֹרֵר Jb 17⁸ in *pause*) from עוֹר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשִּׁשׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2²⁵. The conjugation *Pilpēl* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e.g. טלל *to hurl away* from טל; בילל *to contain* from ביל; נררר *to destroy* from נר.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

nl 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מוֹת *he is dead, fem.* מוֹתָה, 2nd masc. מוֹתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 h); 1st sing. מוֹתִי, נִמְתִּי (even in *pause*, Gn 19¹⁹); plur. מוֹתִי, 1st pers. מוֹתֵנִי, in *pause* מוֹתֵנִי, בִּשׁ *he was ashamed*, בִּשְׁתָּ, בִּשְׁתִּי, בִּשְׁתֵּנִי, בִּשְׁתֵּי; אור *it has shone*, plur. אורו. אורו *to be good*, טבו. Participle מוֹת *a dead man* (plur. מוֹתִים, מוֹתֵי); מוֹתִים *ashamed*, Ez 32³⁰. For נר Is 27¹¹ read נר, or, with LXX, ער.

o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשִׁבְתָּ (with the original ending of the *fem.* for וְשִׁבְתָּ) Ez 46¹⁷ (see § 44 f); צָקוֹן Is 26¹⁶ (see § 44 l).—In בָּנוּ 1 S 25⁸ (for בָּנוּ from בוא) the נ has been dropped contrary to custom. In יבאו Jer 27¹⁸ (instead of יבאו) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* which is what would be expected; as *Fódh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p The form קם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with נ in the *perfect*, קָם Ho 10¹⁴, also in the *participle* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4²¹, ראש poor, 2 S 12¹⁴, Pr 10⁴, plur. 13²³; שָׁאֵם whence שָׁאֵם *doing despite unto* (unless שָׁאֵם is to be read, from a stem שָׁאֵם *whence* Ez 25¹⁵, 36⁵, Ez 25^{24.25}; *fem.* 16⁶⁷; also in Ze 14¹⁰ ראמה is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for ראמה). On the analogy of *participle* of verbs *middle o* (like בושִׁים, see above) קוֹמִים occurs for קָמִים 2 K 16⁷ and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט occullans, Is 25⁷; בושִׁים Ze 10⁵.—*Participle passive*, מוֹל circumcised; but מוֹל a backslider, Pr 14¹⁴, and מוֹל put aside, Is 49²¹ (cf. Jer 17¹³ Q're), are verbal adjectives of the form *qāfūl* (§ 50 f), not passive *participle*. For חָשִׁים hastening, Nu 32¹⁷, read חָשִׁים as in Ex 13¹⁸; for שוֹבִי Mi 2⁸ read שוֹבִי.

q 2. Imperfects in *u* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *u*, as קוֹמֵם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוֹם (also defectively written קָם); but ידוֹשׁ *he threshes* (*inf.* דָּוָשׁ), has *imperative* דָּוֹשִׁי (*fem.*), Mi 4¹³; ימוֹם *it slippeth*, *infinitive* מוֹם (ψ 38¹⁷, 46⁹); cf. נוֹחַ (also נוֹחַ) Nu 11²⁵ and נוֹעַ Is 7² (elsewhere נוֹעַ) with the *imperfects* ינוֹחַ and ינוֹעַ; לָעוֹז Is 32²; שוֹב Jos 2¹⁶; רוֹם Ez 10¹⁷ (verse 16 רוֹם).

r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *o* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יבוא (*inf.* and *imper.* בוא or בא¹; 2 S 23², אָנֹרִי, אָנֹרִי, &c.—יקום Jb 8¹⁴ (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

¹ In 1 K 14¹⁸ (בָּבֶאֱחָ before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בָּבֶאֱחָ.

since the *imperfect* of קָיָם appears as אָקָיָם in ψ 95¹⁰. On the other hand יִקְשֹׁן (as if from קָשָׁן, on the analogy of יָבֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יָקֵשׁ (פ"י). The *imperfect* יִדְוֹן, with δ , Gn 6⁸, probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יִדְוֹן *to judge* (from דָּוָן, ע"י). Or can יִדְוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly (עֵינֶיךָ) לֹא תִחַם עֵינֶי לֹא might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16⁸⁰), in Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, 19^{13,21}, 25¹², Ez 5¹¹, 7^{4,9}, 8¹⁸, 9¹⁰. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תִחַם was originally intended, as in Is 13¹⁸, Jer 21⁷, while cases like יִחַם ψ 72¹³ are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has δ , e.g. יִקְוֹם קוֹם Jer 44²⁰.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָיָמוּ, קָיְמוּ) the tone is on the stem δ syllable (cf., however, עֲיָרִי Ju 5¹² intentionally varied from עֲיָרִי; also עֲיָרִי Ze 13⁷ and Is 51⁹ beside עֲיָרִי בִימֵי; עֲיָרִי Ze 9⁹; עֲיָרִי Is 21²; שְׁוֹבִי ψ 116⁷, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שְׁוֹבָה Jer 3¹², ψ 7⁸, and עֲיָרָה verse 7. But if an א follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קָיְמָה, &c.,¹ in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4¹⁸, ψ 82⁸; hence also before יְהוָה Q^{re} *perpetuum* יִדְוֹנִי (§ 17 c), e.g. ψ 3⁸, 7⁷ קָיְמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עֲיָרָה and in Jer 40⁶, שְׁבָה before א), and so even before ר ψ 43¹, 74²², &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקָם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs *t* (as subjunctive, Ec 12⁴; ψ 80¹⁰ may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקָם (Gn 27³¹; cf. Ju 6¹⁸, Pr 9^{4,16}), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46⁶). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיָּקָם, in *pause* וַיָּקָם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, א often takes the place of δ , e.g. וַיִּנַּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4¹⁸, Ru 4¹ (distinguished only by the sense from וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8¹⁸); וַיִּצָּר and he was in distress; וַיִּפָּרַח and he flew, Is 6⁶ and he was weary, Ju 4²¹, 1 S 14^{28,31}, 2 S 21¹⁵, but probably in all these cases וַיִּנָּע for וַיִּנָּע from וַיִּנָּע is intended. For וַיִּתְּלֶשׁ 2 S 13⁸ K^{eth.}, the Q^{re} rightly requires וַיִּתְּלֶשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסְבְּרוּ, &c. On וַיָּקָמוּ (וַיָּקָמוּ), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, l) are וַיִּתְּלֶשׁוּ Gn 3^{3,4}; וַיִּנָּעוּ ψ 104⁷; וַיִּרְצֻּן Jo 2^{4,7,9}.

II. On Niph'al.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְיְמוֹתִי, which frequently occurs (נִסְיְמוֹתִי, *u*) נִפְיְמוֹתִי, cf. also the *ptep. plur.* נִבְיָכִים Ex 14⁸), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְיְמוֹת, נִקְיְמוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְיְמוֹנִי given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

¹ Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on ψ 3⁸.

only examples found have *ō* (not *ū*), viz. *נִפְּזוּתָם* *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11¹⁷, 20^{34,41}, and *וַיִּקְטְמוּ* *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20⁴³, 36³¹.—To the *i* (instead of *ū*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* *עָוָר* Ze 2¹⁷ (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* *נָפֹל*, see below, *ee*), *imperfect* *יַעוֹר* for *yi'or*.—The *infinitive construct* *הוֹדִישׁ* occurs in Is 25¹⁰; in *לְאָדָר* Jb 33³⁰, the Masora assumes the elision of the *h* (for *לְהָאָדָר*); but probably *לְאָדָר* (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 *l*).—*נָמוּגָה* Is 14³¹, *נָסוּגָה* Is 59¹³ are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

III. On *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, and *P'el*.

6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: *הִבְּאִיתִי*, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); *הִמְתָּה* (from *חֶמְדָּה*) for *hemdth-ā* (cf. § 20 *a*); *הִבְּנִי* 1st plur. *perfect* *Hiph'il* from *בֵּן* 2 Ch 29¹⁰, even *הִמְתָּם* (§ 27 *e*) Nu 17⁶, &c.; cf. 2 S 13²⁸, also *וְהִמְתָּן* Ex 1¹⁶, and *וְהִמְתִּיהָ* Ho 2⁵; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive *וְהִמְתִּי* Is 14³⁰; cf. *וְהִמְתִּיהָ* Jer 16¹⁸, and *וְהִנַּפְתָּ* Ex 29²⁴, &c.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes *—* (1 Ch 15¹², &c.) or more frequently *—*, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily *—* (e.g. *וְהִקְמִיתִי* Gn 6¹⁸). Before a suffix in the 3rd sing. masc. (except Gn 40¹³) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd plur., the vowel of the initial syllable is *Hataf-ph-Pathah* (König); on *הִקְמִיתִי* 2 K 9², ψ 89⁴⁴, cf. Ex 19²³, Nu 31²³, Dt 4³⁰, 22², 27², 30¹, Ez 34⁴, and above, *i*. The 3rd fem. perf. *Hiph.* *הִסְתָּה* 1 K 21²⁶ is quite abnormal for *הִסִּיתָה* from *סִית* or *סִיתָ*.

As in verbs *עָוָע* with *h* for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of *עָוָר* Ex 19²³ (where against the rule given under *i* we find *הַעֲוָרָה* with *ē* instead of *i*), Dt 8¹⁰, Neh 9³⁴, Jer 42¹⁰, and *עָוָר* Is 41²⁶, 45¹³, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of *—*. The irregular *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* Ze 10⁶ has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* (from *יָשַׁב*) and *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* (from *יָשַׁב*): the latter is to be preferred.—On *הִבְּשִׁיתִי* and *הוֹבִישׁ* as a (metaplastic) *perfect* *Hiph'il* of *בוֹשַׁע*, cf. § 78 *b*.

7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form *הִקֵּם* (on *הִשָּׁב* Is 42²² with *Silluq*, cf. § 29 *q*; but in Ez 21³⁵ for *הִשָּׁב* read the *infinitive* *הִשָּׁב*) the lengthened form *הִקְמִיָּה* is also found. With suffix *וְהִקְמִיָּנִי*, &c. The *imperative* *הִבִּיא* Jer 17¹⁸ is irregular (for *הִבֵּא* Gn 43¹⁶); perhaps *הִבִּיא* (as in 1 S 20⁴⁰; cf. 2 K 8⁹) is intended, or it was originally *הִבִּיאָה*.

In the *infinitive*, elision of the *h* occurs in *לְבִיא* Jer 39⁷, 2 Ch 31¹⁰ (for *לְהִבִּיא*); *h* fem. is added in *לְהִנַּפֵּה* Is 30²⁸; cf. Est 2¹⁸ and the analogous *infinitive* *Haph'el* in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5²⁰.—As *infinitive absolute* *הִבִּין* occurs in Ez 7¹⁴ (perh. also Jos 4³, Jer 10²³).—The *participles* have *ē*, on the analogy of the *perfect*, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs *עָוָע* (§ 67 *i*). On *מָבִי* 2 S 5², &c. (in *Ke'libh*), see § 74 *k*.

On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (*יָקַם*, *וְיָקַם*, but always *וְיָבִיא*; in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone *אֶל-הַשָּׁב* 1 K 22²⁰) see above, *f*. With a guttural or *ר* the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e.g. *וְיָדָע* and *he testified*, 2 K 17¹⁸; *וְיָדַח* let him smell, 1 S 26¹⁰; *וְיָדָח* Gn 82¹; *וְיָסַר*.

and he took away, Gn 8¹³. The 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* commonly has the form וְאַשִׁיב Neh 2²⁰, or, more often, defectively וְאַעֲד I K 2⁴², less frequently the form וְאַשְׁבֵּב Jos 14⁷.—For אָסַף Zp 1² (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָסַף § 68 g: similarly in Jer 8¹³ אָסַף instead of אָסַף.

In the *imperfect Pôlél* the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-*bb* syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. וְהִתְבַּנֵּן Pr 14³⁴; לוֹ תִהְיֶה לְךָ Jb 35¹⁴; cf. Pr 25²³, and acc. to Baer וְהִתְבַּנֵּן Jb 30²⁰ (ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְהִתְבַּנֵּן בִּי), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Şere*, cf. § 16 f. γ. —As *Pôlél* cf. יִרְעֶע Is 16¹⁰.

As *participle Hoph'al* הַמְוֹשֵׁב occurs in close connexion, Gn 43¹²; cf. § 65 α.

Peculiar contracted forms of *Pôlél* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are *cc* וִיבִנְנִי Jb 31¹⁵, וְיִבְנֶנּוּ Is 64⁹ for וִיבִנְנֶנּוּ, &c. [but read וִיבִנְנֶנּוּ (§ 58 k), וְיִעֲרֶנּוּ or וְיִעֲרֶנּוּ, and וְיִמְנְנֶנּוּ]; also תִּרְמָם Jb 17⁴, for תִּרְמָם.—In Is 15⁵ יַעֲרֶוּ appears to have arisen from the *Pûpel* יַעֲרֶוּ, the *ā* after the loss of the *ṛ* having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been obscured to *ē*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוִמְיָךְ ψ 139²¹, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ו* omitted, read בְּתִקְוָךְ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs ע"ו are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were *dd* also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *uāw consecutive*, the whole of *Hoph'al*, the *Pôlél* of verbs ע"ו, and the *Pôlél* of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע"ו sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. *perfect Qal* בָּזַח he has despised (from בָּזַח, as if from בָּזַח) Ze 4¹⁰; *perfect Niph'al* נָמַר Jer 48¹¹ (for נָמַר from מָנַר, as if from מָנַר). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Jb 10⁴ for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67 dd) = נִקְטָה from קָטַח, and נָקַט Ez 6⁹ (for נָקַט from נָקַט); וְרָמוּ Ez 10⁴⁷ and וְרָמוּ verse 15; הִרְמִיז (imperative) Nu 17¹⁰; יִפֶּגּ Mi 2⁶; *Hiph'il perfect* הִתָּן Is 18⁵ for הִתָּן (cf. § 29 q), which is for הִתָּן from הִתָּן. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמַר Ex 48¹⁴ (unless it be intended for יָמַר, cf. ψ 15⁴) and יָפַח Hb 2⁸, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67 g) verbs ע"ו sometimes have in *Niph'al* *cc* and *Hiph'il* the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִסִּית to invite, imperfect הִסִּית (also הִסִּית, *הִסִּית*); הִסִּיג, imperfect הִסִּיג to remove (from הִסִּיג), also *Hoph'al* הִסִּיג Is 59¹⁴ (on הִסִּיג, cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ to cause to rest,¹ but הִנִּיחַ (*imperfect* הִנִּיחַ, *consecutive* הִנִּיחַ) Gn 39¹⁶; *imperative* הִנִּיחַ, plur. הִנִּיחוּ to set down; for הִנִּיחוּ (Baer, Ginsburg 'הִנִּיחַ) Ze 5¹¹ (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'il* on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקִּימַת Dn 7⁴) we should probably read הִנִּיחוּ with

¹ As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in La 5⁵.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8¹¹ the *Kethibh* הרים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלַן to spend the night, to remain, and יָלַן Ex 16⁷ *Qere* (Kethibh יָלַן; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלַנו, *Qere* יָלַנו), participle מָלַן Ex 16⁸, Nu 14²⁷, 17²⁰, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַן only יָלַן is found, Ex 17³. Other examples are *Niph'al* נָפַל he was circumcised, Gn 17²⁶ f.; participle נָפַל (from נָפַל, not נָפַל); גָּעַר he is waked up, Zc 2¹⁷ (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִיָּלַח La 1⁸; יָלַח Pr 4²¹.

ff Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וְתַחַשׁ for וְתַחַשׁ and she hastened (from וְתַחַשׁ) Jb 31⁶; וְעָט (another reading is וְעָט), וְעָט 1 S 15¹⁰, 25¹⁴ (14³² *Qere*) from וְעָט or וְעָט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from וְעָט and וְעָט (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

gg 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. הָוָר, imperfect יִהְיוּר to be white; הָוָע, imperfect יִהְיוּע to expire; רָוָה to be wide; צָוָה to cry; פִּעַל, imperfect יַעֲוִל to act wickedly; עָנָה to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעַנָּה to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Piel* צִוָּה to command, קָנָה to wait, רָוָה to drink, *Piel* רָוָה (on אֲרִיָּה Is 16⁹, see § 75 dd) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *i* (vulgo "ע), e. g. בִּין to discern.

Paradigm N.

- a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs "ע, and in contrast to them may be termed "ע, or more correctly, *ayin-i* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *inf.* *constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *inf.* *constr.*—the "ע verbs having *i* lengthened from original *ä* and "ע having *i* lengthened from original *ä*. In other respects verbs "ע simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the trilateral form¹ (§ 67 a). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in "ע, has *a* lengthened from *ä*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive absolute* שֵׁת, *imperative* שֵׁת, *imperfect* יִשֵּׁת, *jussive* יִשֵּׁת (§ 48 g), *imperfect consecutive* יִשֵּׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

¹ That verbs "ע and "ע are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּינָתִי and בִּינָתִי are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e.g. בִּינְתִי Dn 10¹; בִּינְתִי Dn 9², also בִּנְתָּהּ ψ 139²; רִיבְתִי thou strivest, Jb 33¹³, also לִבְתָּהּ La 3⁵⁸. The above *perfects* (בִּין, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *î*), the *î* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *û* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קִים). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בִּין, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e.g. *perfect* הִבִּין (but בִּין only in Dn 10¹), *infinitive* הִבִּין (but *infin. abs.* בִּין only in Pr 23¹), *imperative* הִבֵּן (only in Dn 9²³ immediately before וְהִבֵּן, also בִּינֵי three times, and בִּינֵה ψ 5²), *participle* מִבִּין.¹ Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מָרִיב (also מָרַב), מִשִּׁים *placing* (but only in Jb 4²⁰, which, with the critically untenable הִשִּׁימִי Ez 21²¹, is the only instance of שִׁים in *Hiph'il*), מִנִּים *breaking forth* Ju 20³³, with *infin. Qal* וָיָהוּ they rushed forth Ju 20³⁷, with *imperat. Qal* קִי. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive of Qal*, e.g. יוּחַל Is 66⁸ from הָיַל to turn round, יוּשָׁר from שָׁר to sing, יוּשַׁת from שִׁית to set.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived *b* from verbs ע"י; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"י is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* גָּבַן (*ground-form nabān*), פִּזְּן, and *Hithpōlāl* הִתְפַּלֵּל. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"י and ע"י is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from הָיַל to turn round, *imperative* also הָיִל Mi 4¹⁰; שִׁים to place, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׁים (2 S 14⁷ שִׁים *Qere*), *imperfect* יִשִּׁים, but Ex 4¹¹ יִשִּׁים. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e.g. גִּיל to exult (גִּיל only Pr 23²⁴ *Kethibh*); from לָן (perhaps denominative from לָלַח) to spend the night, לָן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָן only in Gn 24²³; but the *imperative* is always לָן, &c.—Of verbs ע"י the most common are שִׁית to set, רִיב to strive, דִּין to judge, שִׂישׁ to rejoice; cf. also *perfect* בָּל (middle

¹ Since בִּנְתָּהּ ψ 139² might be intended for בִּנְתָּהּ, there remains really no form of בִּין which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *ptcp. plur.* בִּנְיִים Jer 49⁷. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יִשִּׁים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f. and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

Yôdh in Arabic) to *comprehend*, to *measure*, Is 40¹²; עִיט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to *rush upon*, and the denominative perfect קָיַן (from קָיִן) to *pass the summer*, Is 18⁶. On the other hand, וְיִרְיֹגוּם and *they shall fish them*, Jer 16¹⁶, generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from יָרַיֵשׁ *fish*, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, יִרְיֵי.

c Corresponding to verbs properly עָו, mentioned in § 72 gg, there are certain verbs עָו with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַח to *hate*, עָפַח to *faint*, הָיָה to *become*, to *be*, חָיָה to *live*.

d Rem. 1. In the *perfect Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָכָה occurs once, Ze 5⁴, for וְלָכָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. *participle* וְלָכָה Is 59⁵); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 i and § 80 i.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָה ψ 90⁸, *Q're* (before ע; cf. § 72 s); 1st sing. once שָׁתִי ψ 73²⁸, *mil'ra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וְלָכָה Ju 19¹³ for *lān-nū*. The lengthened *imperative* has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, הִרְבָּה יהוה ψ 35¹; see further, § 72 s.—Examples of the *infinitive absolute* are: רַב לִיגִי, Ju 11²⁵, Jb 4c²; שָׁח Jer 42¹⁵; שָׁח ponendo, Is 22⁷. On the other hand, רִיב רִיב (for רַב רַב) Jer 5c²⁴, בֵּין תְּבִין Pr 23¹, חוּל תְּחִיל Ex 30¹⁶ *Keth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Q're* requires תְּחִיל חוּל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 x.

e 2. The *shortened imperfect* usually has the form יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹו יָרַב Ju 6³¹, cf. Ex 23¹, אֶל-תִּשְׁתָּה 1 S 9²⁰. So with *wāw* consecutive יָשַׁע and *he placed*, וְיָבֵן and *he perceived*; with a middle guttural וְיָשַׁע בָּהֶם 1 S 25¹⁴ (see § 72 ee); with ר as 3rd radical, וְתִשָּׁר Ju 5¹. As *jussive* of לָיַן, תִּלָּן is found in Ju 16²⁰ (in *pause*) and Jb 17², for תִּלָּן.—For אֶל-תִּרְבַּר Pr 3³⁰ *Keth.* (*Q're* תִּרְבַּר) read תִּרְבַּר.

f 3. As *participle active Qal* לָיַן *spending the night*, occurs once, Neh 13²¹; *participle passive* שָׁח Nu 24²¹, 1 S 9²⁴, Ob 4; *feminine* שָׁחָה 2 S 13³², in the *Q're*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2): the *Kethibh* has שָׁחָה. A *passive* of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 e and s, and § 53 u) from שָׁח may perhaps be seen in וְיָשַׁע Gn 5c²⁶ (also Gn 24³³ *Kethibh* וְיָשַׁע, *Q're* וְיָשַׁע; the Samaritan in both places has וְיָשַׁע), and also in יָשַׁח Ex 3c³², Samaritan יָשַׁח. Against the explanation of יָשַׁח as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָחַ, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָח is the doubtful וְיָשַׁח, which is probably an *ē*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יָשַׁח, &c., as a *passive* of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuyyam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

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g 4. In verbs עָו the *ē* always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is יָנַח Ee 12⁵ if it be *imperfect Hiph'il* of נָחַח (for נָחַח); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָחַח, and regarded as incorrectly written for נָחַח. On נָחַח (from נָחַח), which was formerly treated here as עָו, see now § 75 x.

§ 74. Verbs נָ, e.g. נָצַח to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נָ, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i.e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e.g. נָצַח, נָצַח, נָצַח, נָצַח, i.e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *ā* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ā* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ā* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e.g. נָצַח, נָצַח, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31²³), or immediately before it (Jb 10¹⁸), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21¹⁴, Nu 19^{13,20}), but even out of pause with *Mer'kha*, Nu 6⁷, and even before *Maggeph* in Nu 19¹².

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *c* beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ā* it regularly becomes *Qames* (נָצַח for נָצַח, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נָצַח, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *Seghol*, נָצַח, נָצַח.

(a) The *Seghol* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *e* of the *perfect* forms in *Pu'al*, *Hithpa'el*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *i* (as in other cases the *e* and *i* in the final syllable of the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect* of these conjugations), although this *i* may have only been attenuated from an original *ā*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *Seghol* are due to the analogy of verbs לָ (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 m.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd masc. sing. הָצַח Ez 40⁴, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *c* retains its consonantal value; so before ת and כּ, e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי Ct 8¹; הָצַח Ez 28¹³ (cf. § 65 h), not יִקְרָאֵנִי, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *Sewa mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 25⁶; *participle* with suffix יִקְרָאֵנִי Is 43¹; *infinitive Pu'al* יִקְרָאֵנִי.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵנִי Jer 23⁶ (for יִקְרָאֵנִי or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵנִי and יִקְרָאֵנִי.

f 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e.g. מַצֵּא מַצֵּא, &c. (in *purse* מַצְאוּ, מַצְאוּ).

REMARKS.

g 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מֵלֵא to be full, retain the *šere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e.g. מֵלֵאתִי (מֵלֵא Est 7⁵ has — owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֶתֶם Jos 4²⁴ read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מֵצֵאתָ the form קִרְאתָ *she names*, on the analogy of the ל"ה-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7¹⁴ (from קִרְאתָ, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31²⁹, Jer 44²³, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְהִטָּאתָ Ex 5¹⁶, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to וְהִטָּאתָ with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ ψ 118²³; in *Hoph'al* הִפְלֵאתָ Gn 33¹¹.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קִרְאתָ by Baer, Gen 16¹¹, &c., according to early MSS.

h 2. The *infim. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל"ה (גִּלְיוֹת, &c., see § 75 *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מִלֵּאת to fill (as distinguished from מִלֵּא fullness), Lv 8³³, 12^{4,6}, 25⁵⁰, Jer 29¹⁰, Ez 5², also written מִלֵּאתוּ Jer 25¹², Jb 20²², &c., and מִלֵּאת Est 1⁵. Cf. further, קִרְאתָ Ju 8¹; שָׁנֵאתָ Pr 8¹³; before suffixes, Ez 33¹², and likewise in *Niph.* Ze 13⁴; also in *Piel* לְמִלֵּאת Ex 31⁵, 35³⁵, or לְמִלֵּאתוּ Dn 9², &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21².—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מִשְׁנֵאתָ and מִשְׁנֵאתוּ, see § 45 *e*; on לְקִרְאתָ obviam, § 19 *k*.—בְּמִצְאָכֶם when ye find, Gn 32²⁰, stands, according to § 93 *g*, for מִצְאָכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאֵה Ps 41⁵ as *Mit'ra'* (before נִפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1⁹ has, according to Qimhi, the form מִצְּאֵנָה and in verse 20 קִרְאֵנָה; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מִצְּאֵנָה, קִרְאֵנָה.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e.g. מִצְּאֵת (for מִצְּאֵתָ) 2 S 18²², cf. Est 2¹⁵; so *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ Dt 30¹¹, Ze 5⁷ (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30²⁵), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38²⁵; less frequent forms are מִצְּצֵאתָ Ct 8¹⁰; נִשְׁאָה 1 K 10²² (cf. § 76 *b*, שָׁאָה beside לִשְׁאָה as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׁאָה) and without א (see *k*) וִיצָתָ (from וִיצָה) Dt 28⁵⁷. In the forms הִטָּאתָ *sinning*, 1 S 14³³, cf. ψ 99⁶; הִפְגֵּאתָ *feigning them*, Neh 6⁸, the א is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 *oo*.—On the *plur. masc. ptep. Niph.* cf. § 93 *oo*.

k 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 *f*): (a) in the middle of the word, e.g. בָּנִי 1 S 25⁸; מִצְּתִי Nu 11¹¹, cf. Jb 1²¹; צִמְתִּי Ju 4¹⁰, cf. Jb 32¹⁸. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer 9¹⁷, Ze 5⁹, Ru 1¹⁴ (but the same form occurs with *Yódh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה in Ez 23⁴⁹, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50⁵⁰); in *Piel* אֶפְנֶה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31³⁹; and also in *Niph'al* נִמְתָּחָם Lv 11⁴³; cf. Jos 2¹⁶. (b) at the end of the word; וִיבֹ 1 K 12¹² *Kethibh*; *Hiph'al* הִתְחַבֵּי 2 K 13⁶, cf. Is 53¹⁰ הִתְחַבֵּי for הִתְחַבֵּי *perfect Hiph'al* of חָבָה formed

after the manner of verbs ל"ה; in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יָשִׁי ψ 55¹⁶ *Kethibh*; יָנִי ψ 141⁵; אָבִי 1 K 21¹⁰, Mi 1¹⁵; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32³⁵; in the *participle*, 2 S 5², 1 K 21²¹, Jer 19¹⁵, 39⁶, all in *Kethibh* (מְבִי, always before ל, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive, imperfect consecutive, and imperative Hiph'il* a number of cases occur with *i* in the final syllable; cf. יָשִׁי Is 36¹⁴ (in the parallel passages 2 K 18²⁰, 2 Ch 32¹⁵ יָשִׁי); יָבִי Neh 8² (before ע); יָבִי 2 K 21¹¹ (cf. 1 K 16², 21²²); וְיָבִי 2 K 6²⁰; וְיָבִי Dt 4²⁰, 2 K 11¹², ψ 78¹⁶, 105⁴⁸; *imperative* יָבִי Jer 17¹⁸; הוֹצִי Is 43⁸ (in both cases before ע). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *i* is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after *i* consecutive, the *i* is always reduced to *i*. In the examples before ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 hh).—In Ez 40³, Baer reads with the Western school וְיָבִי, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* וְיָבִי, and in the *Qere* וְיָבִי.

On the transition of verbs ל"ה to forms of ל"ה see § 75 nn.

§ 75. Verbs ל"ה, e.g. הָלַח to reveal. *Paradigm P.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in ל"ה verbs' in *AJSL*. xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs פ"ה (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally ל"י and those originally ל"י,¹ which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 k); hence both classes are called ל"ה, e.g. הָלַח for הָלַי *he has revealed*; שָׁלַח for שָׁלַי *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל"י.

הָשַׁח to be at rest may be recognized as originally ל"י, in the forms in which ה the Waw appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁחַח Jb 3²⁰, the *participle* שָׁחַח and the derivative שָׁחַח *rest*; on the other hand the *imperfect* is שָׁחַח (with *Yôdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عَنَى) to answer, and עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ) to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).

¹ According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ל"ה verbs, apart from some true ל"י and some probable ל"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the ל"י verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like הָלַח (see u). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

² In the Me'a inscription, line 5, וְיָעַן and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Piel*, and in line 6, אָעַן I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

C The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see Paradigm P) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 g) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 k, and *ā* in הַלֵּךְ, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָלַךְ, הָלַכְתָּ, הָלַכְתָּם, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הֹלֵךְ, הֹלֵכָה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הֲלֹךְ, הֲלֹכִי, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הֲלֹךְ, &c.), except in *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, and generally also *Pi'el*, see aa and ff.

The *participle passive* *Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or י, see v) reappearing at the end, הָלֵךְ; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84^a, c, e, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending תי (with ת *feminine*); *Qal* הָלֵךְ, *Pi'el* הִלָּךְ, &c.; for exceptions, see n and y.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָלַךְ stands, according to the above, for הָלַיְךְ, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al*, and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הִלָּכְתָּ, הִתְהַלַּכְתָּ (§ 52 l; and § 54 k), and *Hiph'il* on the form הִתְהַלַּךְ, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *ʿaṭā* (§ 53 a). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff, with § 136. Rem., and ZDMG. xlv. 695 f., against Philipp's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also ZDMG. lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *ty* becomes ה־ (constr. ה־), not י; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Prätorius, ZDMG. lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S'ghol* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *imperf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S'ghol* of the *imperf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י־ (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *ē*.

k 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs הָלִי is the rejection of the ending הָלִי in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjunctions, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o*, *y*, *bb*, *gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final הָלִי (see *cc*, *gg*).

l 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending הָלִי serves in verbs הָלִי to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1²⁶, 2¹⁸, 2 Ch 25¹⁷, &c. With a final הָלִי there occur only: in *Qal*, שָׁשָׁה ψ 119¹⁷, אָהַבְתִּיּוּ (with the *ʾ* retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77⁴; and in *Hithpaʿel* אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Is 41²³ (with *Tiphpha*, therefore in lesser pause).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

m 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* הָלִי, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in שָׁשָׁה (before *N*) Lv 25²¹ (cf. 2 K 9³⁷ *Kethibh*)¹; likewise in *Hiphʿil* הָרַצְתָּ (before *N*) Lv 26³⁴; הָלִי Ez 24¹²; and in *Hophʿal* הָלִי (before *ʾ*) Jer 13¹³.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written הָלִי; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהָיִיתָ 2 S 14², and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הָלִי Is 57⁸; הָלִי Jer 2²⁸, Ez 16⁴⁸, &c. (so וְהָיִיתָ 1 K 17¹⁸ from הָלִי). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (הָלִי, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37²⁰, הָלִי, both on account of the *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding הָלִי; also in Is 16⁸ הָלִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with הָלִי); and in Jb 24¹ הָלִי.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

n 2. The *infln. absol.* frequently has *ʾ* (probably a survival of the older orthography) for הָלִי, e. g. הָלִי Gn 18¹⁸; הָלִי Jer 4¹⁸, &c., Ez 31¹¹; הָלִי 2 S 24²⁴; הָלִי Gn 26²⁸, Is 6⁹ (cf. 1 S 6¹²), &c., beside הָלִי. The form הָלִי Is 22¹⁵ (beside הָלִי in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַט; so in Is 42²⁰ *Qʿrē* and Ho 10⁴, אָלִי (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*), &c.; cf. also הָלִי Hb 3¹³.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* הָלִי such forms are occasionally found as הָלִי or הָלִי, cf. הָלִי Gn 48¹¹; הָלִי Pr 16¹⁶; הָלִי Gn 50²⁰, ψ 101³, also הָלִי Gn 31²⁸ (cf. Pr 31⁴), and even with the *suffix* הָלִי the very remarkable form הָלִי Ex 18¹⁸.²—The feminine form הָלִי (for הָלִי) Ez 28¹⁷, analogous to nouns like הָלִי (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָלִי as *infln.* Ez 21¹⁵ is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָלִי and הָלִי Is 59²³ are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *Pʿʿl*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* הָלִי occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4⁴ and 7²; but

¹ In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הָלִי may be read הָלִי quite as well as הָלִי.

² All these infinitives construct in *δ*, in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called *E*; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ē* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ē*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 *n*, and especially § 75 *hh*, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rom. 1.—On the reading וְרָאִינָה Ct 3¹¹ (for וְרָאִינָה, on the analogy of the reading כְּרָאִינָה, &c., § 74 *h*), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, *k*, and the note on *hh*) occasions *Q* in *Qal* the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *Sēghōl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 *e*). Thus יִנְּל for יִנְּל; וִינְּו and he despised, Gn 25³⁴; וִיבְּנ and he built; וִישַׁע he looks; וִימַח and he destroyed, Gn 7²³.

(b) The *ē* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִרְאֵה *he sees*. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ו, whilst after *h* the homogeneous *ē* remains, e.g. וִיבְּנ (but וִיבְּנ), וִיפְּנ (but וִיפְּנ), וִיחְּב (but וִיחְּב); with middle guttural וִיחְּב, וִיחְּב Jb 17⁷ (from וִיחְּב). The unusual position of the tone in וִיחְּב Ze 9⁵, וִיחְּב Mi 7¹⁰ (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. וִיחְּב, וִיחְּב) is best explained (except in וִיחְּב Gn 41³⁸, before ו) on the analogy of וִיחְּב, &c., § 72 *s*, as due to the following נ. But cf. also *hh*.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 *d*; וִישַׁב Nu 21¹, Jer 41¹⁰, cf. וִיפְּת Jb 31²⁷; on the other hand, with *ē* lengthened into *ē* (see *p*) וִישַׁת, וִיבְּר, וִיחְּב. The form וִירְאֵה *he sees*, occurs parallel with וִירְאֵה and *he saw* (but 3rd fem. always וִירְאֵה), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'il*, 2 K 11⁴.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל"ה, ר are וִיעָשׂ, in pause וִיעָשׂ and *he made*, from עָשָׂה; וִיעָנַן and *he answered*, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*), וִיחָץ and *he divided*, from חָצַע. On some similar forms of נ"פ see § 76 *d*.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וִיחָרַב and *he was wroth*, וִיחָנַן and *he encamped* (3rd plur. וִיחָנְנוּ), וִיחָדַד (with *Dageš lene* and *Sēwā*) *let it rejoice*, Jb 3⁶; cf. Ex 18⁹.—On וִיחָנַן, וִיחָנַן (ל"ה as well as נ"פ), &c., see § 76 *b*, c, f.

(e) The verbs וִיחָיָה *to be*, and וִיחָיָה *to live*, of which the shortened imperfects *S* ought to be וִיחָיָה and וִיחָיָה, change these forms to וִיחָיָה and וִיחָיָה, the second *Tōdh* being resolved into *ē* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 *n*) וִיחָיָה, וִיחָיָה, with the original *ā* modified to *Sēghōl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like וִיחָיָה for *balchy*, in pause וִיחָיָה; וִיחָיָה for *eny*, &c., § 84^a c, and § 93 *æ*). For וִיחָיָה, however, in Dt 32¹⁸, since no verb וִיחָיָה exists, we must read either וִיחָיָה, or better וִיחָיָה (Samaritan וִיחָיָה), as imperfect *Qal* of וִיחָיָה *to forget*.—Analogous to וִיחָיָה from וִיחָיָה, there occurs once, from וִיחָיָה *to be*, the form וִיחָיָה for וִיחָיָה *he will be*, Ec 11⁸, but no doubt וִיחָיָה is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the ו, cf. § 49 c) not infrequently *t* occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וִיחָיָה וִיחָיָה and *I saw*, twenty times, and Jos 7²¹ in *Kethibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וִיחָיָה fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. וַיַּעַשׂ Ez 15²⁸, Jb 42¹⁶ וַיַּעַשׂ and *he made*, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19² (וַיַּעַשׂ); 1 K 10²⁰ (וַיַּעַשׂ); Dt 1¹⁶ (וַיַּעַשׂ), and Gn 24⁴⁸. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1⁹, 41³⁴, Jer 28⁶.—For the well attested, but meaningless וַיַּעַשׂ Jb 62¹ (doubtless caused by the following וַיַּעַשׂ), read וַיַּעַשׂ *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

4. The original י sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending $\text{וְ$ —, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* וַיַּעַשׂ Dt 32³⁷, cf. וַיַּעַשׂ Q^{re}; *imperative* וַיַּעַשׂ Is 21¹². *Imperfect* וַיַּעַשׂ Jb 16²², 30¹⁴ (without the *pause*, וַיַּעַשׂ 122⁶, Jb 12⁵, cf. וַיַּעַשׂ Dt 5¹⁸; וַיַּעַשׂ 36⁹: more frequently like וַיַּעַשׂ 75⁴⁴; Is 17¹², 21¹², 26¹¹, 31³, 33⁷, 41⁵, וַיַּעַשׂ 36⁸, 39⁷, 83³; before a suffix, Jb 3²⁵). Also in Pr 26⁷ וַיַּעַשׂ , as *perf. Qal* from וַיַּעַשׂ , was perhaps originally intended, but hardly וַיַּעַשׂ , since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; וַיַּעַשׂ probably points to וַיַּעַשׂ from וַיַּעַשׂ as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *ad*, *gg*.

5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of וַיַּעַשׂ , *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like וַיַּעַשׂ Ju 20³¹, &c., וַיַּעַשׂ Pr 20¹², has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical י , viz. וַיַּעַשׂ (= וַיַּעַשׂ) *weeping*, La 1¹⁶; וַיַּעַשׂ *tumultuous*, Is 22² (*plur.* Pr 1²¹); וַיַּעַשׂ *spying*, Pr 31²⁷; וַיַּעַשׂ *fruitful*, וַיַּעַשׂ 128³, *plur.* וַיַּעַשׂ *the things that are to come*, Is 41²². With the ordinary strong inflexion י appears in וַיַּעַשׂ Ct 17, but perhaps there also וַיַּעַשׂ was intended, unless it should be וַיַּעַשׂ *a wanderer*. For וַיַּעַשׂ Is 47¹⁰, וַיַּעַשׂ is to be read.—On וַיַּעַשׂ 1 K 20⁴⁰ for וַיַּעַשׂ , cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as י (§ 24 *b*), cf. וַיַּעַשׂ *made*, Jb 41²⁵, וַיַּעַשׂ Jb 15²², contracted from וַיַּעַשׂ , and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, וַיַּעַשׂ (read וַיַּעַשׂ) 2 K 23⁴; וַיַּעַשׂ (read וַיַּעַשׂ) 1 S 25¹⁸ *Kethibh*, וַיַּעַשׂ (read וַיַּעַשׂ) Is 3¹⁶ *Kethibh*. The shortening of the *u* in וַיַּעַשׂ Est 2³ is irregular.

6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וַיַּעַשׂ 2 S 15³³; וַיַּעַשׂ 1 K 8⁴⁴, cf. 1 K 9⁸; וַיַּעַשׂ Ex 21⁶ (cf. Jer 18²¹, 48², 1 Ch 7¹⁵, Jb 17⁵, &c.), and the pronunciation וַיַּעַשׂ Mi 7¹⁰, cf. וַיַּעַשׂ Ju 5²⁰ (unless they are *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

II. On Niph'al.

7. Here the forms with י in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (י only in וַיַּעַשׂ Gn 24⁸); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always י , as וַיַּעַשׂ 1 S 14⁸. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With י retained in *pause* וַיַּעַשׂ Nu 24⁶; once with an initial guttural וַיַּעַשׂ Ct 1⁶ for וַיַּעַשׂ , probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of וַיַּעַשׂ immediately followed by וַיַּעַשׂ is avoided by pronouncing the וַיַּעַשׂ with *Hateph-Patha*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* וַיַּעַשׂ Pr 27¹⁵ (in *pause* for וַיַּעַשׂ) וַיַּעַשׂ and וַיַּעַשׂ may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read וַיַּעַשׂ .—Among Niph'al forms of וַיַּעַשׂ must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִאֲוָה from נִאָה, not Pi'el of נִאָה = נָאָו; hence, according to § 23 d, נִאֲוָה they are beautiful (for נִאָוָה) Is 52⁷, Ct 11¹⁰; but in ψ 93⁶, where Baer requires נִאֲוָה, read נִאָוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The apocope of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה, e.g. יִגְלֹל from יִגְלֹלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יִפְחֹה (for יִפְחֹה) ψ 109¹³, as in verbs עָע; but in *pause* תִּפְחֹה verse 14. Cf. bb.—The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלִיחַ emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6²⁰, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הִגְלִיחַ.—The *infinitive constr.* לִחְרֹאֵה occurs in Ju 13²¹, 1 S 3²¹ for לִחְרֹאֵה; cf. above, n.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תִּעְלֵל Ez 36³ has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תִּעְלֵל (*Qal*) and תִּעְלֵל (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְבֹּהֶה 1 S 15³ might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* נִמְבֹּהֶה, cf. נִחְלֶה, נִחְפֶה, נִעֲשֶה with the *Hoph'al* (מִבֹּהֶה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוֶה וְנִמְאָסֶה.

III. On Pi'el, Pô'el, Pu'al, and Hithpa'el.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has י on the analogy of *Qal* (see f), as קָיִיתִי, דָּמִיתִי, etc., always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. כִּפִּיתִי Gn 37²⁶, דִּבִּיתִי ψ 44²⁰. The form with י is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4²¹; Is 5⁴, 8¹⁷ along with the form with ה). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides י Jer 17¹⁶) as a rule ה (Pr 24¹⁰, 1 K 2²⁶, Jer 50²⁴). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has י, e.g. עֲשִׂיתִי ψ 139¹⁵.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pô'el* שִׁוִּיתִי (= שִׁוִּיתִי) occurs in Is 10¹³.

10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form בִּכְה, קָה (like בִּפְל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with ה only in ψ 40² קָה; with *ôth* Hb 3¹³ עָרַת (cf. above, n). On הָרוּ and הָגוּ, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pô'el*, see above, n.—As *infinitive construct* חָבִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Ho 6⁹ (only orthographically different from חָבֶה, if the text is correct); לִבְלֵא Dn 9²⁴ (on the ל see rr); עָרִי-לִבְלֵא 2 Ch 24¹⁰, 31¹, for which in 2 K 13^{17,19}, Ezr 9¹⁴ עָרִי-לִבְלֵא with *infinitive abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנֹת ψ 132¹.

11. The apocopated *imperfect* must (according to § 20 i) lose the *Dageš forte* bb of the second radical, hence יִצְוֶה and he commanded, תִּעַר (for תִּעְרֶה = *t'arrê*) ψ 141⁸; cf. Gn 24²⁰; even in the principal pause אֶל-תִּגְלֵל Pr 25⁹; *Hithpa'el* וְתִגְלֵל and he uncovered himself, Gn 9²¹; תִּתְרַע Pr 22²⁴; cf. ψ 37^{1,7,8}. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וְיִרְוֶה and he made marks, 1 S 21¹⁴ (but read with Thénien וְיִרְתֵּה, and instead of the meaningless וְיִשְׁנֶה *ibid.* read וְיִשְׁנֶה). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל-תִּתְרַע, in close connexion, Dt 20¹⁹; וְיִשְׁתַּע Is 41¹⁰; according to Qimhi also וְיִתְאָו, וְיִתְאָו ψ 45¹², Pr 23^{3,6}, 24¹, 1 Ch 11¹⁷, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities וְיִתְאָו, וְיִתְאָו (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).¹—On וְיִתְאָו Jb 15¹⁷ (for וְיִתְאָו) cf. § 20 m; on וְיִתְאָו Ex 33³, see § 27 g;

¹ In Nu 34⁷, according to verse 10, וְיִתְאָו (= וְיִתְאָו) is intended to be read for וְיִתְאָו (*imperfect Pi'el* from וְיִתְאָו).

- on ירך Ju 5¹⁸, see § 69 g. Finally, on רָלַי , which is referred to *P'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.
- cc 12. Examples of apocopated imperatives in *P'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צִו , also צִוָּה command thou, פָּלַח open thou, ψ 119^{18,22}; כָּן prepare thou, ψ 61⁸; נָס for נָסָה prove thou, Dn 1¹²; הִתְחַל feign thyself sick, 2 S 13⁵; cf. Dt 2²⁴.—On רָבָה Ju 9²⁰, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137⁷ רָעָה rase it, is found twice instead of עָרָה (for 'arrû) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיֵּעָר in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24¹¹).
- dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* תִּרְמִינָן Is 40¹⁸, cf. verse 25 and 46⁵; יִכְסִימוּ they cover them, Ex 15⁵; participle *Pu'al* מִתְרַמֵּי Is 25⁶; for מִתְרַמֵּי Is 16⁹ (from רָמָה) read with Margolis, מִתְרַמֵּי .

IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- cc 14. The 3rd sing. perfect *Hiph'il* sometimes has *S'ghôl* in the first syllable instead of י (§ 53 p), especially in הִגְלָה (but perfect consecutive וַהֲגִלָּה 2 K 24¹⁴), הִרְאָה , הִלְאָה ; also with suffixes, e. g. הִגְלֵם 1 Ch 8⁷, הִלְאֵנִי Jb 16⁷, וַהֲפִדָּה Ex 21⁸. The *S'ghôl* also occurs in the 1st sing., e. g. הִלְאֵיתִי Mi 6³. On וַהֲרִאֵיתִי Na 3⁵, cf. § 53 p. The forms with ê in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וַהֲרִי Jer 21⁶) are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Pr 5¹³), rarely in the 2nd sing. masc., and never in the 1st plur. In the other persons they are about equally common with î , except in the 2nd plur., where î predominates. Before suffixes the forms with î predominate throughout; cf., however, ê in Ex 4¹², Mi 6³, Pr 4¹¹. On the tone of the perf. consec. *Hiph.* of לָרָה , see § 49 h. In *Hoph'al* only î occurs in the 2nd syllable.
- ff 15. In the infinitive *Hiph'il* of רָבָה to be abundant, besides the construct הַרְבִּית we find the absolute הִרְבֵּה taking the place of the common form הַרְבֵּה , which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as infinitive construct in Ez 21²⁰) as an adverb, in the sense of much; in 2 S 14¹¹ the *Qere* requires הַרְבֵּה for the *Kethibh* הִרְבֵּית , an evident scribal error for הַרְבֵּית . Cf. Gn 41⁴⁰, 22¹⁷, Dt 28⁶³; the pointing הִרְבֵּה Jer 42² probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִפְרוֹת Jb 17² (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3²⁴ הַפְּרוֹת (before א) is probably infinitive absolute, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, u.—On the infinitives with elision of the ה , cf. § 53 g.
- gg 16. The shortened imperfect *Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפֵּחַ let him enlarge, Gn 9²⁷; יִרֶךְ he shall subdue, Is 41²; וַיִּשְׁק and he watered, Gn 29¹⁰, &c.; וַיִּרָא and he showed, 2 K 11⁴ (see § 28 d); or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּלֵּךְ (for וַיִּלֵּךְ , see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18¹¹ ψ 105²⁴; וַיִּחַר Ez 5⁶; וַיִּחַע 2 Ch 33⁹; (for וַיִּחַר , see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18¹¹ ψ 105²⁴; וַיִּחַר Ez 5⁶; וַיִּחַע 2 Ch 33⁹; וַיִּחַר i. e. probably וַיִּחַרְב Jos 24³ *Kethibh* וַיִּחַרְבָּה (*Qere*).—Examples of verbs first guttural: וַיִּנְעַל Nu 23³, וַיִּנְעַל , &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The apocopated imperative *Hiph'il* always (except in verbs פָּרַח , e. g. הָפַח , הָפַח , § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S'ghôl* or *Pathah*, e. g. וַיִּזְרַח increase thou (for *harb*, הִזְרֵה) ψ 51⁴ *Qere*, also Ju 20³⁸; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; וַיִּזְרַח let alone (for הִזְרֵה , הִזְרֵה Dt 9¹⁴, &c.; וַיִּזְרַח (for הִזְרֵה) Ex 8¹, 33¹²; but for וַיִּזְרַח ψ 39¹⁴, which could only be imperative *Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= smear over, as in Is 61¹⁰), read with Baethgen שָׁעַע look away.—The imperfect *Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in וַיִּזְרַח Jb 19², from וַיִּזְרַח . Cf. u.

V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate *hh* in ל"ה or ל"ה . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in ל"ה , less frequently ל"ה or ל"ה , may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct* ל"ה ל"ה , see above, aa; *imperative* ל"ה Jb 37⁶ (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect* ל"ה let him look out, Gn 41³³ (but see above, p); ל"ה he will do, Is 64³; ל"ה Jer 17¹⁷; ל"ה consent thou not, Pr 1¹⁰; ל"ה do thou not, 2 S 13¹² (the same form in Gn 26²⁹, Jos 7⁹, Jer 40¹⁶ Q^{re}); ל"ה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will te, Jer 31¹; ל"ה Jos 9²⁴; ל"ה Dn 1¹³. Cf. also in *Niphal* ל"ה Lv 5⁹; ל"ה (according to Qimhi) Nu 21²⁷; in *Piel* ל"ה Lv 18^{7,8,12-17}, 20¹⁹, in each case ל"ה , beside ל"ה with a minor distinctive; ל"ה (Baer ל"ה) Na 1³; ל"ה Ez 5¹² (with *Zaqeph*; Baer ל"ה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *volumative* (Jos 7⁹), suggests the view that the *Sere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *volumative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.¹ Elsewhere (Gn 26²⁹, Lv 5⁹, Jer 40¹⁶, Dn 1¹³; according to Baer also Mi 7¹⁰, Ze 6⁹) the pronunciation with e is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following ל"ה or ל"ה ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 l.

The ending ל"ה appears to stand for ל"ה in the *imperfect* ל"ה in ל"ה and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3⁶; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16¹⁵, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* ל"ה Jer 15²³; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to ל"ה as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13¹⁴). The ל"ה stands for ל"ה in the *perfect* *Hiph'il* ל"ה he made sick, Is 53¹⁰, which is probably for ל"ה from ל"ה , a secondary form of ל"ה ; see rr. The *plur.* ל"ה (Baer ל"ה) they made to melt, Jos 14⁸, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 d) occurs: *ל"ה* archers, Gn 21¹⁶ (from ל"ה); but most frequently in ל"ה to bend, *Pa'el* ל"ה not in use, whence reflexive ל"ה to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd *pers.* in ל"ה and 1st *pers.* in ל"ה , *imperfect* ל"ה , consecutive 3rd *sing. masc.* ל"ה for ל"ה (analogous to the noun-forms, like ל"ה for ל"ה); 3rd *plur.* ל"ה .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with suffix ל"ה 2 K 5¹⁸ read with König ל"ה ; in Ez 8¹⁶ ל"ה is still more certainly a scribal error for ל"ה .

19. Before suffixes in all forms ending in ל"ה , a connecting vowel is employed *ll* instead of the ל"ה and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 f), e.g. ל"ה Gn 24²⁷; in *pause* ל"ה 1 K 2³⁰, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, ל"ה Pr 8²², or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28¹⁵ (but Baer ל"ה , Jb 30¹⁹; cf. § 59 h; ל"ה , in *pause* ל"ה , Is 30¹⁹ (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23³⁷) or like ל"ה Dt 32⁶; ל"ה , Gn 25⁸; cf. also ל"ה , ל"ה , *imperfect* ל"ה , ל"ה , *Hiph'il* ל"ה , ל"ה .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in ל"ה before suffixes, e.g. *ל"ה*.

¹ Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S^ghāl* in *pause*, see n) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

הִכָּיִי Dt 32²⁶; וַיִּכָּיִי ψ 140¹⁰ *Q^{re}* smite me, 1 K 20^{35,37}; cf. Hb 3², Is 38¹⁶. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd sing. *perf. fem.* the older form פָּלַח (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e.g. פָּלַחְתָּ (for פָּלַחְתָּו) Zc 5⁴; in *pause* עָשָׂתִי Jb 33⁴; רָאִיתִךְ 42⁵.

VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"ל.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ל and ל"ה is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

OO 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"ל—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e.g. *perfect Qal* פָּלַחְתִּי I have refrained, ψ 119¹⁰¹; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חָטָא) sinning, Ec 2²⁶, 8¹², 9^{2,18}; cf. Is 65²⁰; מוֹצֵא Ec 7²⁶; נוֹשֵׂא lending, 1 S 22²; *Pi'el perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51³⁴; cf. 1 K 9¹¹, Am 4² (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89¹¹, 143³; רָפְאוּ I heal, 2 K 22¹; cf. Jer 51⁹; *imperfect* יִנְמֵא Jb 39²⁴; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאָתָה (like נִנְלְתָה) it was wonderful, 2 S 1²⁶; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵא Dt 28⁵⁹; הִתְפַּלְּתָה (not הִתְפַּלְּתָה, cf. above, 2 S 1²⁸) she hid, Jos 6¹⁷. On the other hand, forms like חֲמָאִים 1 S 14³⁵, קָרָאִים ψ 99⁸, נִרְפָּאִי Ez 47⁸, תִּרְפָּאֵנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19⁸ (cf. Gn 31³⁰ אֶחָפְנָה), and רָאִי *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרָא Jos 24¹⁴, 1 S 12²⁴, ψ 34¹⁰, are due to the elision of the ל, see § 74 *i*. On יָנְשָׂאֵי Jer 10⁵ and נִשְׂאוֹא ψ 139²⁰, see § 23 *i*.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"ל vowels, e.g. *imperfect Qal* אָרַפָּה Jer 3²²; *imperative* רָפָה heal thou, ψ 60⁴; *Niph'al* נִחַפָּה Jer 49¹⁰ (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַפָּה as in verse 23), and הִחַבָּה to hide oneself, 1 K 22²⁵, cf. Jer 19¹¹; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלִיָּה he will fill, Jb 8²¹.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e.g. *perfect Qal* וַצַּמְתָּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2⁹, cf. 2 S 3⁸; פָּלְגוּ they shut up, 1 S 6¹⁰; cf. 25³³; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28¹⁸, cf. 39²⁶; *infinitive* חָבֹו (see above, *n*) to sin, Gn 20⁸ (on מָלֵאֵת see above, § 74 *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* חָבִי Is 26²⁰; *imperfect* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23⁶; תִּרְפָּנָה they heal, Jb 5¹⁸; *participle* בּוֹמֵא Pr 12¹⁸; *fem.* יִצָּא Ec 10⁵; *plur.* צָבִיָּה Is 29⁷; *participle passive* נִשְׁוִי ψ 32¹; *Niph'al* נִפְתָּחָה Jer 51⁹; נִבְיָיָה thou hast prophesied, Jer 26⁹ (cf. ψ 139¹⁴, Jb 18³); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ 2 K 2²² (*infinitive* Jer 19¹¹); *Pi'el imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ Jer 8¹¹, cf. Gn 31³⁹; *Hiph'il participle* מִקְנֶה Ez 8³; *Hithpa'al* הִתְנַבְּוּ 1 S 10⁶; *infinitive* הִתְנַבְּוּ 1 S 10¹³. For the *K^ethibh* להשׁוּת 2 K 19²⁵, Jablonski and others require as *Q^{re}* the form לְהַשְׁאוּת (so Is 37²⁶); the *K^ethibh* would have to be read לְהַשְׁוּת, with elision of the ל and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"ל, e.g. in their consonants אָתָא he comes, Is 21¹²; פָּרָא 2 S 12¹⁷ (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וַרְצָאֵי Ez 43²⁷; יִשְׁנָא Jb 8¹¹; יִשְׁנָא La 4¹; וַיִּחַלָּא 2 Ch 16¹²; תִּקְרָאֵנָה Ex 1¹⁰, Lv 10¹⁰; דָּתָאִים Dt 28⁶⁶ (cf. Ho 11⁷); נִקְרָא (*infm. absol.* *Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיָּה) 2 S 1⁶; נִשְׂנָא 2 K 25²⁰; מִרְפָּא

Jer 38⁴; יִשְׁנָא Ec 8¹: in their vowels, יִקְרָה Jer 3²²; יִקְרָה Dn 10¹⁴; תִּכְלֶה 1 K 17¹⁴: in both, יִקְרָה Gn 49¹; cf. 42⁴, Is 51¹⁰; תִּלְאֹם 2 S 21¹² *Qere*; לִירוֹא 2 Ch 26¹⁵ (cf. וִירוֹא הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 S 11²⁴ *Kethibh*); כִּרְאָה (*participle fem. Qal*) Zp 3¹; יִפְרִיא Ho 13¹⁵; מִסְפָּאִים La 4².—For פִּרְאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17⁶, cf. 31⁸), which can only be intended for פִּרְאוֹת *participle fem. plur.* from פִּרָּה = פָּרָה, read פִּרְאוֹת *branches*, according to Ez 31⁸, &c.

§ 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָדַד to *flee*, the *imperfect* is יִדּוֹד in Na 3⁷ and יִדֹּד in Gn 31⁴⁰ (on the analogy of verbs פ"ן); *Hiph'il* הִדְּדָה (like a verb ע"ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִדֹּד (as פ"ן).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived *b* from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא to *bear*, imperative נִשָּׂא (ψ 10¹² נִשָּׂא, of which נִשָּׂא ψ 4⁷ is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שִׁנְאָה (for שִׁנְאָה; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 f), also נִשָּׂא Is 1¹⁴, 18³; Gn 4¹³ נִשְׂאָה; ψ 89¹⁰ שִׂנְאָה (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לִשְׁנֹאָה (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׁנֹאָה Jb 41¹⁷, with rejection of the נ); *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֹאָה for תִּשְׁנֹאָה Ru 1¹⁴; wholly irregular are תִּשְׁנֹאָיָה Ez 23⁴⁹ (so Baer after Qimhi; *textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשְׁנֹאָיָה) and נִשְׁנֹאָה 2 S 19⁴⁸ as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal*?); but most probably נִשָּׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה to *bow*, to *incline*, נָטָה to *C* smite. Hence *imperfect Qal* יִטָּה, *apocopated* וַיִּטּוּ (Gn 26²⁵ וַיִּטּוּ and he bowed; וַיִּטּוּ (so, probably, also Is 63³ for וַיִּטּוּ) 2 K 9³⁸ and he sprinkled (from נָזַח); *perfect Hiph'il* הִטָּה he smote, *imperfect* יִטָּה, *apocopated* יָטָה, יָטָה (even with *Athnah* 2 K 15¹⁰; but also ten times יָטָה, וַיִּטָּה Dt 2²⁵; so also וַיִּטּוּ Lv 8^{11,30}; וַיִּטּוּ ψ 141⁴ (cf. Jb 23¹¹); *imperative* הִטָּה הִטָּה smite thou (like הִטָּה הִטָּה incline, with הִטָּה), *infinitive* הִטָּה, *participle* מִטָּה; *Hoph'al* הִטָּה, *participle* מִטָּה.

(c) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָכַח to *be willing*, אָפַח to *bake*, אָתַח to *come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִאָכַח, יִאָפַח, plur. יִאָפּוּ; וַיִּתָּא (cf. § 68 h) Dt 33²¹ for וַיִּתָּא (= וַיִּתָּא); *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּתָּא Is 41²⁵ for וַיִּתָּא; *imperative* אָתַח Is 21¹², 56¹² (cf. אָפּוּ bake ye, Ex 16²³) for אָתַח, אָתַח (§ 23 h; § 75 u); *Hiph'il* *perfect* הִתָּי for הִתָּי (הִתָּי) Is 21¹⁴; *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּתָּא and he adjured, 1 S 14²⁴, properly יִתָּא (יִתָּא) from אָלָה, whence יִתָּא, and, with the obscuring to *o*, יִתָּא; instead of the simple *apocope* (יִתָּא) the נ which had already become

quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S^ghōl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of יֵאָל).

c (d) Verbs פָּ"ו and לָ"א (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יֵצֵא to go forth, imperative יֵצֵא go forth, with הֵ- paragogic יֵצֵא Ju 9²⁰ in principal pause for יֵצֵא; 2nd fem. plur. יֵצֵא Ct 3¹¹; infinitive יֵצֵא; *Hiph'il* הוֹצִיא to bring forth.—יִרָא to fear, imperfect יִירָא and יִירָא (or יִירָא), imperative יִירָא; imperfect *Niph'al* יִירָא ψ 130⁴, participle יֹרָא.

f (e) Verbs פָּ"ו and לָ"א (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יִרָא to throw, *Hiph'il* to confess, to praise, and יִרָא to throw (both properly verbs פָּ"ו), and יִפָּא to be beautiful. Infinitive יִרָא, יִרָא; imperative יִרָא; imperfect consecutive יִירָא Ez 31⁷ (cf. also יִרָא 16¹³); with suffixes יִירָא we have shot at them (from יִירָא) Nu 21⁸⁰; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וְיִירָא and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74⁸ יִירָא is probably a substantive, and not the imperfect *Qal* with suffix from יִירָא); *Pi'el* יִירָא for יִירָא (§ 69 u). *Hiph'il* הוֹרָא, הוֹרָא; infinitive הוֹרָא (as infinitive absolute 2 Ch 7⁹); imperfect יוֹרָא, cf. אֶל-הַנָּהוּ Jer 22³; apocopaed יוֹרָא 2 K 13¹⁷.

g (f) Verbs פָּ"ו and לָ"א, particularly בּוֹא to come. Perfect בָּאָה, בָּאָה, or בָּאָה (Gn 16⁸, 2 S 14³, Mi 4¹⁰; cf. § 75 m), once בָּאָה for בָּאָה 1 S 25⁸; for בָּאָה Jer 27¹⁸, which is apparently the perfect, read יָבֹא. In the imperfect *Qal* the separating vowel occurs (תִּבְּאִינָה) instead of the more common תִּבְּאָנָה, cf. also תִּבְּאָה Gn 30³⁸ only in Jer 9¹⁶, ψ 45¹⁶, and 1 S 10⁷ *K^{ethibh}*.

h For הִבְּאָה וְהִבְּאָה (the *K^{ethibh}* וְהִבְּאָה) evidently combines the two readings וְהִבְּאָה and וְהִבְּאָה; cf. Nestle, ZAW. xiv. 319), read וְהִבְּאָה; on the impossible forms Dt 33¹⁶ and Jb 22²¹ cf. § 48 d.—In the perfect *Hiph'il* הִבְּאָה, הִבְּאָה and (only before a suffix) הִבְּאָה; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14³¹, where the Masora requires הִבְּאָה, cf. 2 K 9², 19²⁵, Is 43²³, Jer 25¹³, Ct 3⁴. Before suffixes the *e* of the first syllable in the 3rd sing. always becomes *Haṭeph-S^ghōl*, e.g. הִבְּאָה, הִבְּאָה; elsewhere invariably *Haṭeph-Pathaḥ*, e.g. הִבְּאָה or הִבְּאָה. On the other hand, *e* is retained in the secondary tone in the perfect consecutive when without suffixes, e.g. הִבְּאָה. Cf. moreover, וְהִקָּאָה (וְהִקָּאָה in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25¹⁶, from קָא; but קָא *spue ye*, Jer 25²⁷ (perhaps only a mistake for קָא), is not to be referred to קָא but to a secondary stem קָא. In the imperfect וְהִקָּאָה is found once, Lv 18²⁵, besides וְהִקָּאָה (analogous to וְהִקָּאָה).—On אָבִי (for אָבִי), יִנִּי, יִנִּי, see § 74 k.

i (g) The form חָיָה to live, in the perfect *Qal*, besides the ordinary development חָיָה (*fem.* חָיָה), is also treated as a verb פָּ"ו, and then becomes חָיָה in the 3rd pers. perfect, in pause חָיָה, and with *wāw* consecutive וְחָיָה Gn 32², and frequently. In Lv 25³⁰ the contracted form וְחָיָה is perhaps *st. constr.* of חָיָה life, but in any case read וְחָיָה perfect consecutive as in verse 35. The form וְחָיָה occurs in Ex 1¹⁸ in pause for וְחָיָה (3rd fem.) with *Dageš* omitted in the *i* on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e.g. between פ"ו and פ"י, ל"א and ל"ה, ע"ע and ע"י, ע"ה and ע"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root דף there occur with the same meaning דָּכַךְ, דִּיךְ, דָּכָא *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נד there are נִיר, נָדַר, נָדָה *to flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"י in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e.g. מָכַךְ and מָכָךְ *to become poor*; מָשַׁשׁ *to feel*; נָדַר and נָדָה *to flee*.

2. Verbs פ"י and פ"י; e.g. יָצַב and יָצַב *to place*, יָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"י) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"י, e.g. יָגַר and יָגַר *to fear*; יָטַב and יָטַב *to be good*; נָפַח and נָפַח *to blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץ *to dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e.g. אָרַשׁ and דָּגַשׁ *to thresh*, &c.

3. Verbs ל"א and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּכָא and דָּכָה *to crush*, מָקָא and מָקָה *to meet* (cf. § 75 nn); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַח *to suck*, דָּחָה and דָּחָה *to thrust*, &c.

4. Verbs ע"ע and ל"א, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; *c* e.g. אָנַח and אָנַח *to sigh*, דָּמָה and דָּמָה *to be quiet*, חָנָה and חָנָה *to incline*, בָּלָה and בָּלָה *to end*, קָלָה and קָלָה *to despise*, שָׁגָה and שָׁגָה *to err*, שָׁחָה and שָׁחָה *to bend down*, שָׁבַח and שָׁבַח *to plunder*.

5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e.g. מָחַל and מָחַל (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָחַל *f* Is 1²²) *to circumcise*, מָוַר and מָוַר *to exchange*, נָהַר (in מְנוּחָה *a light*) and נָהַר *to shine*; cf. also לְהַמִּיט *secret arts*, Ex 7¹¹ with לָט *secret*, from לָוַט.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i.e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek *ἔρχομαι*, aor. *ἦλθον*, fut. *ἐλεύσομαι*, and in Latin *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, *ferre*, &c., but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

6 The most common verbs of this kind are—

בש *to be ashamed*. *Hiph'il* **הָבִישׁוּת** (inferred from **הָבִישׁוּת**), but also **הָבִישׁ**, **הוֹבִישׁ**, as if from **יָבֵשׁ**, on the analogy of verbs **יָבֵשׁ**; also in Is 30⁶ the *Qal* requires **הָבִישׁ**, where the *Kethibh* has **הָבִישׁוּת** from **בָּשָׁא**.

טוב *to be good*. Perfect **טוֹב**; but imperfect **יִטַּב** and *Hiph'il* **הִיטִיב** from **יָטַב** (but cf. **הִטִּיבָהּ** 2 K 10⁸⁰).

יָרַח *to be afraid*. Imperfect **יִירָא** (from **יָרַח**).

יָקַן *to awake*, only in the imperf. **יִקַּן**; for the perfect, the *Hiph'il* **הִקְיִין** is used (from **יָקַן**).

פָּצַץ *to break in pieces*. Imperfect **יִפְצֹץ** (from **פָּצַץ**). Imperative **פִּצֵּץ**. *Niph'al* **נִפְצַץ**. *Pr'el* **נִפְצִין** (from **נָפַץ**). *Pölel* **פּוֹצֵץ** (from **פָּצַץ**). Reflexive **הִתְפַּצֵּץ**. *Hiph'il* **הִפְצִין**. Also **פָּצַפֵּץ** Jb 16¹².

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place*, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* **נִצַּב** and *Hiph'il* **הִנְצִיב** (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'el* **הִתְנַצַּב**.

שָׁתָה *to drink*, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph'* **הִשְׁתָּה** *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* **שָׁתָה** which is not used in Hebrew.

On **הָלַךְ** (**יָלַךְ**) *to go*, see above, § 69 x.

C Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the tenses or moods not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

יָסַף *to add*. The infinitive (but cf. § 69 h, note) and imperfect, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* **הוֹסִיף**, **הוֹסִיף** (on **יָסַף** as imperfect indicative, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 i).

כָּשַׁל *to stumble*. Perfect from *Qal*, imperfect from *Niph'al*.

נָגַשׁ *to approach*, unused in *perf. Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* **נִגַּשׁ** is used; but imperfect **יִגַּשׁ**, imperative **נִגַּשׁ**, and infinitive **נִגַּשׁוּת** from *Qal* only are in use.

נָהַג *to lead*. Perfect usually **נָהַג** in *Qal*, so imperative **נִהַג**, but imperfect and infinitive always in *Hiph'il*.

נָתַךְ *to be poured out*. Perfect *Niph'al* **נִתְּךְ** with imperfect *Qal* **יִתַּךְ**, but the perfect *Qal* and imperfect *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN

§ 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude*, &c., ii, 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xliv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *a* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the *Lexicon*) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 ff.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *b* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*

state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.¹

§ 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ä*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *T* im Semit.' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

a 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 *q*).

b 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִמָּה *mother*, אִתָּן *a she-ass*, עֵז *a she-goat*, אֵזָה *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending ן־, as in the 3rd sing. perfect of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This ן־, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 *c* and § 91 *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ן² (see below, *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 *a*) is—

c (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing ה־, e. g. סוּסִים *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in ן־, like עֵזָה, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is עֵזָהּ, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd sing. fem. perfect (הִתְחַלְתָּ, &c.), this ה־ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ן, and the lengthening of the *ä* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as אֵלָהּ for אֵלָה, § 75 *c*. It must, however, be

¹ To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

² In Mal 1¹⁴ מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָהּ, the ptep. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.

noticed that in Arabic (see *m* and note) the pausal form of *at* is *ah*, of which a trace may be preserved in the Hebrew הָ.

(b) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e.g. יהוּדִי *Jew*, יהוּדִית *d Jewess*. The same ending ת is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *seghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטַלְת, *killing*; before suffixes, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי, according to the rule given in § 69 c, cf. also § 84^a s; מוֹדַע *an acquaintance*, *fem.* מוֹדַעַת. The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94 f). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are retained even in the connective form (*construct state*); except יוֹלְדֵת (for יוֹלְדָת, which is used elsewhere) Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13⁵⁻⁷; cf. Jer 22²³ and 51¹³ *Qelâ*, also מְשַׁבֵּחַת 1 K 1¹⁵, *participle fem.* *Pi'el*, properly *mešāratt* = מְשַׁרְתָּת; also מְבַעֲרָה (*participle fem.* *Pi'el* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעֲרַת which was developed into מְבַעֲרָת.

Rem. 1. The *fem.* form in תָּ is in general less frequent, and occurs *el* almost exclusively when the form in תָּ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e.g. קָטַלְת more common than קָטַלְתָּ.

2. *Rarer feminine endings* are—(a) תָּ with the tone, e.g. בִּרְמָת emerald, Ez 28¹³ (also בִּרְמָת Ex 28¹⁷); שְׂפָעַת a company, 2 K 9¹⁷, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language תָּ was the usual *fem.* ending, § 2 d) and other neighbouring tribes,¹ e.g. צִרְפָּת Zarephath, גִּבְעָת Gibeath, קִירִיִּת Kiriath, אֵילָת Greek Ailana in Idumea; אֶחָזָת Gn 26²⁵: on the reading גִּלָּת cf. *g.* Cf., moreover, נְיִינָת ψ 61¹ (prob. originally נְיִינָת); חֵיִת (LXX חַיִּית) 74^{19a}; פִּנְיָת La 2¹⁸; [רַבָּת much, in ψ 65¹⁰, 120⁶, 123⁴, 129^{1,2}, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the *fem.* is often retained to form adverbs, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.]

(b) תָּ, which likewise occurs in some names of places, e.g. הֶלְקָת, בְּעֵלָת, *g* as well as in the *masc.* proper name גִּלְיָת 1 S 17⁴, &c. (in 17²³, and 21¹⁰, ed. Mant. has גִּלְיָת), and in the *fem.* proper name שְׂמָעָת; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz. זִמְרָת Ex 15², Is 12², ψ 118¹⁴ (really for זִמְרָתִי *my song*; the absorption of the *i*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duhm on Is 12², nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of יָה' ; so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.); נַחֲלָת *heritage*, ψ 16⁶ (either again for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage*, or for נַחֲלָתָה, cf. § 90 g, as probably also עֲזָרָת *help*, ψ 60¹³, 108¹³ for עֲזָרָתָה). These forms are possibly

¹ In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Méša' inscription, line 3, כִּבְמוֹת זֹאת *this high place*; line 26, הַמִּסְלָת *the highway* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note].

survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *secunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49²²; יְהֵרֶת abundance, Jer 46⁵⁸ (before ϵ ; but in Is 15⁷ יִהְיֶה); שָׁנָה sleep (for שִׁנָּה) ψ 132⁴; and (unless the η is radical) in prose קָצַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34¹¹, to the form קָצַת), also מָחָרָה the morrow, but in construct state always מִמָּחָרָה Jer 48²⁵ *Q're* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading מִשְׁשִׁי, parallel to מִשְׁשִׁי; cf. above, on מָחָרָה, &c.

h (e) אֶ, the Aramaic orthography for אֵ, chiefly in the later writers; לוֹאִי loathing, Nu 11²⁰; הֶבֶא a terror, Is 19¹⁷; שָׁנָה sleep, ψ 127²; לִבְיָא a lioness, Ez 19² (unless לִבְיָא is intended); מַצָּרָה a mark, La 3¹²; cf. also דִּשָּׁא threshing (participle *Qal* from דִּישָׁ) Jer 50¹¹; מָרָה bitter, Ru 1²⁰. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרָה baldness is to be read in Ez 27³¹; see Baer on the passage.

z (d) הֶ, an obtuse form of הֵ (§ 27 u), only in הֶחָרָה for הֵחָרָה Is 59⁵ (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the active *ptep. masc.* הֵחָרָה and the passive *ptep. fem.* הֶחָרָה); cf. לָנָה for לָנָה Zc 5⁴; אָנָה 1 K 2^{36.42} (§ 90 z, and § 48 d).

k (e) הֶ, without the tone, e.g. רֶחֶם Dt 14¹⁷ [Lv 11¹⁸ רָחֵם]; תֶּנּוּר בִּעֻרָה; an oven heated, Ho 7⁴; cf. Ez. 40¹⁰, 2 K 15²⁹, 16¹³. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הֵ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 c) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16¹³, Is 24¹⁹, Ez 21³¹ (note in each case the following הֵ), and in Jb 42¹³, Ho 7⁴, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) יֶ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *e*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי Sarai, cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG. xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also עֵשָׂרָה *ten (fem.)* undoubtedly arises from an original *'esray*; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; Kōnig, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הֶ² as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הֶ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the η throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phœnician also the feminines end for the most part in η , which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in \aleph (see Gesenius, *Monum. Phœn.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phœn. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

¹ In 1 S 2c²⁷ also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5¹¹) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחָרָה, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחָרָה.

² In this ending the η h can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the η was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute η was dropped before h, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an h is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Dicton aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

§ 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אב *father*, אם *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אב, אם, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. רם *high*, רמה *high place*, מרם *height*, from רם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מרגלות *the place at the feet*, from רגל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (a) *Formae nudaæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (b) *Formae auctæ*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מלכה, מלכות. The formative letters used for this purpose are י ו נ ט י' (האמנותי),¹ and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30 d, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 a.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בליעל *d* *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. בריאל *(man of God)*, יהוים *(Yahwe raises up)*, יהוה *(Yahwe gave)*, &c.²

§ 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שעיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שער, שערה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שער, שערך *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זהב *gold* (from זהב = צהב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קרן *horn*, עין *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

² G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צפרדע (cf. below, § 85 w) and צלמות (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לא, בלי, מבלי.

§ 83. Verbal Nouns in General.

- a* 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, יָדַעַת *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form מְקַטֵּל (as a *noun* also מְקַטֵּל), further קְטִילָה, קְטִילָה, קְטִילָה (§ 45 d), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.
- b* 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.
- c* Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew מֵרַחֵם *acquaintance* and an *acquaintance*.
- d* The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qat*, *qul*, *qit*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qittil*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e.g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שָׁכַב infinitive of יָשַׁב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qatl* for *qill*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yagtilū* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *gatala*, and *yagtilū* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *gatila* and *gatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qatl*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e.g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on one characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

§ 84^a. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

Preliminary remark.—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *a* an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.

I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Râzička, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present* ground-form *qāṭl*, *qūṭl*, *qāṭl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable

was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *gaḥ*, *qāḥ*, *quḥ* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the Seghöl or Pathah under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 c) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,¹ and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in קִשְׁטָה) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing Segholates are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *malik*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, the connective forms of *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gāḥr*, *qāḥr*, *kāḥd*, *kūṭip*.

3. The forms treated under c, which are in many ways related to the Segholates proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew Segholates, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination יָם, fem. וֹת—,

of the absolute state, as מַלְכִּים, מְלָכִים, מְלָכִים, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *ā*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of all Segholates can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *ā* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.²

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to קָחַל, קָחַל, קָחַל (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) קִשְׁטָה *truth*. If the second

¹ According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *gaḥ*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= *קָלַב*, *שָׁמַשׁ*, *אַבָּן*), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*.

On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 26r, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kāḥu*, *sifru*, *gāḥu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifru*, *gāḥu*.

² On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *mālākhim*, *mālākhōh* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *gaḥim* arose *gaḥ'im*, then *gaḥim* and finally *qālīm*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'la*, *fi'la*, *fu'la* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segolates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *mālākhim* as a *pluralis fractus*.

³ It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for *גָּדַר*, *אַבָּן*, *אָדַר*, *חָרֵב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *שָׂקַל*, *דֶּבֶר*, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghōl*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רַחֵם) *womb*, אֹהֶל *tent*, בָּהֶן *thumb*; so with final א, פָּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ä* to *è* does not occur, e.g. נָעַר, רֶחֶב, לָחֵץ (exceptions, again, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malak*, king), בֹּתֵרָה *a covering* (also בִּתְרָה), אֹכֶלָה *food* (also אֹכֶל); with a middle guttural נְעֻרָה *girl*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (also טְהוּרָה). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems יָנַח, e.g. אָף *nose* (from **ānp*, hence *C* with formative additions, e.g. אֶפֶי for **ānpī*, my nose); עֹז *a she-goat* (ground-form **īnz*); fem. חֲפֹזָה *wheat*; (β) from stems עָלַע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פֶּחַת *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עם; with article הָעַם, הָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great*, numerous (in close connexion also רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הרָע, unconnected הָרָע; with the *ä* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ä* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qūl, אִם *mother*; fem. גִּזָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūl, חֻקָּה *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems עָוַי (Paradigm I, g and i); מוֹת *death* (from *md-it*, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in מִתְנָה *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׂוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūl, צֶרֶךְ *a rock*; fem. סוֹפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems עָוַי (Paradigm I, h); זַיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping *Hireq* instead of a helping *Seghōl*) from *zā-it*, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18¹⁷ (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שׁוּבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qūl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (e) from stems לָחַ (Paradigm I, h); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִנָּה *murmuring*, נִתְּנָה *a present*, תִּנָּה *the end*, partly such as אֶרֶץ *a lion* (ground-form bākī, 'āry); cf. also the forms from stems originally לָחַ, שׁוּחַ *swimming* (ground-form sūhw); fem. שְׁלִיחָה *rest*, גִּבְעָה *exaltation*; from stems לָחַ, אֶלְיָה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ä* to *i* שְׁבִיָּה *captivity*, also שְׁבִיָּת, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qūl, חֲצִי (from *hizy*); fem. חֲדוּדָה *joy*, עֲרִידָה and עֲרִידָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūl, בֹּהֶז (from bōhw) *waste*, תְּרוֹה *emptiness*; דְּלִי, for דְּלִי, *bucket*; fem. אֶנְיָה *a ship* (directly from אֶנִי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have *d* either an abstract or a concrete meaning. In the form קָטַל the passive or at any rate the abstract meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נְעָר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אֹכֶל *food*, &c.).¹

¹ M. Lambert also (*REF.* 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the Segholates, arrives at the conclusion that the *qūl*-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the *qūl*-form, and less strictly the *qūl*, for abstracts.

c 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *qätäl*, *qätül*, *qätül*), e. g. דָּבַשׁ *honey*, חֲרָהּ *sickness*, חֲתָהּ *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאֵר *a well*, וּלְבַא *a wolf*, בָּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דָּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דָּבַשׁ (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בָּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בָּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'is* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qätül* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.¹

II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

f 3. The ground-form *qätäl*, fem. *qätälät*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטַלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אִשָּׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבַע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה ² *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs ע"נ are בָּרָךְ *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Yôdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ä* of the second syllable lengthened to *ê*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *ä* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרָה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qätül*, fem. *qätülät*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטַלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle e (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an old man; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אִפְלָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"י: irregularly, לֵילִיתוּ *the branches of it*, Jer 11¹⁶, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דָּלִית (stem וְלָה), and הִרְיוּתוּ Ho 14¹ *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* plur. *st. absol.* and *constr.* הָרָה).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלוֹ Jb 21²³.

h 5. The ground-form *qätül*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְרוּחַ *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבֶה *interwoven*, עוֹלָם *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in *sing. masc.*, with a parallel form קָטְנָה of the class treated under f, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

¹ On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

² In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צְדָקָה), *šacaca* (צַעֲקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָה *a splintering*, צִיחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qätäl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. אִפְיָה, כְּבוֹדָה (*glorious*), עֲבֵתָה, עֲנִיָּה (*delicate*), עֲנִיָּה, עֲמִיקָה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָדִים, עֲנִיָּים, אֲסָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), i. e. g. לֵבָב heart, עֵנַב a bunch of grapes, שֵׁכָר strong drink; from a verb לָ"ה, probably of this class is רָעָה, generally contracted to רַע friend, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ his friend, for רַעֵהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטַל, the *ā* becoming an obscure *ō*. The fact that this form is also written קָטַל must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.¹ Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like גָּדוֹל great, קָדוֹשׁ holy, fem. גְּדוּלָה, the short vowel becoming Šwā, whereas in גָּדוֹל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form קָטַל (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד honour, שָׁלוֹם peace (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בְּרוּן assayer (of metals), עֹשִׁי an oppressor, חֹמֵץ expressing; in the feminine בְּגוּדָה treacherous Jer 3^{7,10}, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭāl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b).² Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantively with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as אֲסִיר a prisoner, מְשִׁיחַ an anointed one. These proper *qāṭāl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭāl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭāl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as צָעִיר small, and, from לָ"י stems, נָקִי pure, עָנִי poor (see § 93 ss), or (c) active, as נְבִיא a speaker (prophet), פֶּקִיד an overseer.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (a) forms like אֲסִיף the ingathering, בְּצִיר vintage, חֲרִישׁ ploughing time, קִצִּיר harvest. On *qāṭāl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84^b f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭāl*-forms m (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭāl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e.g. בְּתוּלָה virgin (properly secluded). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭāl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f), as אֲנִישׁ incurable, עָצוֹם strong, עָרֹם subtil, or even transitive, as אֲחֹז holding; (c) active substantives, as יָקִישׁ a Fowler. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84^b g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qūṭāl*² in Hebrew changes the *ī* to vocal Šwā, n

¹ In Na 1² only the Q^{re} requires גָּדַל (in the constr. state) for the K^{ethibh} גָּדוֹל.

² On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them נִעְנָת *tor*, and מַחֲרִים *hemorrhoids*.

c 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q^atāl, q^etāl, qⁱtāl*), e. g. דְּבִשׁ *honey*, חֲלָה *sickness*, חֲתָה *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאֵר *a well*, זָאֵב *a wolf*, בֹּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibālš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבִשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבִשִּׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibš*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בָּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בֹּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'āš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qūtāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.¹

II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

f 3. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבַע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צִדְקָה *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֲדָמָה *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָצַד are בָּרַד *alone*, עָנַן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs לָהּ a final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *a* of the second syllable lengthened to *ē*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *i* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרָה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb לָו the strong form עָנָו *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an *old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בִּהְמָה *cattle*, אִפְלָה *darkness*.—From verbs פָּ"י irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתֵי *the branches of it*, Jer 11¹⁶, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִיָּה (stem חִלָּה), and הַרְיוֹתֵי Ho 14¹ *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרָת, plur. *st. absol.* and *constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb לָו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוּ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלְוֵי Jb 21²³.

h 5. The ground-form *qātāl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אָיִם *terrible*, בָּרַד *piebald*, מְחוֹךְ *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֲבֹת *interwoven*, עָגֹל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in *sing. masc.*, with a parallel form קָטְנָה of the class treated under *f*, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

¹ On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

² In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (שָׁדָקָה), *šacaca* (שָׁצָקָה), *nabala* (נַבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צְרוּחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominabbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qātāl*, the lengthening of the second

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. *אֵימָה*, *כְּבוֹדָה* (*glorious*), *עֲבֻתָה*, *עֲנֻתָה* (*delicate*), *עֲנֻלָה*, *עֲנֻמָה*, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals *בְּרָדִים*, *נְקָרִים*, *עֲנֻלִים*, *אֲסָפִים* *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), i.e. g. *לֵבָב* *heart*, *עֵנַב* *a bunch of grapes*, *נִשְׁכַּר* *strong drink*; from a verb *לָחַץ*, probably of this class is *רֵעֵה*, generally contracted to *רֵעַ* *friend*, ground-form *rī'ay*: the full form is preserved in *רֵעֵהוּ* *his friend*, for *רֵעֵהוּ*.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form *קָטַל*, the *k* becoming an obscure *ā*. The fact that this form is also written *קָטַל* must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.¹ Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like *גָּדוֹל* *great*, *קָדוֹשׁ* *holy*, fem. *קְדוּלָה*, the short vowel becoming *Šwā*, whereas in *גָּדוֹל*, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form *קָטַל* (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like *כְּבוֹד* *honour*, *שָׁלוֹם* *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as *בֹּחֵן* *assayer* (of metals), *עוֹשֵׁק* *an oppressor*, *חַמּוּץ* *oppressing*; in the feminine *בְּנוּדָה* *treacherous* Jer 37¹⁰, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭāl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b).² Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as *אֲסִיר* *a prisoner*, *כִּשְׁיָה* *an anointed one*. These proper *qāṭāl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭāl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭāl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as *צָעִיר* *small*, and, from *לָחַץ* stems, *נָקִי* *pure*, *עֲנִי* *poor* (see § 93 *vv*), or (c) active, as *נִבְיָא* *a speaker* (prophet), *פֹּקֵד* *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like *אֲסִיפָה* *the ingathering*, *בְּצִיר* *vintage*, *חֲרִישׁ* *ploughing time*, *קִצִּיר* *harvest*. On *qāṭāl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84^b f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל*. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭāl*-forms *m* (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭāl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e.g. *בְּתוּלָה* *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭāl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f): *אֲנִישׁ* *incurable*, *עָצוֹם* *strong*, *עָרִים* *subtil*, or even transitive, as *אֲחִיז* *holding*; (c) active substantives, as *יֹקֵשׁ* *a forger*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84^b g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qāṭāl*² in Hebrew changes the *z* to vocal *Šwā*, *n*

¹ In Na 13 only the *Q^{er}* requires *נָדַל* (in the constr. state) for the *K^{ethib}* *נָדַל*.

² On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see

and develops to קטל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קטול, with *ā* obscured to *ō* (as above, k). Cf. שְׂאֵר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, סֵפֶר *book* (Arab. *kitāb*), מִלְחָמָה *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם *a dream*, חֲמֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים *God* (Arab. *ʾilāh*); with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), אֶרֶץ *arm* (twice: usually אֶרֶץ); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה *good news* (Arab. *bšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה *service*, בְּתָכָה (Arab. *kīlābāt*) *tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qāṭil* seems to occur e.g. in Hebrew אִילִּיל *foolish*, אִילִּיל *vanity*, בְּרִיל *lead*, בָּסִיל *a fool*, חֲוִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲוִיר points to the ground-form *qāṭil*, cf. Arab. *ḥinzir*).

p 12. The ground-form *qāṭil* or *qāṭūl*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e.g. גְּבִיל *a boundary*, לְבָשׁ *a garment*; fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*.

q Rem. When the forms *qāṭūl* and *qāṭōl* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the א instead of the ordinary *Ḥateph-Ṣeḡhōl*; cf. אֲבִים *a crib*, אֲמִן *thread*, אֲמִן *faithful*, אֲזוּב *hyssop*, אֲזוּר *a waist-band*, אֲסוּר *a bond*, אֲפֹד *an 'ephod'*; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥateph-Ṣeḡhōl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

IV. Nouns with a Long Vowel in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

r 13. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *ā* into an obscure *ō*, קוּטל (קטל), e.g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *ʾālam*, *eternity*; חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥatām*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתָמָה (from *ḥotāmāt*); וּלְעַץ *worm* (unless from a stem *luc*, like חוֹתָם from *luc*); see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs *luc* (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 c; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination ת, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אוֹפֵן (or אֹפֵן Ez 10⁹ in the same verse) *a wheel*; צוּץ *a young bird*, דוּגָה *wag*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭil* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוּטל (קטל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קַטְלָה, if their ground-form *qāṭalt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭīl*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kāhīn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלְדָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בְּנִדָה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3⁸; הַצֹּלֵעָה *her that halteth*, Mi 4⁶, Zp 3¹⁹; כֹּחֲרָה *a buckler*, ψ 91⁴); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְדָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣewa*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29^{8,8}, 34⁹, ψ 68²⁰, 118¹⁶ (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13²⁰, Is 33¹⁴; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1⁹).

t 15. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, Hebrew קוּטל (as יַבֵּל *river*, Jer 17⁸) or קוּטל e.g. עוּבָה *a pipe*, commonly עֹבֵה, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150⁴, עֹבֵה.

V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

u 16. קוּטוּל, e.g. קוּטוּר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably

§ 84^b. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the *a* doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem.

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָת (from 'äyyāṭl); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לֶהָבָה *a flame* (according to § 27 *g* for lāhābhā), אֵרֶבֶת *dry land* (for harrābhā), וָפֶתַח and קֶרֶחַת *a burning fever*, יָבֵשָׁה and יָבֻשֶׁת *dry land*, טַפְעֵת *a seal-ring*, שִׁחָה *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are חַפָּז *sinful*, נָפַח *went to gore*, קָנָא *jealous*, בָּהַשׁ (for kahhāš, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opificum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qāṭṭāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; cf. נָבֵב *a thief*, דִּין *a judge* (constr. st. דִּין ψ 68^b), מֶבֶז *a cook*, חָרַשׁ (for harrāš) *artificer* (constr. st. חָרַשׁ, but plur. constr. חָרָשִׁי); פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (for parrāš), const. st. פָּרָשׁ Ez 26¹⁰.

18. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* appears in צָהָה *dry*, נָאָה *haughty* (the *i* being *c* lengthened to *ē* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *sihhiyy*, *qī'āy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qāṭṭūl*; moreover, *iwwal*, ground-form of the fem. אֵוָל *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iwwill*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl* and *qāṭṭūl*; cf. the fem. בִּפְתָח *spelt*, בִּתְנָה *coat*.

20. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'āl* of *d* the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵמָר *disabled*, אֵלֵם *dumb*, גִּבֵּן *hump-backed*, עֵרָב *blind*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf* (for hīrrēš) *lame*, קָרַח *bald*, עָקֵשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקַח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'āl* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרָה *a searching out*; בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) נִאָצָה *contumely*; but cf. also נִאָוֶרֶךְ Ez 35¹², with full lengthening of the original *ā* before נ; נִחָמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ā* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e. g. אֵבֶר *husbandman* (Arab. 'akkār).

r); cf. גָּבוֹר *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), צִפּוֹר *caviller*, צִפּוֹר (*piper* or *chirper*) a bird, שָׂכוֹר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוּד *born* probably arises from *yullōd*, an old participle passive of *Qal*, the *ū* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ō*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

- f 25. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אֲבִיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, פָּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barri^{ah}*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *‘arrīṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class (see above, remark on a), appears from the constr. st. פָּרִיץ *ravenous*, Is 35^a (but פָּרִיצִים, plur. always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 a) also from the constr. st. אֲבִיר (but also אֲבִיר 1 S 21^b) of אֲבִיר. However, the form אֲבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אֲבִיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אֲפִיר *prisoner*, סָרִיס *eunuch* (constr. st. always סָרִיס, plur. סָרִיסִים, constr. st. סָרִיסִי Gn 40^c, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסִי, with suffix סָרִיסִי, &c.), and קָטִיעַ *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84^a l.

- g 26. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), חָרִין *diligent* (for *harriṣ*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class, § 84^a m. The same applies to substantives like אֶשֶׁר *a step* (in אֲשָׁרִי, as well as אֲשָׁרוֹ, &c.), עֶמֶד *pillar*; fem. חֲבִירָה *a stripe* (also חֲבִירוֹת, security: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

- h 27. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pīl* of the form קָטַל, also קָנֹא *jealous* (as well as קָנָא, an obscured form of *qāṭīl*, see e).

- i 28. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. צָפוּי *a coating of metal*, שְׁקִיל *requital*, שָׁקַי *drink*, שִׁקְוִי *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לַמּוֹד *a disciple*, עָזוֹ *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נְחָמִים *consolations, compassion*, שְׁבִלִים *bereavement, dismissal*, שְׁלָחִים *observance*.

VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

- k 29. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. שָׁאֵן *quiet*, fem. שְׁאֵנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רֶעֶנָּה *green*, plur. רֶעֶנִּים.

- l 30. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in Hebrew קָטַל; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pīl* (prop. *Pa'el*), cf. § 55 d.

- m 31. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; so the plur. גְּבָנִים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in פָּרִיחַ *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in אֲמֵלֵל *saint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. עֲבָטִים *plunder*, סְרִיר *rain-storm*, שְׁפָרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43¹⁰ *Q^{re}*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* בְּמִרְרִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 3^b (but the better reading is בְּמִרְרִי).

35. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. שְׁפָרִיר Jer 43¹⁰ *K^{eth}*; נֶאֱפָפִים *adulteries*.

VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

- n 36-39. *Q^aṭāṭāl*, *Q^aṭāṭāl*, *Q^aṭāṭāl*; *Q^aṭāṭāl*, *Q^aṭāṭāl* (in fem. and plur. often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in a above); cf. הִפְכָּפָה.

crooked, חֲלָקְלוֹת *slippery places*, עֲקָלְקָלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; חֲתָחָל *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָם (Lv 13^{42.49} in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָת, plur. אֲדָמֹת; יִרְקֶק; יִרְקָתָה *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקָתָה; אֲפִלְפִּיָּה *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46²⁰ for יִפְהַפִּיָּה); אֲפִלְפִּיָּה (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסַפְסָף *a rabble* (augmented from אָסַף *collected*). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צִיָּצִיָּים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוֹצֶרֶת *a trumpet* (for חֲצֹרֶרֶת, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2²⁰ לְחַפְפָּרוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְּרוֹת (from the sing. חֲפַרְפָּרָה *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*). But פִּתְחֹקִית *opening*, Is 61¹ (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פִּתְחֹקִית), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פִּתָּח as in 42⁷.

IX. Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע"ע and ע"ו (on פִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פִּיָּה). Thus:—

40. גִּלְגַּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first *ā* to *ē*, גִּלְגַּל (from גלל); fem. חֲלָחָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חֵיל); כִּכָּר (for *kirkar*) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכֵב *a star* (from *kāwkeb*, Arabic *kaukūb*, for כִּכְבָּב), מִטְפָּט *bands*, for מִטְפָּת; צִלְצִל probably *a whirring locust*.

41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Palpel* (prop. *Palpāl*) from פוּל; fem. מִלְמָלָה *a hurling* (from *p* טוּל).

42. כִּכְרֵךְ perhaps *a ruby* (for *kādkūd*), from כּוּד.

43. קִרְקָר *the crown of the head* (for *qūdquā*), from קָר; fem. גִּלְגִּלָּת *a skull* (for *gūlgūl*), from גלל.

44. גִּרְדֵּד *girded*, from זָר; בִּקְבֹּק *a bottle*, from בָּק; בִּרְבֵּרִים *fattened birds* (?).

§ 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'il, Hoph'al, Hithpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, נ, מ, ט), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadriliterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the trilateral stem.

X. Nouns with Preformatives.

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), *b* such as אֲרֹעַ *arm* (Jer 32²¹, Jb 31²²; elsewhere always אֲרֹעַ); אֲצִבֵּעַ *a finger*, אֲרָבָה *a locust*, אֲרֹוֹף *sist* (others *mattock, or clod*), אֲשֶׁכֶּרֶת or אֲשֶׁמֶרֶת *a watch*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֲכֹזֵב *deceitful*, אֲכֹרֵץ *cruel*, אֲיָתוֹן *perennial* (for *'aitan*) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲוִנְרָה *fragrant part*¹ (of the meal-

¹ Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW.* 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. אֶפְרָתָה Lv 2², &c.

c 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִיל of *Niph'al* הִקְטִיל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הָהּ, this class also includes some rare *nomena verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הִבְרָה appearance (from הִבֵּר, Is 3⁹; הִנְפָה a swinging (from הִנֵּף, [Is 30²⁸; הִנְחָה a rest-giving, Est 2¹⁸]; הִצֵּלָה deliverance (from הִצִּיל), [Est 4¹⁴ an Aram. form: cf. הִנְדָה Dn 5²⁰]; perhaps also הִיכָל palace, from *haikāl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יִצְהָר oil, יִלְקוּט wallet, יִלְשֹׁף owl (?); from verbs יָעַי, e. g. יָקוּם a living thing, יָתוּר a range; from a verb יָרִיב, יָרִיב an adversary. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יִצְחָק, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This preformative *Mēm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי who, and מַה what (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ subjective, when preformative of the participles *P'el*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ objective, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ instrumental, as in מַפְתָּח a key, &c. (4) מ local, as in מְרִבֵּר a drive for cattle, &c.

f As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short *ä*. This *ä*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *i*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *i*, attenuated from *ä*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מָגֵן shield (with suff. מִגְנִי) it even becomes unchangeable *ā*. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the *ä* necessarily becomes *S'wed*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māgāl*, in Hebrew מִגְדָּל, e. g. מִגְדָּל food; fem. מְלִיכָה kingdom, מְלִיכָה a knife, מְלִיכָה (for מְלִיכָה by § 23 c) business; from a verb פָּתַן a gift; from verbs פָּצַח, מוֹצֵחַ a going forth, מוֹשֵׁב a seat; from verbs פָּטַח, מִיטָב the best (from *maṭṭāb*); with י (or *i*) assimilated, מִצָּע a bed; from verbs עָעַ a screen, and with the shortening of the *ä* under the preformative, מְמַר bitterness (from מָמַר developed to a segholate), fem. מְשִׁמָּה desolation; from a verb עָעַ, probably of this class is מְקוֹם place, the *ä* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ō* (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs לִיָּה מְרָאָה appearance, מְעֵן (for מְעֵנָה) prop. intention, only in לְמַעַן on account of, in order that.

h (b) Ground-form *miqāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְדָּל, e. g. מְרִבֵּר (in Jer 2³¹ also, where Baer requires הִמְרִבֵּר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הִמְרִבֵּר a cattle-drive, fem. מְלִיחָה war, מְרִבֵּר a chariot (with *S'ghöl* instead of *i*, but in constr. st. מְרִבֵּר Gn 41⁴³; cf. מְרִחָק distance), מְשִׁמָּה a watch; from verbs עָעַ, e. g. מְסָב surroundings (from *mi-süb*; *i* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but cf. also מְשִׁק Is 33⁴ as constr. *stult* from שָׁקַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs לִיָּה מְקָנָה a possession, fem. מְקָנָה.

¹ In כְּמִתְקִים Ct 5¹⁶, Neh 8¹⁰, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ä* of the second syllable cf. § 93 ee.

(c) Ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל, e.g. מִשְׁעָן *a support* (fem. מִשְׁעָנָה), *i* מִסְגֵּר *a smith*, מַעְשֵׂר *a tithe*; fem. מִכְשֵׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פָּן *an overthrow*, מַצְבָּה *a pillar*; from verbs עָנָה *a shield*; fem. מִגְלָה *a roll* (from גָּלַל), מִאָרָה *a curse* (for *m^oirra* from אָרַר); from a verb פָּוַשׁ *a snare* (from *māqūš*).

(d) Ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל, e.g. מִסְפָּד *mourning*, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* *k* (place of sacrifice); from a verb עָע, e.g. מִסָּב (מִסָּב?) *consensus*; (e) ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל; fem. מִאֲכָלָה *food*, מִשְׁכָּרָה *wages*; from a verb עָע, fem. מִסְכָּה *a covering* (from סָכַף). Also from עָע, according to the Masora, מִעוּז *a refuge*, with suffixes מִעוּזִי and מִעוּזִי, plur. מִעוּזִים, but, very probably, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עוּז *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מִעוּזִי, &c. The form מִעוּז, if derived from the stem עוּז, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מִרְנָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מָרַף, for *mārōk* from רָבַף, like מַתָּם *soundness of body*, from תָּמַם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (f) ground-form *maqāl*, with *ā* *l* always obscured to *ō*, e.g. מִחְסֹר *want*, מִלְקוֹחַ *booty*; from verbs עָי, e.g. מִנּוּר *fear*, fem. מִנוּרָה and מִנוּרָה (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מִהוּמָה, &c., Is 22^b. (g) Ground-form *māqūl*, in Hebr. again מִקְטָל, e.g. מִסְתוּר *a covert*, מִכְשׁוֹל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. מִכְמֵרֶת *a fishing-net*; (h) the ground-forms *maqūl*, *miqūl* (cf. מִקִּים) are found only in participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מִבְּלִיגִית *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (i) ground-form *māqūl*, as מִלְבִּישׁ *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *III* *Qal* and *Niph'al*, cf. § 52 c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מוֹפְקֵת *snuffers*, מִשְׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *nāqūl*, still retained e.g. in נוּלָד for *nāwlad*, but commonly attenuated to *nāqūl*, Hebr. נִקְטָל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִקְטַל, the prefix נ is found in נִפְתָּלִים *wrestlings*, Gn 30⁸, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*, and נִיּוּר *boiled pottage* (stem *ויר*).

50. With ש prefixed, e.g. שֶׁלֶהָבֶת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55 i. *O*

51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, *ibid.*, p. 283), and notably from verbs פָּוַשׁ and עָי. They may be classified as follows:—(a) the ground-form *tāqūl* in תִּחְמֹס *ostrich* (?); from verbs פָּוַשׁ *a settler*; fem. תוֹחָלָה *expectation*, תוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* הוֹכִיחַ) *correction*; from a verb פָּוַשׁ *the south*; from verbs פָּוַשׁ and לָה, תוֹרָה *thanksgiving*, and תוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פָּוַשׁ and לָה, תוֹצֵאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs עָע *confusion*, תָּמַם *a melting away* (developed from תָּבַל and תָּמַם, from בָּלַל and מָסַם).

(b) *Tiqūl*, e.g. fem. תִּפְאָרָה and תִּפְאָרֶת *glory*; from a verb לָה, e.g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqūl*, e.g. תִּשְׁבָּץ *chequer work*; fem. תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* of תָּרַם, from a verb פָּוַשׁ *correction* from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the constr. st. plur. תוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs עָע *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (from the *P'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- 7 With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tiqûl*, as תִּהְיוּם the ocean, the deep (for *tihâm*; in Assyrian the fem. *tiāmtu*, constr. st. *tiāmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tiqûl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II, which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pi'el*), e.g. from a verb לִיָּה fem. תִּקְלִית completeness; increase, *usury*, with a parallel form מִרְבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד a disciple; (f) תַּמְנוּל, e.g. תַּפְּוֹת an apple (for *tānpūah*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תַּנְמוּל a benefit (also *benefit*); from verbs עָרַד a treading down, תַּנְנוּף a waving (like תַּרְנוּף a lifting up, from the *Hiph'il* stem), תַּשְׁוָּק a longing, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תַּפְּסוּכּוֹת perverseness, תַּחְבֻּלוֹת guidance, תַּמְרוּרִים bitterness, תַּנְחֻמִּים and תַּנְחֻמוֹת consolation; from a verb עָוַי, תַּנְאִים toil.

XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- § 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל amber (?), and probably בְּרוֹן iron, גַּרְדֵּן garden-land (*S^ghōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גִּבְעֵל bloom, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מִיכָל, תְּמוּנָל (*little lizard* ?) אֲבִינֵל (also אֲבִינִיל).
- t 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵילִם vestibule (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵילִים; but in כְּנָם a swarm of gnats, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *ām*, עִירָם (also עִירָם) naked (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 37, parallel form עִירָם, plur. עִירָמִים Gn 225.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גִּרְשָׁם, also גִּרְשֹׁם, and גִּרְשֹׁן (*patronymic* גִּרְשֵׁנִי מֶלֶכֶם, עֶמְרָם, &c.; but for פְּדִיּוֹם ransom (?), Nu 349, probably פְּדִיּוֹם is to be read.
- u 54. Nouns with ך affixed. The ך is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנָעֵן *Canaan*, and צֶפֶרֶן a finger nail; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S^ggiōl* (as גִּרְזֹן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲחֻרְנִית and אֲחֻרְנִית); e.g. קִנְיָן a possession, שִׁלְחָן a table, קִרְבָּן an offering. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as יָאָבוֹן a pining away; דָּרְבָּן (also דָּרְבָּן) a goad; רָעָבוֹן hunger; from verbs לָיָה *pride*, הָמוֹן noise, חֲזוֹן a vision; שִׁרְיוֹן a coat of mail; from a verb מִשְׁאוֹן guile (the only instance with both ם preformative and ם affirmative)¹; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. זִכְרוֹן memorial, בְּלִיּוֹן destruction (constr. st. זִכְרוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; cf. also הֶרְיוֹן pregnancy (for הָרָה) and § 93 uu; קִיָּקָלוֹ shame, for קִיָּקָלוֹ. Proper names occur with the termination *ām*, as יִשְׂרָאֵל, § 86 g, and others.

¹ The plurals נִצְנִים flowers, Ct 212, and קִמְשָׁנִים thorns appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִצָּה (cf. נִצָּה) and קִמְשָׁה with the insertion of *ām* (which in *קִמְשָׁה* is obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עִנְבוֹנִים wares, Ez 27^{14,16} from עִנָּב = עִנְבָּה.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in הִי or יִי used to be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix הִי. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְגִדוֹן, once used (Zc 12¹¹) for מְגִדוֹן (and conversely in Pr 27²⁰ *Kethibh* אֲבִדָה, *Qere* אֲבִדוֹן for אֲבִדוֹן *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nûn* appears before the termination י, as גִּלְוִי *Gilonite* from גִּלָּה and שִׁילְוִי from שִׁילָה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְגִדוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination ם (יְרִיחוֹ), עֵבֹ, רְמוֹנוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names, and גִּלְוִי and שִׁילְוִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gilô-i*, *šilô-i*, &c.; cf. also שִׁלְוִי from שִׁלָּה.

On the affirmatives יִי, יִי, יִי, יִי, יִי, see below, § 86 h-l.

XII. Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.

55. גְּלִמְדוֹר *barren*, הֶלְמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem וְלֶעֱפָה *heat*, &c., have probably arisen from the insertion of a ל; הֶרְגֹּל *a locust*, מְגִדוֹן *an axe*, מְגִדוֹן *a branch*, Ez 31⁶ (verses 6, 8 *מְגִדוֹן*, *שְׁרָעִים* (also *שְׁרָעִים*) *anxious thoughts*, sceptre, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, הֶרְמִישׁ *a sickle*, מְגִדוֹן *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֵטְלָה *a bat*, עֵפְבִישׁ *a spider*, עֵפְבֹר *a mouse*, עֵקֶרֶב *a scorpion*,¹ &c.—Quinqueliteral, אֶפְרָחֶע *a frog*.

§ 86. Denominative Nouns.

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *a* whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. מְגִדוֹן *eastern*, immediately from מְגִדוֹן *the east* (verbal stem מְגִדוֹן *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already *b* been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (§ 85 *e* to *m*) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see *e*).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the participle *Qal* (§ 84^a s), e.g. שֹׁעֵר *a porter*, from שֹׁעַר *a gate*; בָּקֵר *a herdsman*, from בָּקָר *a herd*; בָּרֵם *a vinedresser*, from בָּרֵם *a vineyard*.
2. Those like the form *qāṭṭāl* (§ 84^b b), e.g. קֹשֶׁת *an archer*, from קָשָׁת *a bow*.

¹ Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *ʿusfūr*, *sparrow* (from *ṣafara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadriliteral names of animals.

Both these forms (c and d) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τὸς*, e. g. *πολίτης, γραμματεὺς*.

e 3. Nouns with *מ* prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (cf. § 85 e), or its neighbourhood, e. g. *מַעְיָן* a place of fountains, from *מַעַן* the place about the feet, *מִרְאשׁוֹת* the place about the head, from *רֵגֶל* (for *מִקְשָׁה*) a cucumber field, from *קָשָׂא* cucumber. Cf. *ἀμπελῶν* from *ἀμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination *־ן* or *־י* expressing adjectival ideas: *קֶרְמִין* eastern, from *קָרַם*; *אַחֲרִין* posterior, from *אַחַר*; *חוּצִין* exterior, from *חוּץ*; probably also *לִוְיָן* coiled, hence coiled animal, serpent, from *לִוְיָה* a winding; *נְחֹשֶׁתִין* brazen, from *נְחֹשֶׁת* brass. Also abstracts, e. g. *עֵרְוָן* blindness, from *עָרָה*. Cf. § 85 u.—With a double termination (*ōn* or *ān* with *i*) *אֲדָמִי* reddish, from *יְדֻנִּי* a knowing (spirit); *צִפְעִנִי* basilisk; *רַחֲמִנִי* merciful [fem. plur.].

g *אִישׁוֹן* appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac *ܐܝܫܘܢ*) in *אִישׁוֹן* little man (in the eye), *אֵיִשׁ*¹, from *אֵיִשׁ*¹; on the other hand *שֹׁפֵיִן* adder, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from *שָׁפַח* to rub (hence, as it were, a rubbing creature); in the same way *יִשְׂרָאֵל* is a denominative from *יָשָׁר* (= *יֵשֶׁר*), properly upright (righteous people), and not a diminutive (pious little people, and the like); finally *שֶׁהָרִין* is not lunula, but an artificial moon (used as an ornament), and *צִוְרָנִים* not little neck, but necklace (from *צִוְרָא* neck). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4^o.

h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination *־י*, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form ordinals, patronymics, and tribal names; e. g. *רִגְלִי* footman, plur. *רִגְלִים*, from *רֶגֶל* foot; *אֲכֹרִי* cruel, plur. *אֲכֹרִים*, from *תַּחְתִּי* lower, from *תַּחַת* below, plur. *תַּחְתִּיִּם*, from *שֵׁשִׁי* the sixth, plur. *שֵׁשִׁים* six; *מוֹאבִי* Moabite, from *מוֹאָב*, plur. *מוֹאבִּים*, fem. *מוֹאבִּיָּה* and *מוֹאבִּית*; *עִבְרִי* Hebrew, plur. *עִבְרִיִּם*, fem. *עִבְרִיָּה* and *עִבְרִית*, plur. *עִבְרִיִּם*, from *יִשְׂרָאֵל* Israelite, from *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. When the original substantive is a compound, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. *בְּנֵי־מִינִי* Benjamite, from *בְּנֵי־מִינִי* (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 d).

i Instead of *־י* we find in a few cases (a) the ending *־י* (as in Aram.), e. g. *כִּלְיִי* (crafty, or, according to others, churlish) if it stands for *כִּלְיָי* and is not rather from a stem *כלל* or *כלה*; *חֹזִי* white cloth, Is 19^o in pause; perhaps also *גִּבִּי* a swarm of locusts, Am 7¹ (*גִּבִּי* Na 3¹⁷); hardly *נְנִינֹתִי* Is 38^o, Hb 3¹⁰; but certainly in proper names as *בָּרְזִילִי* (ferreus) Barzillai;² and (b) *־ה*,

[¹ Cf. Barth, § 212; König, ii. 1, 413. Diminutives in Semitic languages are, however, most commonly formed by inserting a *y* after the second radical, e. g. Aram. *עֵלְיָמָא*, Syr. *ܠܬܝܡܢܐ*, Arab. *غُلَيْمٌ* a very young man, *كَلْبَاب*, a little dog, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), *אֵלְיָר* (Is 28^{10,12}, Jb 36²) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added *שֶׁבִיטִים* Is 3¹⁸ (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, little sun), and *אֲמִינוֹן* 2 S 13²⁰, as a contemptuous diminutive form of *אֲמִנוֹן*; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.* i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 f. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192 d.]

² On *־י* as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 L.

arising from *ay*, in אֵשׁ *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ), i. e. *a sacrifice offered by fire*; לִבְנָה (prop. *milky*) the *storax-shrub*, Arabic *lubnay*.

6. *Abstract nouns formed from concretes* by the addition of וֹת, [יָת, ה] k (§ 95 i), cf. our terminations *-dom, -hood, -ness*, e. g. יְלֻדוֹת *youth*, מְלֻכּוֹת *kingdom* (the omission of the *Dageš* in כ shows that the *Šewā* is weakened from a full vowel; on *malik* as underlying the present form מֶלֶךְ cf. § 84^a a); אֲלֻמְנוֹת *widowhood*, from אֲלָמָן *widower*, אֲלֻמְנָה *widow*. In Aram. this fem. ending וֹת (or יָת with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הִשְׁמָעוֹת *the announcing*, Ez 24²⁶, and הִתְחַבְּרוֹת *the making of a league*, Dn 11²⁰); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as כְּלָלוֹת *folly*, רַפְאוֹת *a healing*¹) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, h) in אֲכִירִיּוֹת *cruelly*, and קוֹמָמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lv 26¹³, used adverbially).

The ending יָת is found earlier, e. g. in שְׁאֵרִית *remainder*, רִאשִׁית *princ- cipium*, from ראש = ראש (head) *princeps*. The termination *ōth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (in Pr 1²⁰, 9¹, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14¹, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 1¹⁷, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 10¹³.

§ 87. Of the Plural.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lašciak, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is יָם, *a* always with the tone, e. g. סוּסִים *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*; but also very often written defectively סִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e. g. גִּן פְּזִיזִים Gn 1²¹. Nouns in יָ make their plural in יָם, e. g. עִבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִיִּים (Ex 3¹⁸); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עִבְרִיִּים; עֲבָרִים *crimson garments*, from עָבַר.

Nouns in הָ lose this termination when they take the plural *h* ending, e. g. זֵהָ *seer*, plur. זֵהִים (cf. § 75 h).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the סִם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination יָם is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. c נָשִׁים *women*, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; נְחָלִים *ewes*, from נָחַל), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, m-p).—On the use of this termination יָם to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

¹ [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgebiets*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

d The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *āni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *āmi*, cf. § 88 *d*); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *āna* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *an*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 *l*) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 *m*).¹

c Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(a) *in*, as in Aramaic,² found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Pr 31⁸, יָרְדִּין 1 K 11³³, רָצִין *the guard*, 2 K 11¹³, חֲטָיִן *wheat*, Ez 4⁹; defectively אִלָּן *islands*, Ez 26¹⁸; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12¹³. Cf. also כִּרְדִּין *carpets*, Ju 5¹⁰, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵיין *heaps*, Mi 3¹² (before ת; cf. § 44 *k*); מִלִּין *words* (from the really Aram. מִלָּה), Jb 4², and twelve other places in Job (beside מִלִּים, ten times in Job); further, חֲזִין Jb 24²², אֲחֲרִין 31¹⁰, and שׁוּמְמִין La 1⁴, חֲזִין 4².—The following forms are doubtful:

f (b) *in* (with the *n* rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָרִי for יָרִים Ez 13¹⁸, cf. § 88 *c*), e. g. מְכִין *stringed instruments*, ψ 45⁹ for מְכִים (unless it is to be so written)³; עַמִּין *peoples*, ψ 144², and, probably, also La 3¹⁴ (in 2 S 22⁴⁴ it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 18⁴⁴ עַם; also in Ct 8² the *i* of רַפְּנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23⁸ as compared with 1 Ch 11¹¹, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

g (c) *in* (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שְׁרִין *princes*, Ju 5¹⁵ (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שְׁרִי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שְׁרִים); for חֲלוּנֵי וס' Jer 22¹⁴ (according to others *dual*, see § 88 *c*, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלוּנֵי קָפוֹן. On חֲלוּנֵי and חֲלוּרֵי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 *i*.—חֲשׁוּפֵי Is 20⁴ (where the right reading is certainly חֲשׁוּפֵי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *in* = *barrenness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 *d*) to avoid the harsh combination *hāsūfē set*⁴; in אֲרָנִי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲרָנִים *lord*, the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 *g*).

h (d) *im* a supposed *plural* ending in בָּנִים = בָּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and כִּלָּם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 *t*.

i 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

¹ On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, Obs. 2].

² So also always in the Meša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכין *kings*; line 5 ימן רבן *many days*, &c.

³ According to some this *i* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 *m*), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

⁴ Pratorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשׁוּפֵי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. אֲהוּבִי, אֲהוּבִי transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

סֵפֶר תְּהִלֹּת, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלֹּת *the Book of Psalms*; אֵלֶּכֶת *a letter*, plur. אֵלֶּכֶת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת form their plural in יָתוֹת, e.g. מִצְרִיָּת *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיָּוֹת; and those in יוֹ either make יָוֹת, as מְלָכִיּוֹת *kingdom*, plur. מְלָכִיּוֹת, Dn 8²² (cf. חֲנִיּוֹת *cells*, Jer 37¹⁶), or are inflected like עֲדוּת *testimonies* (pronounced 'edh^ewōth for 'edhūwōth).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings וֹת and לְ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָם or וֹת, e.g. חֲבִית *spear*, plur. חֲבִיתִים; חֲנִיתוֹת *whoredom*, plur. חֲנִיתִים (by the side of חֲנִיּוֹת; וִידוּת *widowhood*; שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits*, plur. שְׁחִיתִים (if connected with Assy. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination -*āth* stands primarily for -*āth* (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *ā* into an obscure *ē*, see § 97). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *āth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *āth* (cf. § 80 b).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Šewa* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and ^mfeminine (§ 122 d), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עֶבֶד *cloud*, plur. עֲבִידִים and עֲבֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דֹּר masc. *a generation*, plur. דֹּרִים and דֹּרוֹת; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֶרֶץ masc. *a lion*, plur. אֶרֶצִּים masc., Zp 3³, דֹּרוֹת masc., Jb 42¹⁶.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁵) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, ^othe dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in וֹת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 u), e.g. יָדַי *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands*, also e.g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפַּי *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); רַגְלִי *foot*, רַגְלָיו *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנִי *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינַי *eyes*, עֵינָיו *fountains*; cf. also אֶרֶצִּים *lions*, אֶרֶצוֹת *the figures of lions* on Solomon's throne, תְּמָר *palm*, תְּמָרָה *a palm-like column*, plur. תְּמָרִים and תְּמָרוֹת.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת, ^pwhile many feminines have a plural in יָם.—The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are : **אב** father, **אוצר** treasure, **באר** and **בור** cistern, **זנב** tail, **חלום** dream, **כִּסֵּא** throne, **לב** and **לֵבב** heart, **לוח** tablet, **לַיִל** and **לַיְלָה** night, **מזבח** altar, **מָקוֹם** place, **נֶאֱדָר** skin-bottle, **נֵר** lamp, **עוֹר** skin, **קוֹל** voice, **שֻׁלְחָן** table, **שֵׁם** name, **שׁוֹפָר** trumpet.

q Feminines ending in **ת** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אלה** *terebinth*, **אימה** *terror* (but also **אימות**), **דבילה** *a cake of figs*, **חטה** *wheat*, **לבנה** *a brick*, **מלה** (only in poetry) *a word*, **סאה** *seā*, *a dry measure*, **שעורה** *barley*, and the following names of animals **דבורה** *a bee* and **יונה** *a dove*; also, for **ביצים** fem. eggs, a singular **ביצה** is to be assumed. **אלמה** *sheaf* and **שנה** *year* (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שפלה** *an ear of corn*, plur. **שפלים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פילגש** *concubine*, plur. **פילגשים**.

7 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טובים** *boni*, **טובות** *bonae*, **קטלים** masc., **קטלות** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בנים** *filii*, **בנות** *filiae*; **מלכים** *reges*, **מלכות** *reginae*.

8 Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the constr. st. **י**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **במה** *a high place*, plur. **במות**, constr. st. **במותי** (also **במתי** *bimothê*, Is 14¹⁴, Jb 9⁸, &c., sometimes as *Qere* to the Kethibh *במותי*; see § 95 o); **מראשתי** *from Saul's head*, 1 S 26¹³; **חומה** *wall*, plur. **חומות** *moenia*, whence dual **חומתי** *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אדם** *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מרים** *men* (the old sing. **מתי** is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 c; in Eth. the sing. is *mēt*, *man*); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פנים** *face*. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פנים** means also *faces*, Gn 40⁷, Ez 1⁶; cf. **אלהים** *God*, and also *gods* (the sing. **אלה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

§ 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,¹ e.g. יָדַי *both hands*, יָמַי *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of הַ), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus תְּלִיפִי, e.g. שִׁפְתֵּי *lip*, שִׁפְתֵּי *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending תְּשֵׁת, e.g. נְהִשֵּׁת (from *nēhušt*) the dual is formed like נְהִשֵּׁת *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כְּנָף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כְּנָפַי, the first *ā* becoming *Swad*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5^{23b} the form כְּנָפַי (which should be כְּנָפַי) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כְּנָפַי, which would be expected before כְּנָפַי; cf. כְּנָפַי in 2 K 5^{23a}, and on the syntax see § 131 d. In the segholate forms (§ 84^a a) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רַגְלִי *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַי; cf., however, קַרְנֵי (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנֵי from קַרְן *horn*, and לְחַיִּים from לֶחַי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחַיִּים).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantivally occurs in עֲצָלָיִם *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10¹⁸ from the sing. עֲצָל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—(a) those in תְּנִי and תְּנִי, e.g. דִּתְנִי Gn 37^{17a} (locative דִּתְנִי, but in 17^b דִּתְנִי), and דִּתְנִי 2 K 6¹⁸; קִרְתֵּי Jos 21³², identical with קִרְתֵּי in 1 Ch 6⁶¹ (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קִרְתֵּי = Hebrew קִרְתֵּי; line 30 דִּבְלָתִי = בת דִּבְלָתִי Jer 48²²; lines 31, 32 חֲרֻנִּי = חֲרֻנִּי Is 15⁵, &c.); (b) in תְּנִי, Jos 15⁵⁴ הָעֵינִי (= עֵינִי Gn 38²¹). The view that תְּנִי and תְּנִי arise from a contraction of the dual terminations תְּנִי (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and תְּנִי seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאָתֵי *two hundred* = מֵאָתֵי, Hebrew מֵאָתֵי. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that תְּנִי and תְּנִי in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations תְּנִי and תְּנִי: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG*, xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Q'eri perpetuum* (§ 17 c) יְרֻשָּׁתַיִם for יְרֻשָּׁתַי (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרֻשָּׁתַי: similarly in

¹ On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 s and § 95 o at the beginning.

the Aramaic שְׁמָרִין = שְׁמֶרֶן for the Hebrew שְׁמֶרֶן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֶפְרַיִם, נַחֲרִים the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rīma*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרַיִם *midday* (Mēša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרָם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם in the evening, if the regular expression בֵּין־הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex 12⁶, 16¹², &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψέ, and only in Lv 23⁵ ἀπὸ μέσσην τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'iṣā'ān*, the two evenings, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יְדֵי Ex 13¹⁸ read יְדֵי. On חַלְוֵי (generally taken to be a double window) Jer 22¹⁴, see above, § 87 g.

- d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māmi*, *māim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124 b), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarḡaina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb *لَوِي*, for *tarḡay + ina*, corresponding to *taḡulīna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בְּרִינָן the abs. st. plur. of the ptp. Qal of בָּרָה (לָוִי), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the ptp. Qal of the strong verb, קָרְבַחִין *sacrificing*.

- e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. יָרְעִים and יָרְעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנוֹיִם *both ears*, שָׁנַיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, קַיִמָּנִים *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמָיִם *two (successive) days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתָּיִם *two cubits*.¹

- f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלָיִם *four feet*, Lv 11²⁸; שֵׁשׁ כַּנְפָּיִם *six wings* (i.e. three pairs), Is 6², Ez 1⁶; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3⁹, כָּל־בְּרָכְיָיִם *all knees*, Ez 7¹⁷; כָּל־יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21¹²; כְּזָלְתָּיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3¹⁰; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40⁴⁸.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16²⁸, Am 3¹².—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

- g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

¹ But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28^{9,18} (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַיִם is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo, ambo, octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

§ 89. The Genitive and the Construct State.

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. . .*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-α endings*,¹ but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,² and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šewā* (cf. § 9 a, a, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. דָּבָר word, אֱלֹהִים word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word, housetop, landlord*); יָד hand, יְדֵי the hand of the king; דְּבָרִים words, הָעָם דְּבָרֵי the words of the people. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a *genitive* suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a *genitive* after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

¹ On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

² The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in 'der Thron des Königs'; though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) 'des Königs Thron' exhibits the same peculiarity.

b Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the *Syntax*, § 130.

c 2. The *vowel* changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-5. But besides these, the *terminations* of the noun in the *construct state* sometimes assume a special form. Thus:

(a) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is '—, e. g. סוסים *horses*, פרעה סוסים *the horses of Pharaoh*; עינים *eyes*, עיני המלך *the eyes of the king*.

d Rem. The '— of the dual has evidently arisen from '— (cf. רִימִים), but the origin of the termination '— in the *constr. st. plur.* is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוסים, &c., § 91 h) would point to a contraction of an original '—, as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen, and Noldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 48 ff.), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in אֵשׁה (see *f*) and חַיִּי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

e (b) The original ת— is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in ת—, e. g. מלכה *queen*, מלכת שבא *the queen of Sheba*. But the feminine endings ת—, ת—, and also the plural ת—, remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

f (c) Nouns in ת— (cf. § 75 e) from verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III c) form their *constr. st.* in ת—, e. g. ראה *seer*, constr. ראה. If this ת— is due to contraction of the original '—, with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare י, constr. י sufficiency; ח, constr. ח life; נַי (נִי), constr. נַי (נִי) valley.

On the terminations י and '— in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

§ 90. Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.

ת— *local*, י in compound proper names, '— and י in the *Construct State*.

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882; J. Barth, 'Die Casusreste im Hebr.', *ZDMG.* liii. 593 ff.

a 1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. It is, however, a question whether they are all to be regarded as real remnants of former case-endings, or are in some instances to be explained other-

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination $\eta_{\text{—}}$ is a survival of the old accusative termination *a*, and that η in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the $\hat{\eta}$ as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that $\hat{\eta}$ is a form of the nominative termination η , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative,¹ 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: -*u* for the nominative, -*i* for the genitive, and -*a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending -*a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the -*a* (in proper names -*ha*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under *a*, the *accusative* form is preserved *c* in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending $\eta_{\text{—}}$, originally $\hat{\alpha}$, as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*,² e. g. $\eta_{\text{—}}$ seaward, westward, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ eastward, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ northward, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to Assyria, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to Babylon, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ (from $\eta_{\text{—}}$) to the mountain, Gn 14¹⁰, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the earth, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the house, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to Tirzah ($\eta_{\text{—}}$) 1 K 14¹⁷, &c., $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to Gaza ($\eta_{\text{—}}$) Ju 16¹; with the article $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the mountain, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ into the house, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ into the chamber, 1 K 1¹⁵; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ into the tent, Gn 18⁶, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as $\eta_{\text{—}}$ thither, $\eta_{\text{—}}$ whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive $\eta_{\text{—}}$ into Joseph's house, Gn 43^{17,24}; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ toward the land of the south, Gn 20¹; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the land of Egypt, Ex 4²⁰; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19¹⁵; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ toward the sun-rising, Dt 4⁴¹; and even with the plural $\eta_{\text{—}}$ to the Chaldeans, Ez 11²⁴; $\eta_{\text{—}}$ towards the heavens.

¹ This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2 f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

² On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 d, and the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romum profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

³ $\eta_{\text{—}}$ in Baer's text, Gn 18⁶, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *לְמָוֶה*, *לְהָרָה*, *לְבֵיתָה* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מִתְנַיִמָה* in *Mahanaim*, 1 K 4¹⁴; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18², cf. 2 K 23⁸, and the expression to *offer a sacrifice* *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, properly *towards the altar for on the altar*. On the other hand, *בָּבֶלְיָה* Jer 29¹⁵, and *וּבְלָהָ* Hb 3¹¹, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּאֵת צְפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15⁵ (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבוּל קִדְרָמָה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18^{16,20}, Ex 26¹⁸, Jer 23⁸.

e (c) The original force of the ending *הָ* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *עַד-אֵיכָה* *how long?*), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעַלָה* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּה* *downwards*, *לְשִׁאוֹלָה* *to Sheol*, ψ 9¹⁸; *עַד-אַפְהֶקָה* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13⁴, *אַל-הַצְפּוֹנָה* *toward the north*, Ez 8¹⁴, cf. Ju 20¹⁶; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּצִנְיָה* *in the south*, Jos 15²¹, cf. Ju 14², 1 S 23^{15,19}, 31¹³, 2 S 20¹⁵, Jer 52¹⁰; *מִבְּבֶלְיָה* *from Babylon*, Jer 27¹⁶; cf. 1¹⁸, Jos 10³⁶, 15¹⁰, Ju 21¹⁹, Is 45⁶.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָהָ*, in *pause לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative¹ appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is 16⁸, *constr. st. לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in *pause* Is 21¹¹). Most probably, however, *לַיִלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מֵאֵיכָה* *something*, probably from *מֵאֵימָה*, *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אֶרֶצָה* Is 8²³ and (in *pause*) *בְּמִיָּתָה* Ho 8⁷, and the place-name *הַחֲצָה* 1 Ch 6⁶⁸, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *הָ* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אֶרֶצָה* (in *pause*) *בְּ* Jb 37¹²; *הַפְּרוֹתָה* *death*, ψ 116¹⁵; *נְגִידָהָ* ψ 116^{14,18}; *נַחְלָהָ* *stream*, ψ 124⁴; *הַחֲשִׁמְלָהָ* *amber*, Ez 8² [in 1⁴ *הַחֲשִׁמְלָה*, cf. § 80 k], &c. In Jos 15¹² *הַיְמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14¹⁸ instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרִיקָה* (towards the sun??) read as in 15¹ *הַחֲרִיקָה* *to the bride-chamber*.

¹ Broeckelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *laylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלָהָ*, like *אֵנָה* from *אֵנָהָ*.

(b) In the termination הַֿ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. אִיָּהֶה *terror* (= אִיָּמָה), Ex 15¹⁶; עֲזָרָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), ψ 44²⁷, 63⁸, 94¹⁷; יִשְׁעָהָ *salvation* (= יִשְׁעָהָ), ψ 3⁸, 8c³, Jon 2¹⁰; עוֹלָהָ *unrighteousness* (= עוֹלָהָ), Ez 28¹⁶, Ho 10¹³, ψ 125⁸; עֲלֵהָ ψ 92¹⁰ *Keth.* Jb 5¹⁶; צָרָה ψ 120¹; עֵיפָהָ *darkness*, Jb 10²²; הַמְּוִפָהָ Jer 11¹⁶ is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like עֲזָרָה *for help* (ψ 44²⁷) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.¹

This termination הַֿ usually has reference to *place* (hence called *h locale*²); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in מִיָּמָה מְיָמָה *from year to year*. Its use in הָלֵיָהָ , properly *ad profanum*! = *absit*! is peculiar.

As the termination הַֿ is almost always toneless (except in מִוִּרְהָ *constr. st. i* Dt 4⁴¹; נָתָה and עָתָה Jos 19¹³) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מִדְּפָרָה Jos 18¹², 1 K 19¹⁵, and in the proper names נָתָה 1 K 2⁴⁰, דָּנָה 2 S 24⁶ (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb. דָּנָה), צִפְפָּה 2 Ch 14⁹, צִרְפָּה 1 K 17⁹, צִרְהָנָה 1 K 4¹², an *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however, הָרָה Gn 14¹⁰, פְּדָנָה Gn 28² from פָּדַן , with modification of the *a* to *è*; also בְּרִמְלָה 1 S 25⁵ from בְּרִמְלָה). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the הַֿ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before הַֿ naturally becomes *Sewa*, e.g. פִּיְתָה , הָאֹהֶלָה Gn 18⁶, &c.; הִשְׁעָהָ Jos 17¹⁵, הִשְׁעָהָ Ju 20¹⁶, &c., but also נָחֶלָה Nu 34⁵ (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47¹⁹, 48²³) and שְׁעָהָ Is 28⁶ (with *Sillug*); cf. נָנְבָה Ez 47¹⁹ and נָרְנָה (Baer, incorrectly, נָרְנָה) Mi 4¹² (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in הַֿ the הַֿ *local* is added to the original feminine ending תְּ (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *a*, e.g. הַתְּרַצְתָּה .—Moreover the termination הַֿ is even weakened to הַֿ in נָבָה *to Nob*, 1 S 21², 22⁹; נָאָהָ *whither*, 1 K 2^{36, 42} and הַדְנָהָ *to Dedan*, Ez 25¹³.

3. Of the three other terminations³ may still be regarded as a *h* survival of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[¹ The form clings also to a few place-names, as נִדְרָהָ Dt 10⁷; שִׁלְשָׁה 1 S 9⁴, 2 K 4⁴²; קֹהֶלְתָּהָ Nu 33^{22 f.}; יִמְפָּתָהָ verse 33 f.; הַמְּנִיָּהָ Jos 19⁴³, &c.; אִפְרָתָהָ Mi 5¹, &c.]

² Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the הַֿ from the adverbs שָׁמָּה , אָנָּה and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.

³ So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer הִשְׁעָהָ), i. e. locative from שָׁעַר (Is 7²⁰). The reading הִשְׁעָהָ (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in הַֿ .

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,¹ viz. אֶחָיוֹ (if compounded of אָחוּ and יוֹ, חֲמוּטֵל (for which in Jer 52¹ אֶחָיוֹ), מְהִישָׁאֵל and מְהִישָׁלָה (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְהִישָׁאֵל men; מְהִישָׁלָה corresponds most probably בְּהִישָׁאֵל in Gn 32³¹ (but in ver. 32 פְּנִיָּאֵל) face of God (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנִים constr. st. פְּנִי).²—שָׂמֹי Neh 6⁶ (elsewhere שָׂמֹי), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6¹. On the other hand the terminations '— and ' are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the constr. st., on the analogy of the constr. st. of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see b) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* '— and ' are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, ' being the old genitive and ' for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the ' and ' almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative הִ— is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. ' and ' are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final ' or ', and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the constr. st. Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the constr. st. is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the constr. st. of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אִמִּי, חָמִי from אָב father, אִמָּה mother, brother, חָמָה father-in-law (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like ' and ' is also used only to emphasize the constr. st. (see n), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this ' corresponds to a primitive Semitic *ā* (cf. § 9 q) and is traceable to 'abā, 'ahā, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the constr. st., which have *ā* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אִמִּי, חָמִי, and only of the analogous בְּנִי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנִי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the ' in compound proper names like בְּהִישָׁאֵל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in ' . But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנִיָּאֵל, בְּהִישָׁאֵל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

¹ Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im ältest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

² The name שָׂמֹי formerly regarded as a compound of שָׂמֹי = שָׂמֹי name and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אֵל שָׂמֹי = אֵל שָׂמֹי [but see Driver on I S 1²⁰]; similarly, according to Prätorius, אֵל שָׂמֹי = אֵל שָׂמֹי and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: *אֶחָדוּ* *his ass's colt*, Gn 49¹¹; *שֹׁכֵנִי סִנָּה* *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33¹⁶ (on *שֹׁכֵנִי* cf. below Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³); appended to the feminine *לַיְלָה* *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31³⁰ (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); *מִלֵּאֲתִי* *plena iustitiae*, Is 1²¹; *עַם* *full of people*, La 1¹ (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29.e; in the same verse the second *רַבְחִי* and *שְׁרָתִי*, see below, follow the example of *רַבְחִי*, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10¹¹ below); *מִלְכִּי־צֶדֶק* *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110⁴; cf. also ψ 113⁹, Jer 49^{16b}. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130.a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e.g. *בְּגוֹיִם* *she that was great among the nations*, *עֲלֵיהֶן* *princesses among the provinces*, La 1¹; *וְיֹשֵׁב* *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10¹¹; cf. also Jer 49^{16a}, Ob³.—In Ex 15⁶ *נִאֲדָרִי* can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to *יְהוָה*, but perhaps we should read *נִאֲדָרָה* as predicate to *מִיִּנְךָ*.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as *וְיִלְכֵתִי* (= *וְיִלְכֵת*) *except*, *מִזֵּי* (poetical for *מִן*) *from*, *בְּלֵתִי* *not*, *אִפְסִי* *not* (thrice in the formula *אִנִּי וְאִפְסִי עוֹד* *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as *מִלְכִּי־צֶדֶק* (*king of righteousness*), *אֱבִיר־אֵל* (*man of God*), *חַיִּי־אֵל* (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i.e. *חַיִּי־בַעַל* *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found *m* in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *z*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49¹¹, Is 22¹⁶ (*הַקִּנְיִן* and *הַקִּצְבִּי*), also in impassioned speech), Mi 7¹⁴ (probably influenced by Dt 33¹⁶), ψ 101⁵, 113⁷; and passages in which the *z* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e.g. in the late Psalms, 113^{5,6,7,9} (on verse 8 see *n*), 114⁸, 123¹.

In *K^othibh* the termination *i* also occurs four times in *יוֹשְׁבֵתִי*, i.e. *יוֹשְׁבֵתִי*, *m* Jer 10¹⁷, 22²⁸ (before *בְּ*), Ez 27³ (before *עַל־*), La 4²¹ (before *בְּ*). The *q^{re}* always

Vowel.		Consonant.	
Plur. 1.	c. נִי	נִי	our.
2.	{ m. כֶּם	כֶּם	your.
	{ f. כֻּן	כֻּן	
3.	{ m. הֶם	הֶם	eorum.
	{ f. מוֹ	(poet. מוֹ)	
	{ f. הֵן (הֵן)	הֵן	earum.

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; *c* the particular forms are used as follows:—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these 'connecting vowels' from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 *f*) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיָּהּ and אֲבִיו, אֲבִיָּהּ, אֲבִינִי, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from *l'* stems (see § 93 *x, y*), e. g. פְּרִיָּהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am 9¹⁴ (also פְּרִיָּם Is 37²⁰, &c.), פְּרִיָּהֶן Jer 29²⁸ (also פְּרִין verse 5); cf., moreover, חֶלְבֶּהֶן Lv 8^{16.25} and similar examples with הֵן (Is 3¹⁷ הֵן) Gn 21²⁸, Ez 13¹⁷, 16⁵⁸.¹ Also in Gn 1²¹, 4⁴, Ez 10¹², Nah 2⁸, &c., the *Keth.* perhaps intends the singular, לְמִיָּהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *ê*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 *f*) are joined to nouns ending *d* in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd sing. fem. הִיא (for *ahā*) and 3rd plur. הֵנָּה, מוֹ, יָ, also in the 3rd sing. masc. הֵ (הֵ), since the *ô* is contracted from *a[h]û*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd masc. הָ (a modification of original הָ).

The forms with *ê* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָ (from stems ל'ה), *constr. st.* הֵ (cf. § 89 *f*), e. g. שָׂדֶהּ *his field*; עֵלֶףּ *its leaf*, Is 1³⁰; מְרִאֶהּ *the appearance thereof*, Lv 13⁴ (from *mar'ah*; on the *Seghol* see *k*); but שָׂדֶהּ *her field*. The orthographic retention of the *î*, e. g. מְעֻשֵׂי, מְעֻשֵׂיךָ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 *ss*.

Apart from these ל'ה forms the connecting vowel *ê* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אֲנִיָּהּ *his light*, Jb 25³; לְמִיָּהּ *after its kind*, Gn 12²⁵ [+ 12 times]; Na 1¹³; in Ju 19²⁴ read פִּילִנְשׁוֹ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הֵ in the 2nd sing. fem. and נִי in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הֵ, נִי are of rare occurrence; see *c*.—Instead of הֵ (הָ) in Gn 10¹⁹, Ex 13¹⁸, Jer 29²⁵, &c., cf. בָּכָה, לָכָה § 103 *g*), כֶּם, כֻּן (with *S'êrâ mobile*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הֵ, כֶּם, כֻּן, e. g. רִיחֶךָ *thy spirit*, בְּרֵאֶךָ *thy creator*, Is 43¹, רֵעֶכֶם *your friend*, Jb 6²⁷ (on such cases as בְּחֻכֶּכֶם Hag 2⁵, see § 10 *g*).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 *i*, and on עוֹנֶכָּהּ Jb 5¹, &c., cf. § 61 *h*) הֵ occurs in Pr 25¹⁶, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

Sing. 1st pers. הֵ in בְּשִׁנֵּי Ez 47⁷ (certainly only a scribal error, caused *c* by בְּשִׁנֵּי in verse 6).

¹ Also in Jer 15¹⁰ read (according to § 61 *h*, end) בְּלִפְנֵיהֶם קָלְלִנִי; in Ho 7⁶ probably אֲפִיהֶם for אֲפִיהֶם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּפְּךָ, e.g. כִּפְּכָה (*thy hand*), ψ 139⁵, cf. Pr 24¹⁰; once כָּנְךָ ψ 53⁰ (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 l); *fem.* הָ ψ Ez 5¹² (in 16⁵³ also for שְׁכִינְתֶּךָ probably שְׁכִינִי is intended), כִּי Jer 11¹⁵, ψ 103³, 116¹⁰, 135⁵ (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal כִּה Na 2¹⁴, cf. l), לְכִי *Keth.* 2 K 4², Ct 2¹³. Also הָ ψ Ez 22¹, Ez 23²⁸, 25⁴.

3rd pers. הָ (cf. § 7 c), e.g. אָהֳלָה Gn 9²¹, 12⁸, 15³, 35²¹ (always with *Qere* אָהֳלָה); נָחָה Nu 10³⁰; לָחָה Dt 34⁷; בָּלָה Jer 20⁷, Na 2¹ *Qere*; קָצָה 2 K 19²³ *Keth.*, for which קָצָה is read in Is 37²⁴; עִירָה and כֹּתָה Gn 49¹¹, cf. Ex 22²⁰ (*Qere* עִירָה (סוּתָה); סָכָה ψ 10⁹, 27⁵ *Keth.*; הָמוּנָה Ez 31¹⁸, &c., *Keth.*; תִּבְרָאָתָה Ez 48¹⁸ [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2⁹, 21¹].

3rd *fem.* הָ for הָ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases in § 58 g) occurs repeatedly before *B'ghadhlk'phath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9¹⁸ (before י, if the text is right), Lv 13⁴ (before ל), Nu 15^{23,31}, 1 S 1⁹ (unless אָכְלָה, the *infin.* with *fem.* termination, is intended; שָׁוָה follows), Ez 16⁴⁴, 24⁰ (before ב), 1 S 20²⁰, 2 K 8⁶, Pr 12²⁸ (before א), Na 3⁰ (before ו), ψ 48¹⁴ (before פ), Ez 47¹⁰, Jb 31²² twice (before ת), Is 21², Jer 20¹⁷ (before ה), Nu 32⁴², Am 1¹¹ (before נ), Lv 6² (before ע); even in *pause*, Lv 12^{4 a} and 5^b; Is 23¹⁷, Pr 21²², also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45⁶, Jer 6⁶ (probably), 44¹⁰; on הָשִׁפָּחָה Lv 26²⁴, &c., see § 67 y. Cf. also אָ ψ Ez 36⁵.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הָ with feminines as a shortening of הָתָה, e.g. נָצָה Gn 40¹⁰ for נָצַתָה, פָּנָה Pr 7⁸ for פָּנָתָה; also הָ for הָתָה in הָתָה בְּתוֹבִינָה Ho 13², and עָרַמְתָּם Jb 5¹³. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28⁴ the reading is simply to be emended to בְּבִינָה, and in Ze 4² to גִּלְיָה, Jb 11⁹ to מִיָּה, Neh 5¹⁴ to פָּתָה. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 g.]

Plur. 1st pers. הָ, in *pause* קִיָּמֵנוּ Jb 22²⁰ (where, however, קִיָּמֵנוּ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3² [Is 47¹⁰, cf. § 61 c, h], and so always בָּנֵינוּ *all of us*, Gn 42¹¹, &c. [cf. בָּנֵינוּ, לָנוּ, אֲתָנוּ, עִמָּנוּ].

2nd pers. *fem.* הָ Ez 23^{48,49}.

3rd pers. *masc.* הָ ψ 17¹⁰ (on הָ in הָיָה in the same verse, and in ψ 58⁷ see l); הָ 2 S 23⁶, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading בָּלָהָם. *Fem.* הָ 1 K 7³⁷, Ez 16⁶⁸ (in *pause*); הָ Gn 41²¹; הָ Gn 30⁴⁴; הָ Ru 1⁹; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21²⁰, 42³⁶, Jer 8⁷, Pr 31²⁰, Jb 39²); finally הָ as suffix to a noun, only in Is 37¹⁷.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see l.

g 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* (הָ, cf. § 89 d). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to הָ, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the *plur.* and in the poetical suffix יָהִי of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is הָ (cf. k). On the 1st *pers.* and 3rd *masc. sing.* see i.—Thus there arise the following

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

h

Singular.	Plural.
1. c. '—, pause '— my.	1. c. '—, pause '— our.
2. { m. '—, pause '— } thy.	2. { m. '—, pause '— } your.
3. { m. '—, poet. '— } his.	3. { m. '—, poet. '— } their.
{ f. '—, poet. '— } her.	{ f. '—, poet. '— }

Thus the original '— is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. *i* וְהָיָה and throughout the plural, as סוֹסֵינִי, סוֹסֵינִי, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סוֹסֵי, the real suffix-ending ' (see *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd fem. sing. וְהָיָה, with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of '— is lost in pronunciation and the *a* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סוֹסֵי, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *sūsā-u*).¹ The 2nd masc. sing. וְהָיָה and the 3rd fem. sing. וְהָיָה were formerly also explained here as having really lost the ' , and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *S^ghōl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As סוֹסֵינִי represents *sūsai-nā*, so סוֹסֵינִי and סוֹסֵינִי represent *sūsai-hā*, *k* *sūsai-hā*, and the use of *S^ghōl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to וְהָיָה as compared with וְהָיָה. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the ' is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,² thereby causing confusion in an unpunctuated text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf. וְהָיָה *thy ways* (probably וְהָיָה is intended), Ex 33¹⁸, Jos 18, ψ 119⁸⁷; for other examples, see Jos 21¹¹ ff. וְהָיָה; but in 1 Ch 6⁴⁰ ff. always וְהָיָה, Ju 19⁹, 1 K 8²⁰, Is 58¹³, ψ 119^{41, 43, 98} (probably, however, in all these cases the sing. is intended); וְהָיָה Nu 30⁸; מְכַתֵּה Jer 19⁸, 49¹⁷; מְכַתֵּה Dn 11⁶. For the orthographic omission of the ' before suffixes cf. also וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה *his friends*, 1 S 30²⁸, Pr 29¹⁸; Jb 42¹⁰ (but it is possible to explain it here as a *collective singular*); וְהָיָה *our iniquities*, Is 64^{5, 6}, Jer 14⁷; Ex 10⁹, Neh 10¹ (וְהָיָה from לְהָיָה which is always written defectively); וְהָיָה Nu 29⁸⁸; וְהָיָה Jer 44⁹; וְהָיָה ψ 134²; וְהָיָה after *their kinds*, Gn 1²¹ (but see *c*), cf. 4⁴ and Na 2⁸. The

¹ In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyûm, line 16, וְהָיָה occurs for וְהָיָה Ex 20¹⁴. Gall, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix וְהָיָה or וְהָיָה represent *aiû* or *eu*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (̣).

² So in the Meša' inscription, l. 22 מְכַתֵּה *its towers* (along with שְׁעָרֵיהָ *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit ' after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, *n*.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. sing. וְ , which in $Q^e r^e$ is almost always changed to וִי , e.g. וְצוֹ his arrows, ψ 58⁸, $Q^e r^e$ וְצִי . On וְחָדָי , only three times וְחָדָי , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—*Sing.* 2nd pers. fem וְיָ (after וְיָשָׁרִי happy! Ec 10¹⁷, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage); וְיָ (cf. Syr. ܝܝ) 2 K 4³, and וְיָ in $K^e th.$, ψ 103³⁻⁵, 116⁷ (וְיָ in pause).—In Ez 16⁸¹ וְיָ (so וְיָ in 6⁸) occurs with an *inf.* ending in וְיָ , the וְיָ being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וְיָ (Nu 14³³, Is 54⁴, Jer 3⁸, Ez 16¹⁵, 23⁷, as well as in 16²⁰ $Q^e r^e$, and Zp 3²⁰), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5²⁴, reading וְיָשָׁרִי), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47¹³, Ez 35¹¹, ψ 9¹⁵, Ezr 9¹⁵.—Wholly abnormal is וְיָשָׁרִי thy messengers, Na 2¹⁴, evidently a case of dittography of the following $\text{וְיָ$: read וְיָשָׁרִי .

3rd masc. וְיָ Hb 3¹⁰, Jb 24²³; וְיָ 1 S 30²⁶, Ez 43¹⁷, Na 2⁴; וְיָ (a purely Aramaic form) ψ 116¹².—3rd fem. וְיָ Ez 41¹⁵.

Plur. The strange 2nd pers. masc. וְיָשָׁרִי (with *i*, so Qimhi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25³⁴, is probably a mixed form combining וְיָשָׁרִי and וְיָשָׁרִי ; fem. וְיָשָׁרִי Ez 13²⁰.

3rd masc. וְיָשָׁרִי Ez 40¹⁶; fem. וְיָשָׁרִי Ez 1¹¹.

3. The termination וְיָ (also with the *dual*, e.g. ψ 58⁷, 59¹³), like וְיָ and וְיָ , occurs with the noun (as with the verb, ψ 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular, ψ 21¹¹, 17^{10,10}, 58⁷, 59¹³, 89¹⁸; with a dual or plural, Dt 32^{27,32,37,38}, 33²⁹, ψ 2^{3,3}, 11⁷, 35¹⁶, 49¹², 58⁷, 59¹⁴, 73^{6,7}, 83^{12,12}, 140^{4,10}, Jb 27²³; after prepositions, see § 103 f, o, notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e.g. in Ex 15^{5,7,9}, ψ 2^{3,5}, and 140^{4,10}, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in Ex 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix*-forms which include the plural ending וְיָ , even to the feminine plural in וְיָ (קִיסוֹתַיִךְ, קִיסוֹתַיִךְ, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.¹

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending וְיָ (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g. ψ 132¹² (unless it be *sing.* for וְיָשָׁרִי , as, according to Qimhi in his Lexicon, 2 K 6⁸ is for וְיָשָׁרִי); Dt 28⁵⁰ (treated on the analogy of an *inf.* וְיָ);

¹ See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd sing. perf. of verbs וְיָ , § 75 i.

אֲחֵיהֶם Ez 16⁵². On the other hand מִצֹּתָהּ (so Baer, Ginsb.; but Opit. מִצֹּתָהּ) ψ 119⁵⁸, Dn 9⁵ is merely written defectively, like מִצֹּתָהּ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1⁹, &c. In the 3rd plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָם (their fathers) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14¹⁸, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָם, שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם their names, דִּירוֹתָם, דִּירוֹתֵיהֶם their generations. From parallel passages like 2 S 22⁴⁶ compared with ψ 18⁴⁶, Is 24 with Mi 4³, it appears that in many cases the longer form in מִצֹּתָהּ can only subsequently have taken the place of מִצֹּתָהּ.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *o* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending מִ— in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

Singular.

p

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	סוּס <i>a horse.</i>	סוּסָה <i>a mare.</i>
Sing. 1. com.	סוּסִי <i>my horse.</i>	סוּסָתִי <i>my mare.</i>
2. { m.	סוּסְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
{ f.	סוּסָךְ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסָתְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
3. { m.	סוּסוֹ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
{ f.	סוּסָהּ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
Plur. 1. com.	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵנּוּ <i>our mare.</i>
2. { m.	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵכֶם <i>your mare.</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵכֶן <i>your mare.</i>
3. { m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתֵיהֶם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתֵיהֶן <i>equa earum (sua).</i>

Plural.

q

	Masculine.	Feminine.
	סוּסִים <i>horses.</i>	סוּסוֹת <i>mares.</i>
Sing. 1. com.	סוּסֵי <i>my horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵי <i>my mares.</i>
2. { m.	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
3. { m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
Plur. 1. com.	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i>
2. { m.	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i>
3. { m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i>
{ f.	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equi earum (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae earum (suae).</i>

§ 92. *Vowel Changes in the Noun.*

a 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive, (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

b 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings יִם, יוֹ, and יִם־ are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Šwā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e.g. דָּבָר *word* (ground-form *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual כְּנָפַיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: מְשַׁלֵּחַ *overseer*, plur. מְשַׁלְּחִים; with the suffix of the sing. מְשַׁלְּחִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. מְשַׁלְּחֵיךָ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמִי, &c.¹

c But in participles of the form חֹפֵל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ǝ*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šwā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, plur. אֹיְבִים, with suff. אֹיְבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form חֹפֵל, חֹפֵלִים, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84^b *d, l, p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e.g. אִלֵּם *dumb*, plur. אִלְמִים.

d (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the *grave suffixes* to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šwā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e.g. הָעָם דְּבָרֵי *the words of the people*, דְּבָרֵיכֶם *your words*, דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (in all which instances the *ǝ* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

¹ The participles Niph'al נִהְיָה Dt 30⁴, נִהְיָה 2 S 14¹³, and some plurals of the participle Niph. of verbs נִהְיָה form an exception; cf. § 93 oo.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מֶלֶךְ *my king*, מְלָכָי, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings ים, וֹת (sometimes also before ים, וֹת) a *Qameṣ* regularly occurs,¹ before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Ṣwā* (מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת). This *Qameṣ* (on which cf. § 84^a a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלָכִי, מְלָכֶיךָ, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to *d*, has the form מְלָכֵי, with grave suffix מְלָכֵיךָ, &c., דְּלָתַי from דְּלָתִים *folding-doors*.

(c) Before the *Ṣwā mobile* which precedes the suffix ה when following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e.g. דְּבָרֶיךָ, דְּבָרָי, &c. (on the forms with *e* in the second syllable, see § 93 qq); but before the grave suffixes ים and וֹת in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרוֹת (*debbārkhēm*), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st.* sing. also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֵצֵר הַפֶּיִת (from חֵצֶר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqḡuq ha-ṣamim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words which retain *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *ā* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶם or אֵלֶם 1 K 7^e, Ez 40⁴⁸, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st.* plur. אֵלֶם); מִצֵּב 65^e, Pr 25¹⁸; מִצֵּב 1 S 13²³ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8³⁰ and מִתָּן Pr 18¹⁶ are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Ṣwā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25–28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84–86). Such are, e.g., the rejection of the ה of לִית stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע"ע stems in such cases as חָק, חָקִי, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *h* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes *Ṣwā* (קָטַל, קָטַלָה, קָטַלְתִּי), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ), cf. § 27. 3.

¹ For the rare exceptions see § 93 *l* and § 97 *f*, note 2.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*¹

a Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised:

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. חֶרֶב *f. sword*, like מֶלֶךְ *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination וֹת; thus חֶרֶבוֹת, *constr.* חֶרְבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

b (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending יִם—. All suffixes, except בָּם, לָם, הֶם, הֵן (יָם—, יָן—, יָהֶם—, יָהֵן—), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *e*.

Explanations of the Paradigms (see pp. 264, 265).

c 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84^a *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, *mālk*, *sēphr*, *quḏš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghol* to מֶלֶךְ (with *ā* modified to *è*), מִסְפָּר (i lengthened to *è*), קֹדֶשׁ (*ā* lengthened to *ò*).² The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghol*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ò* takes the place of the original *ā*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ò* in the form of a *Hateph* (חֶזֶק, חֶזֶק); before a following *Seva* this *Hateph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā, ò*), according to § 28 *c*; hence חֶזֶק, &c.

d In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix יִם— (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

¹ A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

² According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in מִסְפָּר and the *o* in קֹדֶשׁ are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *stéφp*, *stóv* (אֶזְרָא), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

Paradigms of

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פֶּעַל (work)
„ <i>construct</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלֶךְי	סֵפְרִי	קֹדֶשִׁי	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פֶּעְלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלֶכְךָ	סֵפְרְךָ	קֹדֶשְׁךָ	נָעָרְךָ	נֶצְחְךָ	פֶּעְלְךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַלְכִּים	סִפְרִים	[קֹדֶשִׁים]	נָעָרִים	נֶצְחִים	פִּעְלִים
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדֶשִׁי	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פִּעְלֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	[קֹדֶשִׁי]	נָעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פִּעְלֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדֶשֵׁיכֶם	נָעָרֵיכֶם	נֶצְחֵיכֶם	פִּעְלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	רַגְלָיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (two heaps)	מַתְּנָיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]		נַעֲלֵי		

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	בֵּיתָף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	בֵּיתָף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֵנִי	בֵּיתָפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרְךָ	חָכְמְךָ				שָׂדְךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	פְּנִים
„ <i>construct</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרֵי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנִי		חֲצָרֵי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	פְּנֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	כַּנְפָּיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִים (loins)	יָרְכָיִם (thighs)			(face)
„ <i>construct</i>	כַּנְפֵי					

Masculine Nouns.

I.

<i>g.</i>	<i>h.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>k.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>
מָוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם	אִם	חָק
(death)	(olive)	(whip)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(statute)
מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם, יָם	אִם	חָק
מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֶּרִיִּי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
מוֹתֶךָ	זֵיתֶךָ	שׁוֹטֶךָ	פֶּרִיֶךָ	יָמֶךָ	אִמֶךָ	חֻקֶּךָ
מוֹתֵכֶם	זֵיתֵכֶם	שׁוֹטֵכֶם	פֶּרִיֵכֶם	יָמֵכֶם	אִמֵכֶם	חֻקֵכֶם
[מוֹתֵיָם]	זֵיתֵיָם	שׁוֹטֵיָם	פֶּרִיָּם	יָמֵיָם	אִמוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֶּרִיִּי	יָמִי	אִמוֹת	חֻקִּי
	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	(kids)	יָמִי	אִמוֹתִי	חֻקִּי
	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵיכֶם
	עֵינַיִם	יוֹמִים	לְחָיִם	כַּפָּיִם	שִׁנָּיִם	
	(eyes)	(two days, biduum)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
	עֵינִי		לְחַיִּי	כַּפִּי	שִׁנָּי	

III.

IV.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(eternity)	(enemy)	(seer)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבֶךָ	חֹזֶךָ	פְּקִידֶךָ		כְּתָבֶךָ
עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֵיבֵכֶם	חֹזֵכֶם	פְּקִידֵכֶם		כְּתָבֵכֶם
עוֹלָמֵם	אֵיבֵיָם	חֹזֵיָם	פְּקִידֵיָם	עָנִיָּם	[כְּתָבֵיָם]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי	עָנִיִּי	[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		[כְּתָבִי]
עוֹלָמֵכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיָּכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מִלֵּחִים	מֵאֻנִּים		שָׁבָעִים		
(pair of tongs)	(balance)		(two weeks)		
	מֵאֻנִּי				

(only in Nu 11⁷, before Maqqeph), חָדָר Ju 3²⁴ (but Ct 3⁴ חָדָר), נָטַע, as well as נָטַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12⁹ (for קָחַת, *inf. constr.* from קָחַח).

i C. The *ḥ*-locale is, according to § 90 i, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. חֲדָרָה ψ 116^{14,18}: חֲדָרָה Gn 19⁹, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable חֲדָרָה Ex 40²⁴; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חֲדָרָה, in pause אֲרָצָה (cf. חֲדָרָה 1 Ch 14¹⁶, from חָדָר).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṭeph-Pathah* instead of the *S^ewa quiescens*; נָעָרִי, &c. (but also לְחָמִי, נָעָמִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qāṭl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *i*,¹ thus בְּמִנִּי *my womb*, יִתְרוֹ; so in בְּנִי, בָּצַע, בָּעַע, נָבַח, טָבַח, פָּשַׁע, פָּתַח, צָדַק, קָבַר, קָרַב, קָשַׁע, שָׁמַשׁ, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *i* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יִשְׁעַ beside יָשַׁע, יִצַּח beside יָצַח, &c. (According to the *Diqduq ha-ʿamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. st.* *ē*; cf. חָדָר Nu 30⁴ (*absol.*) and חָדָר 30¹⁰ (*constr.*); נָשָׁר Lv 24²⁰ (*absol.*) and נָשָׁר Am 6⁶ (*constr.*). According to this theory² פָּלָא (so the best authorities) Is 9⁵ would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בְּנִי, &c. from בְּנִי and יִקְבֹּד Dt 15¹⁴, 16¹³, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S^ghōl* for *i*: הַבְּלִי, יִשְׁעָךְ, חֲבִלִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination *ūt* is found as well as *īm*, e.g. נַפְשֹׁת, נַפְשֹׁת together with נַפְשִׁים (Ez 13²⁰ [but read חַפְשִׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st.* נַפְשֹׁת. Other nouns have only the ending *ūt*, e.g. אֲרָצֹת, *constr.* אֲרָצֹת from אֲרָץ. Without *Qameṣ* before the ending *īm* we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., cf. § 97 f, note 2. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֶׁרֶיךָ, &c., properly *thy happiness*! (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. pl.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסִפְיָהֶם Gn 42^{25,35}; רִשְׁפִי Ct 8⁶ (רִשְׁפִי ψ 76⁴); טִרְפִי Ez 17⁹; צִמְדִי Is 5¹⁰, and so always in נִסְפִיָּכֶם Nu 26²⁹, נִסְפִיָּהֶם Is 55³, &c., (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסִדִי Is 55³, &c., though in ψ 107⁴³ Ginsburg reads חֲסִדִי); cf. § 46 d. Even with a middle guttural בְּעִלְיָהֶן Est 1^{17,20}.—The attenuation of *ā* to *i* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, k), e.g. זִבְחִי, &c., even יִלְדִי Is 57⁴ beside יִלְדִי Ho 1², &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלַי *feet*, with suff. רַגְלֶיךָ, &c. רַגְלָיו, &c. *two thousand*, נַעְלָיִם *sandals*, בְּרַפְּיָם *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *i*, *constr. st.* בְּרַפְּיָם with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפְּיָי, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַפְּיָהֶם Ju 7⁶), forms with pretonic *Qameṣ* are also found (in consequence of the

¹ According to M. Lambert, *REJ.* 1896, p. 21, *a* tends to remain with labials; so in 14 cases out of 22 masculines, and in 3 out of 6 feminines.

² Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 22.

tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנִים *horns*, with suff. קֶרְנָיו (Dn 8³ π.; elsewhere always קַרְנִים, קֶרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַיִם *constr. st. דְּלָתִי folding-doors*, דְּרָכַיִם (?) *double way*.

2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final *N* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חֲמַט *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *Sghôl* instead of the original *š*, e.g. חֲלָקִי, עֲוֹרִי, &c., so in the *constr. st. plur.* עֲוֹרָי, &c.; חֲמַט forms חֲמָטָי 2 K 10²⁰, &c., retaining the *Qames* of חֲמָטָי before the weak *N*.—The pausal forms חֲמָטָי and חֲמָטָי (out of pause always חֲמָטָי, חֲמָטָי) go back to by-forms חֲמָטָי, חֲמָטָי.—On עֲשָׂבוֹת (*constr. st. plur. of עֲשָׂב*) Pr 27²⁶, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמוֹרִים *sycamores*, without *Qames* before the termination ם— (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמוֹה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קֶשֶׁט occurs in Pr 22²¹ without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural פֶּשַׁע, &c., but with ה also פֶּהוּ, אֶהוּ; with a final guttural גֶּבַהּ, &c., but with א, גֶּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפָּה Mi 7¹.

Before suffixes the original *û* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גִּדְּלוֹ *q* (ψ 150²) beside גִּדְּלוֹ, from גִּדְּלוֹ *greatness*; כִּבְּלוֹ (with *Dages forte dirimens*, and the *û* repeated in the form of a *Ḥateph-Qames*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9⁸, &c.; נִשְׁמָה Ez 22²⁴.—Corresponding to the form פֶּעֶלְכֶם *pu'ôl'ekhem* we find קִמְבֶּךָ Ho 13¹⁴, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִמְנִי (so Jablonski and Opatius) 1 K 12¹⁰, 2 Ch 10¹⁰, from קִמְנִי *little finger*; but the better reading is, no doubt, קִמְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *q* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קִמְנִי, not *gūtîn*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קִמְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but — is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *û*. In the forms פֶּעֶלְוֹ Is 1⁸¹ (for פֶּעֶלְוֹ) and תִּמְאָרוֹ Is 52¹⁴ (for תִּמְאָרוֹ 1 S 28¹⁴), the lengthening of the original *û* to *ô* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמִצְרַיִם Gn 32²⁰).—In the same way *ô* remains before ה *locale*, e.g. פֶּרְנָה, הָאֶהָלָה Gn 18⁶, 24⁶⁷, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נִכְחָ?) seems to occur in נִכְחוֹ Ex 14², Ez 46⁹, for נִכְחוֹ.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *û* generally becomes *S'wâ* before the *Qames*, *r* e.g. בִּקְרִים from בִּקְרִי *morning*, פֶּעֶלִים *works*, רִמְחִים *lances*, שְׁעָפִים *handfuls* (*constr. st.* שְׁעָפִי Ez 13¹⁹); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *û*-sound reappears as *Ḥateph-Qames*, e.g. חֲדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*; and so even without an initial guttural, חֲנֻכּוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 S 23¹, Jo 2²⁴; קִדְּשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qūdāšîm*, &c., with *û* for *û*); also קִדְּשִׁי [but קִדְּשִׁי, קִדְּשִׁי, once 'קִדְּשִׁי], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'קִדְּשִׁי and 'קִדְּשִׁי; with the article הַקִּדְּשִׁי, הַקִּדְּשִׁי, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אֶהָלָה *tent*, both בְּאֶהָלִים and אֶהָלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פֶּעֶלְוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהָלִי, &c.; so from אֶרֶץ *way*, אֶרֶצְהוּ (also אֶרֶצְהוּ)—hence only with initial *N*, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the

plural of אָרָה *caravan*, and of אָרָה *way*; however, אָרָהוֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 61⁹) and אָרָהוֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13²⁷ according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אָרָהוֹת 2 Ch 8¹⁸ *Keth.* (‘אָרָה Q^{re}’).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בָּהֶנוֹת Ju 1^{6f.}, as if from a sing. בָּהֶן: of נֹהָר *brightness*, Is 59⁹ נֹהָרוֹת (on these *q^{al}*-forms, cf. *t*).—If אָפְנִי Pr 25¹¹ is not dual but plural (see the *Lexicon*) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בָּמִנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בָּמִנָּה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 f. אָפְנִי is a sing. אָפְנִי, the ground-form of אָפְנִי, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ā* is רִכְסִי ψ 31²¹; otherwise like קָדְשִׁי, אֱהָלִי, &c.

§ 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84^a e). Thus (α) of the form קָטַל *honey*, קָטַל *little*; in *pause*, קָטַל, קָטַט *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18²⁶ (elsewhere always קָטַט), and *infinitives* like שָׁכַב (ψ 45 c; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שָׁכַם *shoulder*, *ā* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שָׁכַם); *locative* שָׁכַמָּה, also שָׁכַמָּה Ho 6⁹. With suffixes in the usual manner שָׁכַמִּי, שָׁכַמָּה Gn 19^{35.35} (an *infin.* with suffix, therefore not שָׁכַמָּה). On the other hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָבִים (*constr.* אֲנָבִי) *marshes*, חֲרָפִים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

t (b) Of the form קָטַל: בְּאֵר *a well*, זָאב *wolf*, &c.¹; *locative* בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* זָאבִים, זָאבִי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שָׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(c) of the form קָטַל: בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סָכַבּוֹ occurs in Jer 4⁷ along with the *constr. st.* סָכַבּוֹ ψ 74⁵; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, pl. לְאֵמִים.

26 § 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (a) of the form *gāḏl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מְדַוֵּן, מְדַוֵּן *vanity*, מְדַוֵּן *iniquity*, מְדַוֵּן *midst*; with final נ, שְׁוֹא *falsehood*; cf. however, also רֵוַח *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתִי, &c. Exception, מְדַוֵּן as *constr. st.* Ez 28¹⁸ (according to Qimḥi) and with *suff.* מְדַוֵּן. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

27 (b) Of the form *gāḏl* with consonantal *Yōdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final נ, נִי (also נִי), in Is 40⁴ נִי, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14⁴) נִי (also נִי); plur. 2 K 21⁶ and Ez 6⁹ *Keth.* according to Baer נִי, i. e. doubtless נִי (cf. נִי, Ez 35⁸; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נִי, נִי, &c., for נִי, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

¹ The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT*, ‘Proverbs’, p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read בְּאֵר, זָאב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1²² where the Masora requires נִי, no doubt on the analogy of נִי, &c., for נִי, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

i. e. doubtless **בְּאִיּוֹת**, but in *Qerê*, and all other passages, **בְּאִיּוֹת**. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before **הַ** *locale*, e. g. **בְּיָתָהּ** (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. **בְּיָתָהּ יוֹכָהּ**).—**עִירֹו** (from **עִיר**) Gn 49¹¹ is peculiar, so also **שִׁיתוֹ** Is 10¹⁷ (from **שִׁית**).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like **הֲלִים** *hosts*, **עֵינֹות** *springs*, **עֵינִים** *young asses*, **הַעֲשִׂים** *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8²⁸ **עֵינֹות** for **עֵינִים**.

(c) With the contraction of the **י** and **י** even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Para-²⁰ digm *i*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form **qāḏl** : **יוֹם** (cf., however, § 96), **סוֹף**, **שׁוֹר**, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, **חֵיל** 1 Ch 9¹⁸ (elsewhere **חַלִּיל**) Is 21¹¹ (elsewhere **לָלִיל**, in prose **לַיְלָה**, see above, § 90 *f*); from the ground-form **qāḏl**, **דֵּין**, **רָחַן**, &c. The plurals **דְּגָרִים** *pots*, **שׁוּקִים** *streets*, **שֹׁנִים** *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for **הַדְּגָרִים** 1 S 13⁶ read **הַדְּגָרִים** as in 14¹¹). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle **א** also belong to this class, such as **רֹאשׁ** *head* (obscured from **רֹאשׁ** = *raʿš*, see § 96) and **צֹאן** *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from **ל"ה** stems. Besides the formations *x* mentioned in § 84^a **ע**, **ה**, like **בְּכָהּ**, &c., and **שָׁחַו** Ez 47⁵, with the original **י** resolved, according to § 24 *d* (cf. the *constr. plur.* **חַגְגֵי** *clefs*, Ob 5, &c., and **קְצָרִי** *ends*, ψ 48¹¹, &c., where the **י** becomes again a strong consonant,¹ from **חָגְנִי** and **קָצְנִי** or **חָגְנִי** and **קָצְנִי**, there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form **qāḏl**, forms like **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **בָּרִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; in *pause* **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי** (cf. § 29 *m*), but **אָרִי** Ju 14¹⁸; with suffixes **פָּרִיֹו** (attenuated from *pāryō*), **בָּבִיֹו**, **פָּרִיֹו**, **בָּבִיֹו**, &c.; before a grave suffix **פָּרִיָהֶם**, but also **פָּרִיָהֶם**. Plur. **פָּרִיִים** (*constr. st.* **פָּרִיִים**, see above, *c*, **חַטָּאִי**, **אֲרִיִים** and **אֲרִיֹות** &c.; with softening of the **י** to **א** (as elsewhere in **בְּלֹאִי** Jer 38¹² for which there is **בְּלֹאִי** in verse 11, according to § 8 *k*; **עֲרֵבִיָים** 2 Ch 17¹¹, cf. 26⁷ *Keth.*; probably in **דְּוִדָּיִים**, **דְּוִדָּיִים** and **לְגָלִי**; also **חַלְבָּאִים** ψ 10¹⁰ *Keth.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. **חַלְבִּי** *hapless*): **חַלְבָּאִים** *jewels*, Ct 7² (from **חַלְבִּי**), **טֹמְאִים** *lambs*, Is 40¹¹ (from **טֹמְלִי**); but instead of **פְּתָאִים** and **צִבְאָאִים** (from **פְּתִי** and **צָבִי**) the Masora requires **פְּתָאִים** and **צִבְאָאִים**; dual: **לְחָיִים**, *constr. st.* **לְחָיִים**, with *suff.* **לְחָיִי**, &c. On **דֵּל** *door*, cf. § 95 *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 603 ff., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form **qāḏl**, **חָצִי** *half*, in *pause* **חָצִי**, with *suff.* **חָצִיֹו**, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as **אֵי** (from *'iwy*), **עֵי**, *ship*, plur. **אֵיִים**, **עֵיִים**, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. **עֵיִים** Nu 24²⁴ read with the Samaritan **יֵצְאָאִים**, and for **בָּצִים** Ez 30⁹ read probably with Cornill **אֲצִים**.

(c) From the ground-form **qāḏl** sometimes forms like **תָּהוּ**, **בָּהוּ** (from *tühw*, *zühw*), sometimes like **הָלִי**, **עָנִי**, and even without an initial guttural **יָפִי**, **דְּכִי**.

¹ Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this **י** is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from **קָצַח** would be **קָצַח**, **קָצוֹת**, the aramaizing forms **קָצַח**, **קָצַח**, **קָצוֹת**.

Rem. i. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in *ל"ל*-forms, e.g. צָבָא *army*, צָבָא, צָבָא. For the construct forms חֶלֶב לֶבָן *milk*, חֶלֶב לֶבָן, Gn 49¹², instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חֶלֶב, לֶבָן, a secondary form חֶלֶב לֶבָן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex 19¹⁸, beside עָשָׁן, from הָדָר ornament the *constr. st.* הָדָר Dn 11²⁰, beside the common form הָדָר.—The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is 21⁷ (instead of פָּרָשִׁים, ground-form *pārāš*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. חֶלֶב לֶבָן *camels*, חֶלֶב לֶבָן *small ones*, חֶלֶב לֶבָן *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *ē* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as חֶלֶב לֶבָן, but חֶלֶב לֶבָן, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. חֶלֶב לֶבָן; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms חֶלֶב לֶבָן *tails*, חֶלֶב לֶבָן, and (in the dual) חֶלֶב לֶבָן *wings*, from חֶלֶב לֶבָן.—The dual חֶלֶב לֶבָן from חֶלֶב *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From *ע"ע* stems, forms like חֶלֶב לֶבָן, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵב *heart*, שֶׁכָּר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *grape*, &c. From שֶׁכָּר *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides שֶׁכָּר the form שֶׁכָּר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from חֶלֶב *rib*, חֶלֶב and even חֶלֶב 2 S 16¹³ (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer חֶלֶב), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of חֶלֶב; cf. also חֶלֶב and חֶלֶב, as well as the *constr. st.* חֶלֶב; also from חֶלֶב *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* חֶלֶב is found, Dt 31¹⁶.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭāl*, developed to *qāṭāl*; with a final *hh* guttural, e.g. חֶלֶב *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *i* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, &c., but not before suffixes, חֶלֶב, &c., nor in forms from *ל"ל* stems, e.g. חֶלֶב *full*, חֶלֶב; cf., moreover, חֶלֶב Gn 25²⁶ from חֶלֶב *heel*, and חֶלֶב *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary חֶלֶב, &c., have a segholate form, as חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב (Ez 44⁹), *constr. st.* of חֶלֶב *long*, חֶלֶב *wall*, חֶלֶב *thigh*, חֶלֶב *robbery*, חֶלֶב *uncircumcised*. In Is 11¹⁴ חֶלֶב would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for חֶלֶב); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for חֶלֶב *with one shoulder*, i.e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*].

In the *plur. constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *i* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב; cf. also חֶלֶב (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from חֶלֶב *tent-peg*. On the other hand from חֶלֶב *fearing*, always חֶלֶב; cf. also חֶלֶב *from* חֶלֶב.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. חֶלֶב *altus* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like חֶלֶב *dead person*, חֶלֶב *resident stranger*, חֶלֶב *witness*, with unchangeable *Seré*; hence חֶלֶב, חֶלֶב, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭāl*. This *kh*

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭāl*, e.g. עָנַל *round*, עָמַק *deep*, אָרֶם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ā* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עָנְנִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נָבְחָה, נִשְׁחָרִים). The form עָנַל, 1 K 10¹⁰, is abnormal; likewise עָמַקָה Pr 23²⁷, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עָמַקָה, Baer and Ginsburg עָמַקָה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׁרָה the form שָׁרִי, with the final *Yodh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁתַּיְהֶם, in *ss*); in the same way final *l* is retained in עָנְוִים *the poor*, constr. עָנָיו. The plur. of שָׁרָה is שָׁרוֹת, constr. שָׁרוֹת (also שָׁרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׁרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, p. 351). The *qāṭāl*-form (see § 84^a *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15³⁷, 16¹⁰, 1 K 4⁵ is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opatius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנִי, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדַיְכֶם, יָדַי, with *suff.* יָדַיְכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכֶם (*ā* attenuated to *i*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמֵי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *Ṣwā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲפֻזִּים *wheels*, for אֲפֻזִּים, and אֲפֻזִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *Ṣwā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of ל"ה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מִקְטָל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מִבְּטָחוֹ Jer 17⁷, ψ 40⁵, Jb 8⁴, &c.; ל"ה nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מִקְרָאִי from מִקְרָא; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs ל"ה (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרָאִים but also נִקְרָאִים Jos 10¹⁷, נִמְבָּאִים Ez 20^{30f},

¹ מִקְרָאִים Ez 7²⁴ for מִקְרָשׁ (from מִקְרָשׁ) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ק (according to § 20 *m*).

and so always נִבְּאִים (except Ez 13^a הַנִּבְּאִים) and נִמְצְאִים 1 S 13¹⁵, 2 K 14¹⁴, &c. (except Ezr 8²⁵ הַנִּמְצְאִים in pause).¹

Moreover, the other participles in *a* also follow the analogy of עֹלֵם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מִקְטֵל, מְקַטֵּל; cf., however, הַמְנַשֵּׁב Gn 43¹² in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65 *d*); also שֹׁלֵחַן table (§ 85 *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, constr. שְׁלֻחָנוֹת, קָרֵב, constr. קִרְבָּן, hence in plur. constr. with suff. קִרְבָּנֵיהֶם Lv 1³⁸; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *w*), plur. עֲקָרִיִּים (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרִיִּים, cf. also עִירָם naked, plur. עִירִיִּים Gn 3⁷ [but in 2²⁵ מְעִרְמִים, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עֲרִיִּים from עִירָם], מְעִרְמִים nakedness, 2 Ch 28¹⁵; קָרָדָם, plur. מְעִרְמִי Is 51¹⁰; נִכְבְּדִי Is 23^{8 f.}; מִשְׁוֹבִי ψ 18⁸; even with attenuation of the *a* to *i*, מִכְרָשִׁים threshing instruments, 2 S 24²², 1 Ch 21²³, from מִכְרָשׁ, מִכְרָשׁ (§ 85 *g*), מִכְרָשׁ (§ 85 *i*), מִכְרָשׁ (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *a* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e. g. מִכְרָשׁ, מִכְרָשׁ (§ 85 *g*); מִכְרָשׁ, constr. st. plur. מִכְרָשֵׁי 1 K 17¹; also isolated forms according to § 84^a *t*, and § 84^b *b*, *c*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*. Cf. finally, צִנָּאר neck (from *šaw'ār*), constr. st. plur. צִנָּאֵר Jer 28¹⁰, constr. st. plur. צִנָּאֵר Gn 45¹⁴, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84^a *s*.) Instead of the original *i* in such forms as *qq* אֵיכָרֶם (cf. 2 K 22²³), the second syllable more frequently has *a*, e. g. יִצְרָר they creator; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אֵכָר Dt 32²⁸) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחָר, sometimes like בְּרָאֵר; constr. st. without suff. ψ 94⁹ (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural גִּלְאֵר Is 48¹⁷; cf. 43¹⁴.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *i* in the final syllable (מִקְטֵל, מְקַטֵּל, &c.), see further, in § 84^b *d*, גִּבֵּן, &c. (but with exceptions, as רִבְעִים, שְׁלֵשִׁים, and ibid. *l*, *p*; § 85 *i*, *k* (מִנְבֵּחַ allar, constr. st. plur. מִנְבֵּחוֹת), and ibid. *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מִקְהֵלִים ψ 26¹²).

3. (Paradigm *c*: part. *Qal* of verbs לָוָה, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the *rr* unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ez 17¹⁵ *s* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S'ghôl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 S 24¹¹ (so Opius, Ginsburg; but Baer (זֹוָה), Ec 2¹⁵ (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מִקְרָה Ec 3¹⁰ is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the לָוָה-forms mentioned in § 84^a *r*, § 85 *g* (with suff., e. g. הַמְעִלָּה Dt 20¹, which brought thee up), and *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *ss* *ay* of the termination has been contracted to *i*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently plural suffixes; as מִשְׁפָּיָהִם Is 5¹², Dn 1^{0.16}; מִרְאֵיהֶם their appearance, Dn 1⁵, Gn 41²¹, cf. Na 2⁵; נִזְוִיָּהֶם who stretched them forth, Is 42⁵; defectively אִפְהֶם Ho 7⁵ (cf. גִּיהֶם Ez 34¹⁴); on the other hand, the examples in Is 14¹¹, Gn 47¹⁷, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מִחַנֵּיךְ thy camp, Dt 23¹⁵ (מִחַנֵּיךְ occurs just before),

¹ Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 659, observes that except in 2 Ch 5¹¹, 35¹⁷ הַנִּבְּאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*

מִקְנֵיךְ *thy cattle*, Is 30²³ (probably also שְׂרָיִךְ 1 K 2²⁶, מִרְסָאֵךְ Ct 2¹⁴, and מִרְאֵי *the sight of him*, Jb 41¹ (with the *l* here retained orthographically), מַעְלֵי Ez 40³¹, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִמָּהִים Is 25⁶ (*part. Pu.* from מָהָה).

tt 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become *Ṣewa* (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like פֶּתַח) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

uu Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīd*) are § 84^a *k*, גָּדוֹל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ô* for *û*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sālam*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְכָרֵן, *constr.* וְכָרֵן; חֵיוֹן, *constr.* חֵיוֹן; בָּלִיּוֹן, *constr.* בָּלִיּוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצֵבוֹן, קִנְמוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוֹנֵיךְ Ez 27^{12 n.}); § 85 *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr.* חֲלָמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מָקוֹם, &c.

vu 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʿānīy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dages forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes *Ṣewa*; cf. § 84^a *l*, בָּקִי, plur. בָּקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

wv 3. פֶּתַח with unchangeable *â* in the second syllable, whilst the *Ṣewa* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kūlib*); *constr. st.* פֶּתַח Est 4⁸ (readings like פֶּתַח 2 Ch 35⁴ are incorrect, although יָקַר Est 1⁴ and פֶּתַח 4⁸ are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qāṭil*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבִדֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9¹. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84^a *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84^a *u*, § 84^b *e* (קָטַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), *ibid.* *f-i, m* (No. 34 *f.*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

xx In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטַל (properly *qāṭil*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלֵישִׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into *Ṣewa* (סָרִיס, פְּרִיץ, שְׁלֵישׁ). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיץ *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיץ, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames*.) Of the form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) in this class are שָׁבַע *week*, plur. שָׁבָעִים and שְׁבַעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבַעוֹת, but with *Methey* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבַעְתֶּיכֶם.—On מָעוֹז, מְעוֹז, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

§ 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending ת־ , when appended to the masculine *a* forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always *b* added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, בְּרִשָּׁה , and with attenuation of *ā* to *z* בְּרִשָּׁה *lamb*, רִצְפָּה *hot stone*, Is 6⁶ (elsewhere always רִצְפָּה ; see Baer on Ez 40¹⁷), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲרֵנָה *pleasure* (עֲרֵן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ , derived from לִי stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת ; (*c*) חֲלֵדָה , proper name (חֲלֵד *mole*), אֹכֶלָה *food* (אֹכֵל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִירָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה , Paradigm *z*); (*i*) צִיָּדָה *victuals* (masc. צִיד , cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *quīl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲנִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אֲנִי), שִׁבְיָה (*ā* attenuated to *z*) *captivity* (שָׁבִי), לֵוִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qīl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מִדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רַעָה *mala*; (*m*) וְפָה *plan*; (*n*) חֻקָּה *statute* (חֻק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) גְּבִלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עִנְיָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קִצָּה *end* (from יָפָה , קִצָּה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֲרָה (masc. עָר , properly *part. Qal* from עוּר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמֻקָּה *profunda* (masc. עֲמֹק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the second syllable, (*a*) אִלְמָה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84^a, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pēl*, Ex 22¹⁷, 23²⁶; in the *Hithpaēl* 1 K 14⁵⁴), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *z*) into *šwā*, יֹשְׁבָה *dwelling*, Na 3⁸. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת־ (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yōdh*, הַמְּלָה *clamorous*, Pr 7¹¹, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *ā* of the participles of verbs ע"י , which also belong to this class, such as נִרְעָה *increasing*, cf. § 72 *a*.

c Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) מַגְדָּלָה *magna*, סְטוֹרְקָה *stork*, properly *pria*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seivuncta*; (b) מִסְרָה *misera*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי, § 93 a, a), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs לָצַח, as מִצָּחַת, מִצָּחַת, may be due to contraction from *yōsē'et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *z* in the ground-form *mōsi*), whilst forms like מִצָּחַת, מִצָּחַת (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the לָח formations, we find the simple ת in the participle מְשַׁרְתָּ 1 K 1¹⁵, contracted from מְשַׁרְתָּה. But וְלָרֶת Gn 16¹¹, Ju 13^{5,7} is the ground-form of the ptc. וְלָרֶת (as in the same connexion in Gn 17¹⁹, Is 7¹⁴), cf. § 80 d and the *Qere* שִׁבְתָּ, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from גְּבִירָה (for original *g^ebirt*; § 69 c), the form גְּבִירָת *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47⁷ also עַד גְּבִירָת are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is גְּבִירָה); from מַלְכָּה *queen* (in Paradigm II, a), בַּחֲתָה = בַּחֲתָה *pit* Lv 13⁵⁵; (c) גֹּרֶם *wall*, גֹּרֶם (from גֹּרֶם = *g^edirt*; cf. גֹּרֶם as *construct st.* of גֹּרֶם); on the other hand, חֲמִשָּׁה is *construct st.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five*, with lengthening of the original *z* of חֲמִשָּׁה.

h Formations with a changeable *ō* in the second syllable belonging to this class are בְּרִשָּׁה *bronze* (from בְּרִשָּׁה), בְּרִשָּׁה the *constr. st.* of בְּרִשָּׁה *coat*, perhaps also בְּרִשָּׁה *writing* (unless it be obscured from בְּרִשָּׁה, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) חֲרִמָּה (from חֲרִמָּה, masc. חֲרִמָּה *seul*); (b) יוֹנְקָה (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e.g. חֲרִמָּה Ex 26⁴, &c.), and so most feminines of participles קָטַל. On this transition of the ground-form *qōtalt* to קָטַל (regularly before suffixes in יוֹנְקָה, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qōtalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e.g. יוֹנְקָה, feminine of יוֹנְקָה *knowing*; in a wider sense, גִּלְגָּל *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings ית and ית—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

§ 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the \bar{a} of the termination מַלְכָּה becomes again \bar{a} in the *construct st.* מַלְכָּה). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings מַלְכָּה and מַלְכָּה in the *abs. st.*, e.g. מַלְכָּה ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes $\bar{S}ew\bar{a}$; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become $\bar{S}ew\bar{a}$ the \bar{a} in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to $\bar{S}ew\bar{a}$ returns, although usually attenuated to \bar{z} , e.g. מַלְכָּה from $\bar{s}ādhāqāth$; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of מַלְכָּה or מַלְכָּה , and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qameṣ* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes $\bar{S}ew\bar{a}$. This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in מַלְכָּה or מַלְכָּה ; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

I.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מַלְכָּה (queen)	[מַלְכָּה] חֲרָפָה (kidney) (reproach)	חֲרָפָה (waste)	חֲקוּה (statute)	[מַלְכָּה] חֲקוּה (mistress)
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָפָה	חֲקוּה	חֲקוּה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרָפָתִי	חֲרָפָתִי	חֲקוּתִי	חֲקוּתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חֲרָפָתְכֶם	חֲרָפָתְכֶם	חֲקוּתְכֶם	חֲקוּתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי	מַלְכוֹתִי	מַלְכוֹתִי	מַלְכוֹתִי	מַלְכוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>		רִקְמָתַיִם (a double piece of embroidery)			מִצְלָתַיִם (cymbals)

¹ Only in ψ 69¹⁰, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

	II.			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	צִדְקָה	זַעֲקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנְקָת	גִּלְגָּלַת
	(righteousness)	(outray)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנְקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנְקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלַתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צִדְקַתְּכֶם	זַעֲקַתְּכֶם	שָׁנַתְּכֶם	יוֹנְקַתְּכֶם	גִּלְגָּלַתְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת ¹	[יוֹנְקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנְקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>	[חֲשִׁשְׁתַּיִם]		שִׁפְתַּיִם		
	(fetters of brass)		(lips)		
„ <i>construct</i>			שִׁפְתֵי		

REMARKS.

d 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form *בְּצִדְקָה* towards *Gibeah* (masc. *צִבְעָה*). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qāṭl* or a *qūṭl* base, e.g. *חֲזָקָה* strength (cf. *חֲרָפָה* under b). A dual of this form occurs in *שִׁבְעָתַיִם* seven times (cf. *שִׁבְעָה* seven, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like *דְּבַשׁ* (§ 93 s) is *הַדְּבַשׁ* myrtle.—From masculines of the form *פְּרִי* (לִּי, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like *נֶאֱחָה*, *שִׁלְחָה*, *אֵלִיָּה* (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like *בְּכִית* (§ 94 f); occasionally the final ה is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e.g. *חֲנִיתוֹת* spears. Forms like *גִּדְיָה* (cf. *אֲנִיָּה*, a *qūṭl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms *גִּדִּי* kid, *אֲנִי* a fleet.—(b) From a stem *עָן* wheat (for *חֲמָה*, plur. *חֲמַיִם*).—(c) From *עָרְלָה* foreskin, the plur. absol. is *עָרְלוֹת* (cf. *פְּעָלִים*, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. *עָרְלוֹת*.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem *עָע* (ground-form *qūṭl*, like *חָיָה* of the form *qūṭl*, and *זָפָה* of the form *qūṭl*), with *ō* for *ū*, *חֲזָא* terror, Is 19¹⁷ (Aramaic orthography for *חָזָה*).

e (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פָּעַ and פָּעַן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as *שָׁכַת* (from *וְשָׁכַח*), *נָשַׁת* (from *וְנָשַׁח*), *נָשַׁת* (from *וְנָשַׁח*), as well as *קָחַת* (from *לָקַח*); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs פָּעַ are, however, also found in the form *דָּעָה*, *לָרָה*, *צָאָה*, and of the same origin also are *עָרָה* congregation (from *וְעָרַץ*), *עָצָה* counsel (from *וְעָצַן*), *שָׁנָה* sleep (from *וְשָׁנַן*), constr. *עָרַת*, while in the constr. forms *זָעַת* sweat, Gn 3¹⁹ (from *וְזָעַ* to flow), and *צָאָה* excrement, Ez 4¹², the *šere* has remained firm.

f From a stem *עָשׂ* (cf. *בּוֹשׁ* to be ashamed) is *בִּשְׁתָּה* shame, with suffix *בִּשְׁתֵּי*.

From a stem ל"ה (דָּלָה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל) the masculine דָּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלָה *door*; but in the plural דָּלָחוֹת, constr. דָּלָחוֹת, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, d, (תְּנִיחוֹת). In a similar way שְׁתָּים stalls, Hb 3¹⁷, has arisen, if it is from the stem ופה, and שְׁתָּה *trough* (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שֶׁק = שָׁק; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שְׁתָּחוֹת Gn 3c³⁸ (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular שְׁתָּה, not from a kindred form שְׁתָּה or שְׁתָּה.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, a and b. *g* Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטָן, plur. קְטִינִים, we find קְטִינָה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צִדְקָה (*sidh^qqāth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣewā* (§ 10 d) from the segholate forms, like בְּרִשָּׁה (*ḵibh-sūth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרִשָּׁה Gn 28⁴, &c. (from בְּרָכָה *blessing*), and חֲרִידָה 1 S 14¹³, &c. (from חֲרָה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *ā* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also אֲדָמָה *earth*, אֲרָמָה); in other cases it is modified to *S^ghōl*, e.g. עֲגִלָּה *wagon*, עֲגִלָּה. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה־ the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטָרָה (from עֲטָרָה); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצָרָה is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יָבֵמָה (from יָבֵם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as in יָבֵמָה, and thus entirely agrees with גִּבְרָה (Paradigm I e). From a stem ל"ן (אָמֵן) is formed אָמֵת *truth* (from 'āmānt, and this no doubt for an original 'āmīnt, § 69 c) before suffixes אֲמָתִי, &c.

From the masc. form קָטָל (*qāṭil*) are formed, according to rule, גִּדְרָה *wall*, *h* נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלָה, בְּחֵמָה *catulle*, constr. בְּחֵמָה (for בְּחֵמָה), with suffix בְּחֵמָהּ Lv 19¹⁸. More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *āth* of the constr. st.; thus from נִבְלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is 26¹⁹, and always בְּרִכָּה *pool*, נִזְלָה *prey*, טִמְאָה *unclean*, מִלְּאָתִי *full*, Is 1²¹ (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 l), מִרְרָתִי Jb 16¹³, 1 S 1²⁷, &c. (with elision of the א, שְׁלָתִי 1 S 1¹⁷), also שְׁאֵלָתִי Jb 6⁸. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מִגַּפָּה *plague*, חֲרִידָה *deep sleep*, from מִגַּפָּה.

As dual we find יָרִכְתֶּם *sides* (cf. יָרְכֶּה Gn 49¹³, from the obsolete יָרְכָה, *i* feminine of יָרָה); the constr. st. יָרִכְתִּי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יָרְכָה), cf. יָרְכָה as constr. st. of יָרָה, unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרִכָּה and חֲרִידָה (see g).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qātīt* is developed *k* (§ 69 c) to *q^{at}alt*, and this again regularly to קָטָלָה. Thus the feminine of חֲבֵר *companion* is חֲבֵרָה (with suffix חֲבֵרָתָה Mal 2¹⁴, cf. שְׁכֵנִיתָה Ex 3²²), of חֲבֵר fem. חֲבֵרָה besides חֲבֵרָה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נָחַת *rest* and שָׁחַת *pit* (from שָׁחַח, cf. שָׁחַח) belong to this class; Büttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שָׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַח); in the same way also נָחַת *rest* is distinct from נָחַת *a lighting down* (stem נָחַח).

witness (from מוֹרֵת, עֵיד), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from ו"ב stems mentioned above, under *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנָה; moreover, חֶמֶק *anger*, constr. st. חֶמֶת (but חֶמֶת *a leathern bottle*, in pause חֶמֶת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel 'ח] Gn 21¹⁵, constr. st. חֶמֶת מַיִם Gn 21¹⁴, perhaps from a stem חֶמֶת).

m The feminines of the form *qāṭūl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֶמֶק), maintain the original *ū* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kē*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחֻשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשֶׁתָּהּ, &c. Dual נְחֻשֶׁתַּיִם (see Paradigm II, *a*); but cf. נְחֻשֶׁתִּי La 3⁷.

n A few (aramaisings) feminines from ל"ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *dāh*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מִנְתָּה *portion* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה), plur. מִנְיֹתָהּ (constr. st. Neh 12⁴⁷, 13¹⁶) and מִנְיָוֹתָהּ (Neh 12⁴⁴); קֶצֶתָּהּ Ex 35⁵; cf. 37⁸ and 39⁴ Kth.; on נָאִיתָהּ *valleys*, see § 93 *v*.—אֹתָהּ *sign* (stem אָוֶה) is obscured from אָוֶה, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אֹתוֹתָהּ, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, *f*, and § 87 *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֶלְתִּי, &c., Gn 24⁴¹, &c., is abnormal.

o 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f-h*. The dual חוֹמֹתַיִם *two walls*, Is 22¹¹, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹתַיִם, for חוֹמֹתַיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 *s*; and the proper name יְדִדְיָהּ Jos 15³⁶).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ו"ע, such as יָרָה (masc. יָרָה from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בָּמָה *high place* (from בָּמָה), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בָּמוֹתַיִם, or written defectively בָּמֹתַיִם (see § 87 *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בָּמֹתַיִם, which is to be read *bāmōthē* (not *būmōthē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ē*; but with suffixes בָּמֹתַיִם, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָפַל (§ 84^b *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. דָּלְיָהּ *inflammation* (from *dallāg*), with suff. דָּלְיָהָּ Ez 16⁵²; מַפְעֵת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָפַל and קָפַל (§ 84^b *c* and *d*), as אֶלְלָהּ *folly* (for *'iwēllī*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix כ (*g-k*), e.g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מַמְלָכָתָהּ; מְמַרְהָ *(not used in the sing.) pruning-hook*, plur. מְמַרְהוֹתָהּ; מִשְׁכָּרָה *reward*, with suff. מִשְׁכָּרָתִי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 *g* and *p*, like מוֹלָדָתָהּ *birth* (but from מוֹלָדָה, *outgoing*), הוֹלָדָתָהּ *generation*, הוֹעֲבָדָתָהּ *abomination*, constr. הוֹעֲבָדָתָהּ, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֶלְפָּתָהּ *a letter*, plur. אֶלְפָּתוֹתָהּ (as if from אֶלְפָּתָהּ); also יוֹנָקוֹתָהּ, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנָקָה. Cf., moreover, מְחַרְשָׁתָהּ *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֹׁתָהּ (as if from מְחַרְשָׁה)¹; on the other hand, מְחַרְשֹׁתָהּ *capitals* (of columns), and מְחַרְשֹׁתָהּ *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of מְחַרְשָׁתָהּ and מְחַרְשָׁתָהּ.

¹ עֲשֵׂתָרָה *Astarte* (plur. עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to the same cause.

In בְּתִנָּת *coat* the original *û* of the first syllable is maintained by the *ʔ* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭin*), with suff. בְּתִנָּתִי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּתִנָּת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28⁸⁰); plur. בְּתִנָּתוֹת, *constr. בְּתִנָּתוֹת*.—The form בְּתִנָּת given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pāḥūl*-form of the stem בְּתִנָּת, cf. קָדָר, § 84^b *p*.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Ṣeṣwa*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ע stems especially belong to this class, as מְנִיָּה scroll, תְּהִלָּה praise, תְּפִלָּה prayer (§ 85 *i* and *q*), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'il* of verbs ע"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה enlightening (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה rest (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also מְעֻלָּה conduit (*constr. st.* מְעֻלָּת Is 7³, &c.) and מְעֻלָּה travail. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *ws*).

5. The feminine ending ית (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּבִית, § 94 *f*) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י; which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 *a*, *b*, and *k*. The ending ית, mentioned there, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֻׁתוֹת Jb 12⁵ (v.l. עֲשֻׁתוֹת), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלָכּוֹת kingdom; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבִיבוֹת captivity (according to others from the stem שָׁבַב, like שְׁבִיבוֹת perverseness from שָׁבַב), sometimes like כְּבוֹת weeping, גְּלוֹת exile, חֲזוֹת vision; the latter retain the *a* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭil*-form is formed כְּבִירוֹת heaviness; from a *qāṭil*-form מְפֻקְדוֹת, &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending ית is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֶלְמִנִּיּוֹת from אֶלְמִנִּי, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלָכּוֹת Dn 8²² (no doubt for *māl'khuwōth*), and עֲדוּלוֹת 'edl'wōth, from עֲדוּת testimony, but only with *suffixes*, עֲדוּלוֹתֶיךָ ψ 119¹⁴, &c.; עֲדוּלוֹתֵי 1 K 2⁸, &c.

§ 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,¹ pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

original עֲשֻׁתָּהּ, like מְלָכָה Lv 18²¹, &c. (for מְלָכָה), with the vowels of בִּשְׁתִּי shame, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

¹ The only omissions from these Paradigms are אֶחָד, אֶחָד, and חֲמוּת (on which see the remarks on p. 282).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	אָב	אָח	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
	(father)	(brother)	(sister)	(man)	(woman)
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁתִּי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ 2 masc.	אָבֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ 2 fem.	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִישְׁךָ	
„ 3 masc.	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחֹתוֹ	אִישּׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ 3 fem.	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיתָּ	אָחֹתָּהּ	אִישָׁהּ	
„ 1 Pl.	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ 2 masc.	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתֵכֶם]		
„ 2 fem.	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ 3 masc.	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחֹתֶם		
„ 3 fem.	אָבֵיהֶן				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבֹתִי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתִי	אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ 2 masc.	אָבֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ		אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
„ 2 fem.		אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ		
„ 3 masc.	אָבֹתָיו	אָחָיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
„ 3 fem.		אָחֶיהָ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ 1 Pl.	אָבֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
„ 2 masc.	אָבֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
„ 3 masc.	אָבֹתֵיהֶם (אָבֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אֲנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם
„ 3 fem.				אֲנָשֶׁיהֶן	

REMARKS.

אָב father; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 k, which serve as the model for the *Hireq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אֲבִשְׁלֹם, beside אֲבִישְׁלֹם, &c.; also Gn 17^f אֲבִרְהָמֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אֲבִרְהָם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 p.

אָח brother. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dages forte implicitum* (§ 22 c); אָחִיו stands for אָחִי according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 q, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathah* short, as in נְמִלִּים, &c. (§ 93 ee).

אָח one (for אָחֵךְ, likewise with *Dages forte implicitum*, § 22 c, cf. § 27 q), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחֵךְ, Gn 48²², 2 S 17²², Is 27¹²,

אָמָה (handmaid)	בֵּית (house)	בֶּן (son)	בַּת (daughter)	יוֹם (day)	כֶּלִי (vessel)
	בֵּית	בֶּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֶּלִי
אֶמְתִּי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי		
אֶמְתֶּךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, pause	בַּתְּךָ, pause		כֶּלֶיְךָ
	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ			
אֶמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אֶמְתָּהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנֶנּוּ			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְּכֶם		
	בֵּיתָם			יוֹמָם	
אֶמְהוֹת	בָּתִּים	בָּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֶּלִים
אֶמְהוֹת	בָּתֵּי	בְּנֵי	בָּנוֹת	יָמֵי	כֶּלִי
אֶמְהֵתִי		בְּנִי	בָּתִּיתִי	יָמִי	כֶּלִי
	בַּתְּךָ	בְּנֶיךָ	בָּתֶּיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	כֶּלֶיךָ
	בַּתְּנֶיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ	בָּתֵּיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	
אֶמְהֵתּוֹ		בְּנָיו	בָּתֵּינּוּ	יָמָיו	כֶּלָיו
אֶמְהֵתָּהּ		בְּנֵיהָ	בָּתֵּיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֶּלֶיהָ
	בְּתֵינּוּ	בְּנֵינוּ	בָּתֵּינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	כֶּלֵינוּ
אֶמְהֵתֵיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֶּלֵיכֶם
	בָּתֵּיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בָּתֵּיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֶּלֵיהֶם
אֶמְהֵתֵיהֶן	בָּתֵּיהֶן	בְּנֵיהֶן			

Zc 11⁷; and especially before מֶן (מִן) Gn 3²³, Ex 3c¹⁴, Nu 16¹⁵, Ju 17⁵, 1 S 9³, Ez 18¹⁰; fem. אֶמְתִּי *una* (for אֶמְתִּית, according to § 19 *a*), in pause אֶמְתִּית. Once הָרַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 *h*), Ez 35³⁰, as in Aramaic; plur. אֶמְתֵּיהֶם *some*, but also *idem*.

אֶמְתִּית *sister*, from 'ahāwūt or 'ahāyūt, with elision of the ה or י, and with the *ā*, which has arisen from *āā*, obscured to *ā*.¹ In Nu 6⁷ אֶמְתִּית stands for אֶמְתִּית (with virtual sharpening of the ת). The plur. *absol.* (אֶמְתֵּיהֶן) does not happen

¹ This explanation of אֶמְתִּית (and אֶמְתִּית q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending *āth* is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic *constr. st.* of the accusative, with ה feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מַי] (water)	עִיר (city)	פֶּה (mouth)	רֹאשׁ (head)	שֵׁם (name)	[שָׁמַי] (heaven)
„ <i>construct</i>		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם	שָׁמַי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי	שְׁמִי	שָׁמַי
„ 2 <i>masc.</i>		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שְׁמְךָ, pause	שָׁמַיךָ
„ 2 <i>fem.</i>				רֹאשֶׁךָ		שָׁמַיךָ
„ 3 <i>masc.</i>		עִירוֹ	פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ	שְׁמוֹ	שָׁמַיו
„ 3 <i>fem.</i>		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ	שְׁמָהּ	שָׁמֶיהָ
„ 1 <i>Pl.</i>			פִּינוֹ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	שְׁמֵנוּ	שָׁמַינוּ
„ 2 <i>masc.</i>			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁכֶם	שְׁמֵכֶם	שָׁמַיְכֶם
„ 3 <i>masc.</i>		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם	שְׁמָם	שָׁמֵם
„ 3 <i>fem.</i>			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן		
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	כֹּסִים	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שְׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>construct</i>	כֹּסִי, מִי	עָרֵי		רֹאשֵׁי	שְׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	כֹּסִי	עָרֵי				
„ 2 <i>masc.</i>	כֹּסֵיךָ	עָרֶיךָ				שָׁמַיְךָ
„ 2 <i>fem.</i>		עָרֶיךָ				
„ 3 <i>masc.</i>	כֹּסֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		שָׁמַינוּ
„ 3 <i>fem.</i>	כֹּסֵיהֶן	עָרֵיהֶן		רֹאשֵׁיהֶן		
„ 1 <i>Pl.</i>	כֹּסֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		
„ 2 <i>masc.</i>		עָרֵיכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם	שְׁמֵיכֶם	
„ 3 <i>masc.</i>	כֹּסֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	שְׁמוֹתָם	
„ 3 <i>fem.</i>				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	שְׁמוֹתָן	

to occur. In Ez 16⁵² אֲחֻתְיָהּ occurs (for אֲחֻתֶּיךָ). In the forms אֲחֻתִּי Jos 2¹³ K²th., Ez 16^{51, 55, 61} (to be read also in verse 45 for אֲחֻתְךָ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אֲחֻתֵּיכֶם Ho 2⁸ (for which, however, read אֲחֻתְכֶם), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אִישׁ (from 'āš, with assimilation of the *Nūn* of the ground-form 'anš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אָנַשׁ), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem אִישׁ (to be strong?) is to be assumed for the singular¹; consequently the stem אָנַשׁ to be sociable,

¹ So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and אָנַשׁ with the stem אָנַשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אִשִּׁים (אִשָּׁה is found only in Is 53², ψ 141⁴, Pr 8⁴).

אִמָּה *slave, handmaid*; with the plur. אִמָּהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אֲבָהֵן *fathers*, and similarly in Phoen. רִלְתָּה from רִלְתָּ, also Arab. 'abāhāt (*fathers*), 'ummahāt (*mothers*), with an artificial expansion into a trilliteral stem.

אִשָּׁה *woman*, probably from אִשָּׁה; from אִשָּׁה i.e. not (as Aram. אִמָּה shows) אִשָּׁה to be sociable (see above, on אִשָּׁה) but אִשָּׁה to be weak (Arab. 'amīlī). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אִשָּׁה (for 'īš, with ה fem., from 'āš, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21¹¹, 1 S 28⁷, ψ 56⁹, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128³ אִשָּׁה is found for אִשָּׁה. Instead of the plur. אִשָּׁה, we find in Ez 23⁴⁴ אִשָּׁה.¹

בַּיִת *house*, locative בֵּיתָה, הַבַּיִתָּה, in pause בֵּיתָה, constr. בֵּיתָה, plur. בָּתִּים (but in Dt 6¹¹, 1 Ch 28¹¹ בָּתִּים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bāttim*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ה is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac *bāttin*, however, shows that the Dageš is original, and belongs to the character of the form.² According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בָּתִּים is simply contracted from *bai-tim* (as אֶן from אֵן, עֵינִים from עֵינָם, &c.), and the Dageš, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ*, 1896, col. 587, suggests that the *v* is assimilated to the ה, while Philippi, *ZDMG*, xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bāttim* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *ā*.

בֶּן *son* (Gn 30¹⁹ בְּנֵי שָׁשִׁי constr. usually בְּנֵי (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gn 17¹⁷, Is 8², &c., 1 Ch 9²¹; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבְּנֵי, Ex 30¹⁴, Lv 27¹, &c. [בְּנֵי only after אִם and before הָרִשִׁי, also in Is 51¹²; see Strack on Ex 30¹⁴]), rarely בְּנֵי (Dt 25², Jon 4¹⁰ twice, Pr 30¹, and so always in the combination בְּנֵי, and in the proper names בְּנֵי יִמְיִי [but בְּנֵי יִמְיִי *Benjamite*] and בְּנֵי, once בְּנֵי (cf. § 90¹) Gn 49¹¹, and בְּנֵי (§ 90⁰) Nu 23¹⁸, 24^{3, 16}.—In Gn 49²² בְּנֵי, for which בְּנֵי ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23⁴⁴ remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *alšātu* (*woman*) is *alšātī*, corresponding, therefore, to אִשָּׁה, not to the ordinary plur. אִשָּׁה. The *a* of אִשָּׁה (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas 'men' and 'women', אִשָּׁה and אִשָּׁה.

² This disposes of the traditional view that the Dageš (after a firm *Metheg*, see § 16 f (5)) only serves to distinguish it from בָּתִּים *passing the night*, ptc. Qal of בָּתָּה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּתָּה to go in, ה therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bint* daughter, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (*entrance*) is preserved in the plural *bāttim* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bāt* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Y^erūšālem* into *Y^erūšalayim*.

בת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *binl*, fem. of **בן**), with suff. **בתי** for **בנותי**. Plur. **בנות**, from the sing. **בנה**, comp. **בנים** *sons*.

חם *husband's father*, only with suff. **חמיה**, **חמיה**; and **חמות** *husband's mother*, only with suff. **חמותה**, **חמותה**. Cf. **אב**, **אב**, and especially **אחות**.

יום *day* (Arab. *yaum*),¹ dual **יומים**; the plur. **ימים** is probably from a different sing. (**יָמ** *yām*), constr. **ימי** and (poetically) **ימות**, Dt 32⁷, ψ 90¹⁵.

כלי *vessel*, in pause **כָּלִי** (with suff. **כליך** Dt 23²⁵) from **כלה** *to contain*, plur. **כלים** (as if from **כל**, **כלה**; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*).

מים *water*; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

עיר *city*. The plur. **ערים** is scarcely syncopated from **עירים**, as it is pointed in Ju 10⁴ (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding **עֵיִרִים** *ass colts*), but from a kindred sing. **ער**, which still occurs in proper names.

פה *mouth*, constr. st. **פי** (for original **פִּי** = **פה**?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), **פה** stands for **פָּאָה** (ground-form *pi'ay*) from **פָּאָה** *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for **פִּי**, from a stem **פִּיר** or **פִּוּה**. But parallel with the Hebrew **פה** are Assy. *pū*, Arab. *fū*, *fan*, *fann*, *funm*, bibl. Aram. **פִּם**, **פִּפּוּם**, Syr. *pūm*, *pāmā*, so that Barth, ZDMG. xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (**פִּמוּ**), viz. *fm* and *fw*. **פי** *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for **פִּיהֶם** we find in ψ 17¹⁰, 58⁷, 59¹³ **פִּיָּם**. The supposed plur. **פִּים** 1 S 13²¹ is generally explained as a contraction from **פִּיִּים**, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. **פִּיתֹת**, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5⁴; reduplicated **פִּיפִיתֹת** Is 41¹⁵, ψ 149⁶.

ראש *head* (obscured from **רָאשׁ** = *rūš*); plur. **ראשים** (for **רָאשִׁים**, § 23 c); **ראשי** only in Is 15².

שה *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, constr. st. **שה**, with suff. **שהי** 1 S 14³⁴ and **שיו** Dt 22¹, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, Uebersicht, 81 f., from a stem **ושי** (**שה** = *say* = *wisay*).

שם *name*, constr. generally **שֵׁם** (only six times **שָׁם**); cf. **בן**.

שמים *heaven* (§ 88 d).

§ 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, Sem. Sprachwiss., p. 116 ff.; Grundriss, i. 484 ff.

- a 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, Beiträge, p. 58, *yaum*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in **ימים**, **ימי**. Barth, however, Orient. Studien, p. 791 (see above on **אֲשֶׁה**), sees in **ימים**, **ימי**, **ימות** new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with **שָׁנִים**, **שָׁנִי**, **שָׁנֹת**, **שָׁנִי**, **שָׁנִי**, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that **יום** is merely an incorrect obscuring of **יָם**, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling **יום**, &c., notwithstanding the spelling **וּיָם** (= **וּיָם**?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and **מִיָּמִים** Ho 6². Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *τριάς*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשָׁת בָּנִים* *trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים* *decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under c, like *שְׁלֹשָׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *trias*, sc. *filii*, as well as *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה* *filii*, *trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *filii tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת* *trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת* *trias*, sc. *filias*, or *בָּנוֹת שְׁלֹשׁ* *filiae*, *trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *אֶבְרַת* in

So long as it was felt that *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה* simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form *עָשָׂרָה*. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in *שָׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה*, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, *אֶחָד* *one*, with its fem. *אַחַת* (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as *אֶחָד הַהָרִים* *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows :

b	With the Masculine.		With the Feminine.	
	Absol.	Constr.	Absol.	Constr.
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי ¹	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִישָׁה ²	חֲמִישָׁת	חֲמִישׁ	חֲמִישׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשָׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	[שִׁבַּע] ³
8.	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנָה
9.	תְּשַׁעָה	תְּשַׁעַת	תְּשַׁע	[תְּשַׁע] ³
10.	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרָת	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר

¹ Shortened from *שְׁנַתַּיִם*, which would be the regular feminine form of *שְׁנַיִם*. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in *שְׁתֵּי*, &c. (even after *מִן*; *מִן מִשְׁתֵּי* Jon 4¹¹; cf., however, *מִשְׁתֵּי* Ju 16²⁸), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nún*, for in that case the word could only be *שְׁתַּיִם* (cf. Arab. *šintāni*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonicus of A.D. 916, but it is only a later correction for *שְׁתֵּי*, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *šāyim*, *šē* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. *אַשְׁתֵּי*, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *ʿinālāni* (with a kind of prosthetic *ā*; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

On the connective forms *שבע*, *השבע*, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 *h*.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,⁴ e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים* Gn 7¹³, 1 S 10⁵, Jb 1⁴, Ez 7² *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17¹¹, where we should read with Dillmann *הַנְּפִיזֹת שֵׁשׁ*. In apposition, Zc 3³, 4², cf. Jer 36²³. From what was said above, under *a*, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38²⁴ *שָׁלֹשׁ הָיָה נָשִׁים* (but in the Samaritan *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים*).—For *שִׁבְעָה* *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42¹³ the strange form *שִׁבְעָנָה*, according to Ewald [*Ausführl. Lehrb.*⁸, § 269 *b*] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, *d* without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form *עֶשְׂרִי* masc., *עֶשְׂרֵה* fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under *a*, and as is proved by the use of *אַחַד*, *אֶחָד* in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like *שְׁלֹשֶׁת*, &c., are not admitted in combination with *עֶשְׂרִי*, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of *e*). On the other hand *שְׁנֵי* and *שְׁתֵּי* in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like *אֶחָד* and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of *שְׁנֵי* (Ex 28²¹, Jos 3¹² and four other places) and *שְׁתֵּי* (Jos 4³ and three times in Ezek.), we generally find *שְׁנַיִם* and *שְׁתַּיִם*. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם*, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of *שְׁנַיִם*, on the analogy of *עֶשְׂרֵה*, &c., and then extended to *שְׁתַּיִם*; the Masora, however, required *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי* (but see below), and therefore pointed *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* as a *Qere perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* (introduced on the analogy of *שְׁלֹשָׁה*, &c.) were contracted to *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי* to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

nitnāni, duo. According to Barth (*Orient. Studien . . . Th. Nöldeke*, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of *שְׁתַּיִם* (he takes the Dages as *Dages forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. *שְׁנַיִם* where the *Ṣwā mobile* is normal.

² With Dages probably on the analogy of *שִׁשָּׁה*, as *שִׁשִּׁת* on the analogy of *חֲמִשָּׁה*. Cf. also J. K. Blake on *חֲמִשָּׁה*, *חֲמִשִּׁים* in *JALOS*. 1905, p. 117 ff.

³ *שבע* and *השבע* appear only as connective forms before *עֶשְׂרֵה* and *מֵאוֹת*.

⁴ In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 *h*).

connected with עֶשֶׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שְׁנִים (66) and שְׁתִּים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שְׁנִי and שְׁתִּי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שְׁנִי and שְׁנִים, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3¹². We cannot therefore assume a *Qerê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	Masculine.	Feminine.
11.	{ אֶחָד עֶשֶׂר עֶשְׁתִּי עֶשֶׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׁתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	{ שְׁנִים עֶשֶׂר שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר	שְׁתִּים עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשֶׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the masc. in the constr. st., as חֲמִשָּׁת עֶשֶׂר fifteen, Ju 8¹⁰, 2 S 19¹⁸; שְׁמוֹנֶת עֶשֶׂר eighteen, Ju 20²⁵.—Connected by וְ we find וְחֲמִשָּׁה עֶשְׂרֵה in Ex 45¹².

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, 30, שְׁלֹשִׁים, 40, אַרְבָּעִים, 50, חֲמִשִּׁים, 60, שִׁשִּׁים, 70, שִׁבְעִים, 80, שְׁמֹנִים, 90, תִּשְׁעִים. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עֶשֶׂר *ten*.² These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units

¹ עֶשְׁתִּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *istin* or *istén*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii, 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׁתִּי עֶשֶׂר is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *éṇdeka*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׁתִּי ע' for אֶחָד ע' and אַחַת ע' see Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׁתִּי ע' occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1³), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

² For עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים (from the *segholates* עֶשְׂרֵה, שִׁבְעֵה, תִּשְׁעֵה), we should expect *asārim*, *šbā'im*, *tšā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 l, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e.g. Nu 3⁸⁹, 26¹⁴. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e.g. 1 Ch 12²⁶, 18⁵.¹ In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before *Sewd*; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

g

100 מֵאוֹת fem., constr. מֵאוֹת.

200 מֵאוֹתָם dual (contracted from מֵאוֹתָיִם; cf. § 23 c).

300 מֵאוֹתָם plur. (but in 2 K 11^{4,9,10,15}, *Keth.* הַמֵּאוֹתָם).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלֶפִּים dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשָׁת אֶלֶפִּים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֶלֶפִּים in 2 S 18³, 2 K 24¹⁴ *Keth.*; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵה אֶלֶפִּים).

10000 רְבֹבָה, in the later books the aramaizing² forms רְבֹבָה, רְבֹבוֹת (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רְבֹבוֹת dual (see below, h); but שְׁתֵּי רְבֹבוֹת Neh 7⁷⁰ (also שְׁתֵּי רְבֹבוֹת Neh 7⁷¹).

40000 אַרְבַּע רְבֹבוֹת Neh 7⁶⁶.

60000 שֵׁשֶׁשׁ רְבֹבוֹת Ezr 2⁶⁹ (Baer and Ginsburg רְבֹבוֹת, as in Dn 11¹²).

רְבֹבוֹת אֶלֶפִּים *thousands of myriads*, Gn 24⁶⁰.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning *h* of our ending *-fold*, e.g. אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם *fourfold*, 2 S 12⁹; שִׁבְעִיתַיִם *sevenfold*, Gn 4^{15,24}, Is 30²⁶, ψ 12⁷, 79¹² (cf. § 134 r). The dual רְבֹבוֹתַיִם ψ 68¹⁸ (explained by שְׁנָאֵן *אלפים* *thousands of duplication*) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.³—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֶחָדִים *some*, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex 18^{21,25}.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly *genitives*,² although they are translated in English as *nominatives*, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁתֶּךָם *your triad*, i.e. *you three*, Nu 12⁴; חֲמִשָּׁיו *his fifty* (i.e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1⁹⁻¹³, and חֲמִשָּׁיךָ 2 K 1^{10,12}.

¹ According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticæ Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herder (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

² Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

³ Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.', *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 f.

§ 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

a The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination יָ (§ 86 *h*), before which another יָ also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like רִבְעִי, רִבְעִי, רִבְעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אֲרִבְעֵי, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִישִׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, חֲשִׁמִּיעִי, עֲשָׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination ון (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אֶחָד as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p* ; in such cases as Gn 1⁵, 2¹¹, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

b The feminine forms have the termination יָהּ, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָהִי. They are employed also to express fractions, e.g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשָׂרִיָּה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רִבְעִי and רִבְעִיָּה *a quarter*, חֲמִישִׁי *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative ון, עֲשָׂרֶוֹן (plur. עֲשָׂרֹנִים) *a tenth part* ; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שבוע *ἑβδομάς, a week* ; עשור *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*.

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICLES

§ 99. *General View.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, the German *statt, unstatt, wegen, weg*, and the English *instead, away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as דַּי *by day*, from דִּי (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen, Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, *ab, a*; $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, *ex, e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *e*; *super*, Ital. *su*.¹

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *Šewa*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*, $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{o}\nu\tau\iota$, $\delta\eta\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}$, Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithes* from *I pray thee*.—In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *ü* (to give), also the sign of the dative; *ì* (to make use of), *to*, *for*; *nèi* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

- d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i.e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic *י* becomes at a later period *י*; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lā* (why?) from *li-ayyi-sa'ih*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

- e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as *מִדָּע* *wherefore?* for *מִהַיִּדָּע* *quid edoctus?* (*τι μαθών*;) or *quid cognitum?*; *בְּלַעֲדֵי* (from *בָּל* and *לַעֲדֵי*) *besides*; *מִלְּמַעְלָה* (from *מִן*, *לָּ*, *מַעְלָה*) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. *אֶחָד־יָבֵן*, *אֶחָד־בֵּי*, *בֵּי־עַלְבָּן*, *בֵּי־אֶחָד*; cf. also the compounds of *אֵי* with demonstrative pronouns, as *אֵי־מָה* *from what?*; *אֵי לָמָּה* *wherefore?* [R.V. *how*]. See the lexicon under *אֵי*.

§ 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

- a 1. The negative *לֹא* *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as *שָׁם* *there*, are of obscure origin.
- b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—
- (a) Substantives with prepositions, e.g. *בְּמֵאֳדָר* (with might) *very*; *לְבָד* *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix *לְבָדִי* *I alone*; *מִבְּתֵיחַ* *from within, within*; cf. also *בְּאַחַד* (as one) *together*, *לְעִמָּה* and *מִלְּעִמָּה* (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.
- c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, *ἀρχῇ*, e.g. *מֵאֳדָר* (might) *very*, *אֵפֶס* (cessation) *no more*, *הַיּוֹם* (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), *מָחָר*¹ *to-morrow*, *יַחַד* (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e.g. *סְבִיבִי*, plur. *סְבִיבִיִּים* and *סְבִיבוֹת*, *circuit*, as adverb

¹ Generally derived from the *ptep.* *pu'al* *מָחָר* *m^eôhâr* (= *m^eôhâr*) and hence to be read *môhâr* (cf. *מָחָרֶת* *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from *אֶחָד* *יום*.

circum, around; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כִּכְרִי (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשִׁינָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently פְּרִאשִׁינָה, also לְרִאשִׁינָה and רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e.g. הִרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֵּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשְׁבֵּם (mane faciendo) *early*; הִעָרַב (vespere faciendo) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עַדְנָה and עַד-הֵנָּה = עַד-הֵנָּה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שֵׁנִית *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently מֶ-_g) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֱמִנָם and אֱמִנָם *truly* (from אֱמֵן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רִיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1²¹, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); with *o* in the last syllable, פִּתְאֵם, for פִּתְאֵם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פִּתְאֵם *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *ā*).²—Moreover, cf. אֶחָדָרָת *backward*, and קִרְבִּינִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3¹⁴. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ūth*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination מֶ-_g occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הֶמְכָּה *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that מֶ-_g, מֶ-_g, would correspond to הֶמְכָּה, הֶמְכָּה (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. הֶפְתָּאָם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29³⁶. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *ām* in Arabic.

¹ Is this מֶ-_g an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִוְרוֹם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctū*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יוֹמָם, Syr. 'imāmā; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *ām* is an adverbial termination.

² דִּמְכָּם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47⁵, La 3²⁶; a substantive in Hb 2¹⁹), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵב, עוֹלֵל, so that דִּמְכָּם (perhaps assimilated to דִּמְכָּה) stands for original דִּמְכָּם.

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The termination *ם* occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הֶחָלֶם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that *ם*, *ם*, would correspond to *ן*, *ן* (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּחִטָּה (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29³⁶. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

¹ Is this *ם* an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִוְרוֹם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *nocht*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יוֹמָם, Syr. *imāmā*; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *am* is an adverbial termination.

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i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. *אָן* then, *הֵן* here (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), *כֵּן*, *כֵּצֵן* thus (cf. *אֵיכֶּה*, *אֵיכֶּה* how?), *אָן* only, *אֲנִי* truly (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *הֵן* (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. *הֲלֹא* (Dt 3¹¹ *הֲלֹא* nonne?), *הֲגַם* *הֲגַם* num etiam? This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הָל*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32⁶.¹

k The *הֵן* interrogative takes—(1) *Ḥateph-Pataḥ* generally before non-gutturals (even before *ר*), with a firm vowel, e.g. *הֲשֵׁמְתָּ* hast thou set? see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (*הֲיִיטֵב* Lv 10¹⁹ is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Šewa*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gn 27³⁸, cf. 18¹⁷, 29⁶, 30¹⁶, 34³¹; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* num in via, Ez 20⁸⁰, *הֲלֵכִין* Gn 17¹⁷, 18²¹, 37²², Nu 13¹⁸, Jb 23⁶; even in *ר*, 1 S 10²⁴, 17²⁵, 2 K 6³².

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameṣ* or *Ḥateph-Qameṣ*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g. *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* shall I go?, *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* num tu?, *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* num si; also in Ju 6³¹ read *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* (not *הֵאֵלֶיךָ*), likewise *הֵן* in Ju 12⁶, Jer 8¹⁹, Neh 6¹¹.—In *הֵאֵלֶיךָ* Nu 16²², the Masora intends the article; read *הֵאֵלֶיךָ*, and cf. Dt 20¹⁹; in Ec 3²¹ read *הֵעֵלֶךְ* and *הֵיִרְדֶּת*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The *הֵן* takes *Šeghol* before gutturals pointed with *Qameṣ* or (as in Ju 9¹⁸) *Ḥateph-Qameṣ*, e.g. *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* Mi 2⁷; *הֲאֵלֶיךָ* Jb 21⁴; *הֲהִיטֵב* Jo 1²; *הֲהִיטֵב* Gn 24⁵ (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34³¹, Neh 13²⁷, Jer 22¹⁸, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *אָן* thou art there, 3rd sing. masc. *אָנִי*² (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. *אָנִי*, *אָנִי* I am not, 2nd sing. fem. *אָנִי*, 3rd sing. *אָנִי*, fem. *אָנִי*, 2nd plur. *אָנִי*, 3rd plur. masc. *אָנִי*.—Also *אָנִי* I am yet (*אָנִי* only in *אָנִי* and *אָנִי*), *אָנִי*, *אָנִי* (La 4¹⁷ *אָנִי*; *אָנִי*).

¹ The separation of the *הֵן* at the beginning of Dt 32⁶, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הָל*.

² This form, which occurs in Dt 29¹⁴, 1 S 14³⁹, 23²⁸, Est 3⁸, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful *אָנִי* (for *אָנִי*) Nu 23³⁸. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT. Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read *אָנִי*.

Keth.; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading עוֹרִינִי עוֹרָם, עוֹרָם. — אֵיכָּה where art thou?, אֵי where is he?, אֵים where are they? The same applies to הֵן (הֵן) and הִנֵּה behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19² הִנֵּה-נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי, once הִנֵּנִי (Gn 22⁷ with *Munah*), in pause הִנֵּנִי behold me (here am I), הִנֵּךְ (pause הִנֵּךְ ψ 139⁸), הִנֵּךְ, הִנֵּנִי, and הִנֵּהוּ [both very rare], הִנֵּנוּ (behold us), and הִנֵּנִי (in pause הִנֵּנִי), הִנֵּנֶם, הִנֵּם; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nun p* *energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. יֵשֶׁנּוּ there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אֵי, אֵי, אֵי) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the ך in connexion with these particles is a survival from הנה corresponding to the Arab. 'anna which introduces dependent clauses.

101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τοῦτον χάριν, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia*, *montis instar*.¹ Cf. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part*) behind, after (*Mil'el* in אַחֲרֵי בֵּן Lv 14³⁶, Dt 21¹³, 1 S 10⁵; אַחֲרֵי 2 Ch 32⁹); אֶצֶל (side) close by; בֵּין (intermediate space*) between; בֵּעֵד, בֵּעֵד (distance*) behind, around; וּבֵלֶת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלֶתִי (removal, want) except; עַל (purpose) on account of; מִלִּ (only in Dt 1¹) before, over against; מִן (separation; cf. § 119 v) from, out of; בָּנֵי (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; עַד (progress, duration*) during, until; עַל (height, upper part*) upon, over; עִם (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמּוֹת, עִמּוֹת near, beside, like; תַּחַת (under part*) under, instead of.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. לְפָנַי (in the face of*) before; כִּפִּי, לִפִּי (according to the mouth,

¹ In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kavisprache*, iii, p. 621.

² So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* הֵן, הֵן, הֵן.

i. e. the command of *) *according to*; בְּגִלַּל (in the concern of) *on account of*; לְפָנָיו (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e.g. בְּלֵי, בְּבֵלִי, מְבֵלִי, בְּלֵחִי, בְּאֵינֹן, בְּאַפָּם (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹד (in the duration of) *during*; בְּדֵי, בְּדֵי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to*.

§ 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e.g. מִן־עֵדֶר *out of a forest*.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20¹⁴ with verse 15, Ez 43⁶, &c.) only before the article, e.g. מִן־הָאֲרֶזִּים, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e.g. מִן־אֵזֶן Jer 44¹⁸, מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1¹², 1 Ch 5¹⁸; cf. Ex 18¹⁴, Lv 1¹⁴, 14³⁰, Ju 7²³, 10¹¹, 19¹⁶, ψ 104⁷ (2 K 23³⁶ before ר; also before פ in ψ 15⁴⁹), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)¹; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִנִּי Is 30¹¹. Its form is most commonly מִן *with a following Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewā* (cf. § 20 m). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e.g. מִי־יָדִי = מִי־יָדִי or מִי־יָדִי (but cf. מִי־יָדִי Dn 12²; מִי־יָדִי 2 Ch 20¹¹); before gutturals it becomes מִן (according to § 22 c), e.g. מִן־אֶרֶץ, מִן־עַם; before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִן־חֹדֶר *on the outside*, and in מִן־חֹדֶם Gn 14²³; before ה in מִן־חַיִּית (cf. § 28 b and § 63 γ. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִן־חַיִּית is merely due to the analogy of לִחַיִּית); similarly Is 14⁸ before ר; but in 1 S 23²⁸, 2 S 18¹⁶ מִן־רֶדֶף is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewā* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּבִי] *in, at, with*.

לְ [poet. לְבִי] *towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּבִי] *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewā mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)²; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewā*: before *Šewā simplex*

¹ König, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

² Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ā*: before a *Ḥaṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as a *lion*, בְּעֹנִי *bē'oni*, in *affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 *b*, and the infinitives with לְ § 63 *i*): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 *c*, e. g. לְיִהוּדָה for *to Judah*. When the prefixes בְּ, לְ, וְ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *S^eghôl* and *Ḥaṭeph S^eghôl* regularly coalesce in *Sērê*, e. g. בְּאַלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאַלִּי; so with suffixes וְאֶלְהֵיוּ, &c. (once also in the sing. וְאֶלְהוֹ *Hb* 1¹¹); also regularly לְאָמַר *to say*, for לְאָמַר, see § 23 *d*.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, *e* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 *n*.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames* *f* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ā*, cf. § 26 *c*, § 28 *a*), but only in the following cases:

(aa) לְ before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לְתַתּוּ *to give*, לְרִיז *to judge*, לְבַז *to plunder*, לְזַז *to shear*, לְחַג *to keep a festival*, לְבָרֵךְ *to bring forth*, לְלָכֶךְ *to go*, לְלָחֶךְ *to take*, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 *e*), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְבָרַךְ Ex 19¹, לְשַׁבֵּת Gn 16², and so always לְבָרַךְ חַמֹּת Nu 13²¹, &c. (in such cases as לְתַתּוּ חֶרֶב Ex 5²¹ the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs וְעָ, the לְ is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21^{20,25}, 22²);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּנָה (so also in 1 S 21¹⁰; not בְּנָה *g*), לְנָה, בְּנָה, לְנָה (in close connexion, however, לְנָה Gn 22³; בְּנָה Gn 45²⁰); בְּאַלֵּה as *these*; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, בְּהֶם (בְּהֶם), see § 103 *e*;

(cc) לְ before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפֶה לְפֶה *mouth to mouth*, 2 K 10²¹, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between waters and waters*, Gn 1⁶; לְטָרָה *for a trouble*, Is 1¹⁴, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17⁸ also shows that the punctuation לְ is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28^{10,13} the לְ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *i* as adverbs, e. g. לְעֶד *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּחָה *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח לְנֶצַח *to all eternity*, Is 34¹⁰. Cf. also לְנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, Lv 19²⁸, Nu 5², 9¹⁰.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in מֶמָּה; in *parise* and לְ before א as in מֶמָּה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3²², מֶמָּה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 4th ed., on Is 2²²); מֶמָּה *how much?* but also מֶמָּה 1 K 22¹⁸, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *S^eghôl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ā*, while the מ is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ā* of the prefixes.

When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 *f, g*, the form לְמָה (Jb 7²⁰ לְמָה, 1 S 1⁸ לְמָה, all *Mu'âl*, and hence the *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ו, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28¹⁵, 2 S 14³¹, Jer 1-18 before מָה, &c.).

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22³⁸ אֹתְךָ before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29³⁵ אֹתְהָ), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos 23¹⁵; for אֹתָם, five times אֹתְהֶם (Gn 32¹, Ex 18²⁰, &c.), and in Ez 23⁴⁵ אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָהּ (Gn 19⁸, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָן (only found in Ez 16⁵⁴; 35²⁶ אֹתְהָ; 34²¹ אֹתְהָ), and אֹתְהֶן Ez 23⁴⁷.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant. 2⁷, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַי, עָמְךָ, עָמְךָ [1 S 12⁶ עָמְךָ], in *pause* עָמְךָ; 2nd fem. עָמְךָ, עָמְךָ) is united with the suffixes נוּ, קָם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mēm* to be distinctly audible: עָמְנוּ, עָמְכֶם, עָמְהֶם (so in Nu 22¹², Dt 29¹⁶, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמָם is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְדִי (probably from original עָנְדִי; cf. Arab. *inda*, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תִּחְתְּנִי d 2 S 22^{37,40,43} (for which ψ 18^{37,40,43} תִּחְתְּנִי, Gn 2²¹ and בְּעֵדִי ψ 139¹¹ (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנִי)).¹

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there e appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֵל is appended the syllable נוּ (see below, k), and אֵל and אֵל take at least a full vowel, אֵל and אֵל (§ 102 d, f).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (a) in the pausal forms אֵלָּה, אֵלָּה, אֵלָּה, אֵלָּה, אֵלָּה (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (b) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in אֵלָּה, אֵלָּה, &c. (not *bēkh*, &c.).

(a) אֵל with Pronominal Suffixes.

f

Sing.

Plur.

- | | | |
|---|---|------------|
| 1. אֵלִי to me. | אֵלָּנוּ to us. | |
| 2. { m. אֵלָּה (לְהָא), in <i>pause</i> אֵלָּה } to thee. | אֵלָּכֶם | } to you. |
| { f. אֵלָּה } | [אֵלָּנָה] ² | |
| 3. { m. אֵלָּה to him. | אֵלָּהֶם, poet. אֵלָּמֶם | } to them. |
| { f. אֵלָּה to her. | [53 times] ³
אֵלָּהָ, אֵלָּהָ | |

¹ *Finī* and *binī* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fiyya* and *bi*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, Z.A. xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תִּחְתְּנִי, תִּחְתְּנִי, בְּעֵדִי are later formations on the model of תִּחְתְּנִי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, m.

² אֵלָּנָה does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13¹⁸ אֵלָּנָה.

(c) כִּן with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

Sing.	Plur.
1. כִּמִּנִּי, poet. כִּמִּי [4 times], in pause also כִּמִּי [6 times] from me.	כִּמִּינֵנו from us.
2. { m. כִּמִּיךָ, in pause כִּמִּיָּךְ } f. כִּמִּיךָ } from thee.	{ מִכֶּם מִכֶּן } from you.
3. { m. כִּמִּינוּ, Jb 4 ¹² in pause כִּמִּיָּהוּ, [כִּמִּיָּהוּ or כִּמִּיָּהוּ: see below] from him. f. כִּמִּיָּהָה from her.	{ מִהֶם, מִהֶמָּה [twice], Jb 11 ²⁰ מִנֶּהם } from them. מֵהֶן, מֵהֶנָּה [7 times]

The syllable כִּן (in Arabic *mā* כִּנ = Heb. כִּן *what*) in כִּמִּנִּי (probably from *k* כִּי, prop. according to what I, for as I) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes כִּ, כִּי, לִ, even without suffixes, so that כִּמִּנִּי, כִּמִּי, לִמִּי appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to כִּ, כִּי, לִ. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of כִּן, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

The form כִּמִּינֵנו, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17¹⁵ (in pause); כִּמִּיָּהוּ only in Jer 36³² (in pause); כִּמִּיָּהוּ (Baer following Qimhi [כִּמִּיָּהוּ] only in Ez 18¹⁴. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For כִּמִּי as ye, Qimhi requires כִּמִּי (invariably or only in Jb 16⁴ ?); in Jos 1¹⁵, Ju 8², Ezr 4² Baer gives כִּמִּי.

With regard to כִּן with suffixes, כִּמִּינֵנו from me is usually explained as arising, *mn* by a reduplication of כִּן, from an original מִנְמִנִּי, just as כִּמִּיָּהוּ from him, from מִנְמִיָּהוּ, identical in form with כִּמִּיָּהוּ¹ from us, from מִנְמִיָּהוּ, while מִמִּיָּהוּ from her, goes back to מִנְמִיָּהוּ. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ*, xxiii. 302 ff.), that כִּמִּינֵנו, &c., have arisen from כִּמִּינֵנו, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of אִינֵנו, עוֹרֵנו, תַּחֲתֵנו, § 100 o.—The bracketed form כִּמִּיָּהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimhi and others, writes כִּמִּיָּהוּ, occurs only in ψ 68²⁴, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (כִּין = portion). The expression כִּין-הִיא (for כִּמִּיָּהוּ ?) Is 18^{2.7} is very strange.—מִמִּיָּהוּ occurs only in Jer 10², Ec 12¹² (Jb 11²⁰ מִנֶּהם); מֵהֶן (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מֵהֶן) only in Ez 16^{47.52}.

¹ The Babylonian Masora writes כִּמִּינֵנו (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing. כִּי, which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

n 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 a), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 g). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אֶל, עַל, עִדִּי with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אֶלִּי (אֶלִּי), עִדִּי (אֶלִּי), contracted to אֵלִי, אֵלִי, &c.).¹

o Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֵר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אֶל,² poet. [4 times in Job] also אֵלִי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, &c. (Gn 16⁵ בֵּינִיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינִי, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Q^{eré}* בֵּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30³⁶). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

קָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. קְבִיבֵיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. קְבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43¹⁷ קָבִיב אֹתָהּ is a corruption of קְבִיבוֹתָהּ; [in 1 K 6⁵ אֵת קָבִיב also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד (*continuation, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עֲדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32¹² עֲדִיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9¹⁸ for עֲדֵיהֶם read עֲדֵיהֶם.

עַל *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֶלְ height [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלִי [40 times, and 2 *Q^{eré}*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחְתָּי, &c.; cf. above, d.

¹ The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmetria*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGG.* 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחְתָּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עֲלֵיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֵיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנֵי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחְתָּיךָ, אַחֲרֵיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

² On the use of this particle see § 119 g.

With Suffixes.

	אֲחֵרִי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עָדַי	עָלַי <i>p</i>
1 <i>Sing.</i>	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
2 <i>S. m.</i>	אֲחֵרָיָךְ	בֵּינָךְ	סְבִיבוֹתָיָךְ & סְבִיבָיָךְ	תַּחְתָּיָךְ	אֵלָיָךְ	עָדָיָךְ	עָלָיָךְ
2 <i>S. f.</i>	אֲחֵרָיָהּ		סְבִיבוֹתָהּ & סְבִיבָיָהּ		אֵלֶיהָ		עָלֶיהָ
3 <i>S. m.</i>	אֲחֵרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָדָיו	עָלָיו
3 <i>S. f.</i>	אֲחֵרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָדֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
1 <i>Plur.</i>	אֲחֵרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
	& בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ ¹						
2 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אֲחֵרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָדֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
3 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אֲחֵרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	אֵלֵיהֶם	[עָדֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם
		& בֵּינוֹתָם		usually תַּחְתָּם	& אֵלֵיהֶם		[עָלֵיהֶם] ²
					[אֵלֵיהֶם] ²		
3 <i>Pl. f.</i>	אֲחֵרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן
					& אֵלֵיהֶן		

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e.g. the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for כִּי; also אֵל (nothing), that not; כִּי־נָא (the Greek μή of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e.g. בְּתוֹכָם.

¹ As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26²⁸) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵינוּ (Jos 22^{25, 27, 28} before וּבֵינֵיכֶם) means *between us on the one side*.

² The poetical form אֵלֵיהֶם only in ψ 2⁵; עָלֵיהֶם, on which see note 3 on f, 12 times [viz. Dt 32²³, ψ 5¹², 55¹⁶, 61⁹, 118¹⁶, 138²³, 139¹⁷, 143², 144², 145², 146²].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִקִּיָּם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e.g. אֲחֵר־כִּי added to this, that=*much more*), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or כִּי together form one single conjunction, e.g. לְעוֹ אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כַּאֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); עַל־כֵּן and עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e.g. עַל־ (for עַל־אֲשֶׁר) although, Jb 16¹⁷.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוּ or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲדָה also, וְ and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally ו, as still before *Ḥateph Pathah* and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes וּ, וְ, וֹ (§ 102 d-e), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw* copulative has some further peculiarities:

- (a) Usually it takes simple *Ṣewā* (וְ).
 (b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Ṣewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Ṣewā* is compounded (according to § 28 b), e.g. וְחָכָם and be thou wise, וְעֲבָדִים and servants, וְעוֹז and strength, וְאֵל and thou, וְחֲלִי and sickness. On וְאֵלֶיךָ, וְאֵלֶיךָ, &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵדֶיךָ, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעֲצָר Jb 4², cf. § 28 b.
 c (c) Before words with simple *Ṣewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ā* (cf. § 26 a), e.g. וְכָל and to all, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, כ, פ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Ṣewā* has become a *Ḥateph* after a copulative (e.g. וְהָבָה Gn 2¹²), cf. § 10 g.
 f (d) With a following וְ the ו coalesces to form וִ according to § 24 b, as וִהִי and let him be. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw* copulative before forms with initial *Ṣewā* from וְהָיָה to be and וְהָיָה to live (e.g. וְהָיָה Jos 8⁴, וְהָיָה Gn 20⁷), cf. § 63 g.
 g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qameṣ*, like וְ, וְ, וְ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכָל 2 K 22³⁰), e.g. וְכָל Ex 21¹² (on the other hand, in verse 20

יָמָה is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7⁴ וַיִּמְתְּנוּ וַיָּשֻׁם; Ru 3² וַיִּבְרַח; ψ 10¹⁵ וַיִּרָע; 1 S 9⁴ וַיֵּאָן; 2 S 13²⁶ וַיֵּלֵא; Ez 47⁹ וַיְחִי; cf. also (with *Tiphtha*) Gn 33¹³, 2 S 15¹². The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וַ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Waw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. וְכָהָה Gn 1², וְכָלֵה Gn 8²² (see also the previous examples); Gn 13¹⁴ (thrice); Ex 25³ וְכָהָה; ψ 96⁷ וְכָהָה; כְּבוֹד וְעוֹ Gn 7⁶⁷; וְכָהָה Gn 7¹³ וַיִּפְתַּח; 1 K 21¹⁰ וְכָהָה; אֱלֹהִים וְכָהָה; Est 1⁸ אִישׁ-וְאִישׁ at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87⁵ אִישׁ וְאִישׁ in spite of the *Dehi* with the second אִישׁ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words given above, Gn 7¹³ and ψ 76⁷. (Exceptions: וְכָהָה Gn 13¹⁴, where evidently the וַ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וְכָהָה Jos 15⁵⁵, וְכָהָה 19²⁵, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וַ (not וְ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וְכָהָה, וְכָהָה, וְכָהָה (to be distinguished from וְכָהָה if not, with *Zaqef h gadol*, 2 K 5¹⁷), and others.

§ 105. Interjections.

1. Among the interjections some (as in all languages) are simply *a* natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gestures, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אָהָה (Ez 30² אָהָה), אָהָה *aha*! (cf. this אָהָה also in אָהָה and אָהָה *utinam*!), אָהָה Ex 32³¹, &c. (Gn 50¹⁷ אָהָה) *ah*! (from אָהָה and אָהָה), otherwise written אָהָה 2 K 20³, Jn 1¹⁴, ψ 116⁴; also הָם (in pause הָם, even in the plural הָם *hold your peace*! Neh 8¹¹) *hush*! הָהָה (Am 5¹⁶ הָהָה) *ha*! *woe*! אָהָה (ψ 120⁸), אָהָה (in אָהָה Ec 4¹⁰; אָהָה 10¹⁶) *woe*!

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הָהָה (הָהָה) or הָהָה *behold*! (prop. *here*); הָהָה *behold*! (prop. imperative); הָהָה, plur. הָהָה (prop. *give*, imperative of הָהָה; as to the tone, cf. § 69*a*), *come*, the Latin *age*, *agite*! לָהָה (also לָהָה) *go*, imperative of הָהָה) with the same meaning¹; הָהָה *far be it*! (prop. *ad profanum*!)

¹ הָהָה (Dt 1⁸), הָהָה and הָהָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped interjections.

יָ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* אָּ pray!¹ used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.²

¹ אָּ serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the imperative, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the imperfect, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with perfect, Gn 40¹⁴; (d) after various particles: אָּ הִנֵּה-נָּ behold now; particularly after the conjunctions לְ and אֵם: אָּ לֹא-נָּ *ne quasso* and אָּ אִם-נָּ *if now, εἴπερ, εἴπωρε, if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12¹³ אָּ stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read אָּ לֹא-נָּ.—In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18^{3,4}, 19^{7,8,19}, and 50¹⁷.

² Against the usual view which regards אָּ as a hortatory particle (= *up!* *come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִבֵּה and לִבֵּה and the Ethiopic *na'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe אָּ as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this אָּ with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

THIRD PART

SYNTAX¹

CHAPTER I

THE PARTS OF SPEECH

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.²

§ 106. Use of the Perfect.

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

¹ Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

² Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18¹⁵ *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי); and *he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחַקְתָּ); Gn 3¹¹ *who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3^{13, 14, 17, 22}. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66⁸ *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1⁶ *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1¹⁷, Ex 10¹⁴, Dt 32²¹, 1 K 2³⁸, Is 46^{4, 11}, Jo 2², Ec 1⁹.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4⁴ *and Abel, he also brought* (וַיָּבִיֵא), &c.; Gn 7¹⁹ *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּבְרֹךְ), &c.; Jb 1¹ *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz*, &c.; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18³⁰.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of narration occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1¹; cf. Dn 2¹) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 7^{11, 13}), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (cf. above Gn 4⁴ and 7¹⁹). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),¹ e.g. 1 S 28⁸ *now Samuel was (long since) dead*² . . . and *Saul had put away* (וַיִּסְרֹף) *those that had familiar spirits* . . . out of the land. Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9¹⁵, 25²¹, 2 S 18¹⁸.—Gn 20¹⁸ (*for the Lord had fast closed up*, &c.); 27³⁰, 31^{19, 34}, Dt 2¹⁰; and in a negative statement, Gn 2⁵ *for the Lord God had not* (up to that time) *caused it to rain*, &c. This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2² *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7⁹,

¹ Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9^a.

² Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos*, &c.

19²⁷, &c.; 29¹⁰ *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בָּאֵשֶׁר רָאָה) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e.g. ψ 10¹¹ הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*; ψ 143⁶ פִּרְשֵׁתִי *I have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive¹ verbs, denoting affections or states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.² Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9², 10¹³, לא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gn 4⁹, &c.; on the other hand, e.g. in Gn 28¹⁶, Nu 22³⁴, the context requires *I knew not*; וְזָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Nu 11⁷; כִּימָאָהָה *she refuseth* Jb 6⁷; עֲלִיזָה *it exulteth*; וְשִׂמְחָתִי *I rejoice* 1 S 2¹; בָּקֵשׁ *he requirerth* Is 1¹²; קָוִיתִי *I wait* Gn 49¹⁸, ψ 130⁵ (parallel with הוֹלֵלָתִי); חִפְצָתִי *I delight* ψ 40⁹ (mostly negative, Is 1¹¹, &c.); אֶהְבֵּתִי *I love* Gn 27⁴; שָׂנְאָתִי *I hate* ψ 31⁷; מִאֲסָתִי *I despise* Am 5²¹; הִעָבְרָנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30¹⁰; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust* ψ 25²; הִסֵּיתִי *I put my trust* ψ 31²; צִדִּיקָתִי *I am righteous* Jb 34⁵; פָּקַדְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15².—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* ψ 104¹; קְטַנּוּתִי *I am litile* Gn 32¹¹; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55⁹; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30¹⁰; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24⁵; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52⁷; זָקְנָתִי *I am old* Gn 18¹³; יָגַעְתִּי *I am weary* ψ 6⁷; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1¹¹, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עֲדַמְתִּי *h* Ex 10⁸ *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and refuseth still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse* ?), ψ 80⁵, Pr 1²² (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after אָפַקְתָּה Ex 16²⁸, Hb 1².

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

¹ With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

² Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; *οἶδα, μέμνημαι, οἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, *ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα*.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e.g. *וְהִרְמֹתִי* *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14²²; *וְשָׁבַעְתִּי* *I swear* Jer 22⁵; *וְהִעֲדֵתִי* *I testify* Dt 8¹⁹; *וְיִצְוֵתִי* *I counsel* 2 S 17¹¹ (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); *וְאָמַרְתִּי* (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19³⁰; *I declare* Jb 9²², 32¹⁰.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e.g. *וְשָׁחַתְתָּ* 9¹¹ *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (*לֹא-עָזַבְתָּ*) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also *וְשָׁחַתְתָּ* 10³, 119⁴⁰ and Gn 49¹¹ (*וְשָׁחַתְתָּ*).

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus, *לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי* *I am not able* *וְשָׁחַתְתָּ* 40¹³ and *לֹא אֵיכָל* Gn 31³⁵ have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e.g. Is 5¹², *וְשָׁחַתְתָּ* 21¹¹, Pr 1²², Jb 3¹⁷.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e.g. Gn 23¹¹ *the field I give* (*וְהָרַחֲתִי*) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48²², 2 S 14²¹, 24²³, Jer 40⁴; in a threat, 1 S 2¹⁶, 2 S 5⁶ (unless, with Wellhausen, *וְיִסְיָרְךָ* is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1²⁹, 15¹⁸, 17²⁰, Ju 1².

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e.g. Nu 17²⁷ *וְנָפְלוּ אֲנִי וְכָלִי וְכָלִי וְכָלִי* *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30¹⁸, Is 6⁵ (*וְנִדְמֵתִי* *I am undone* 1), Pr 4². Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18¹², Nu 17²⁸, 23¹⁰, Ju 9^{9,11}, Zc 4¹⁰ (?), Pr 22²⁰.² This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

¹ Cf. the similar use of *ὄλωλα* (*διέφθορας*, II. 15. 128) and *perii*! On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

² In Gn 40¹⁴ a *perf. confidentiae* (after *וְכִי* *אֵין*; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance, &c.*). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precative* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21¹⁶, 22¹⁸, also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*³, p. 25 f. In Is 43⁹ either *וְנִקְבְּצוּ* is *imperative* (see § 51 o) or we must read *וְנִקְבְּצוּ*, corresponding to *וְנִקְבְּצוּ* which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e.g. Is 5¹³ *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (וָיָחַדוּ); 9^{1st}, 10²⁸, 11⁹ (after וְיָ, as frequently elsewhere); 19⁷, Jb 5²⁰, 2 Ch 20³⁷. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e.g. Is 4⁴ וָיָחַדוּ אֵם when he has washed away=when he shall have washed away (an imperfect follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 x); Is 6¹¹ (after וָיָחַדוּ אֵם, as in Gn 28¹⁵, Nu 32¹⁷; also 2 S 17¹³ after וָיָחַדוּ אֵם, Gn 24¹³ after אֵם וָיָחַדוּ and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5² (וָיָחַדוּ); Gn 43¹⁴ וָיָחַדוּ אֵם and I—if I am bereaved (*orbis fuero*), I am bereaved, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23¹⁵, Est 4¹⁶.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjective), e.g. Gn 3⁴² *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43¹⁰, Ex 9¹⁵ שָׁלַחְתִּי I had almost put forth, &c.); Nu 22³⁸, Ju 13²³, 14¹⁸, 1 S 13¹³ (וָיָחַדוּ); 2 K 13¹⁰; so frequently after כִּמְעַט *easily, almost*, Gn 26¹⁰, Is 1⁹ (where כִּמְעַט is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73², 94¹⁷, 119⁸⁷, Pr 5¹⁴. Cf. also Jb 3¹⁸, 23¹⁰ (וָיָחַדוּ), Ru 1¹² (if I should think, &c.; cf. 2 K 7⁴); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25³⁴.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14² לֹא מָתַנִּי לָהּ would that we had died . . . ! (לֹא with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 S 14³⁰). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21⁷ מִי הָיָה לֵאמֹר . . . ? quis dixerit? ψ 73¹¹.

§ 107. Use of the Imperfect.¹

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

¹ Cf. the literature cited above, p. 300, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than *imperfect*, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

- b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,¹ e.g. Gn 2⁶ *a mist went up* continually (וַיִּעָלָה), 2²⁵, 37⁷, 48¹⁰, Ex 1¹², 8²⁰, 13²³, 15^{6,12,14,15}, Nu 9^{15 f. 20 f.}, 23⁷, Ju 2¹, 5⁸, 1 S 3², 13^{17 f.}, 2 S 2²⁸, 23¹⁰, 1 K 3⁴, 7⁸, 21⁶, Is 1²¹, 6⁴ (וַיִּבְלֵא), 17^{10 f.}, 51^{2 a}, Jer 13⁷, 36¹⁸, ψ 18^{7,14,17 ff. 38 ff.}, 24², 32^{4,5} (וַיִּדְרִיעַ), 47⁵, 68^{10,12}, 104^{6 ff.}, 106¹⁹, 107^{18,29}, 139¹³, Jb 3¹¹, 4^{12,15 f.}, 10^{10 f.}, 15^{7 f.}—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9¹⁵⁻²³ and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.²

- c Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אֵין *then*, בְּתָרְם *not yet*, בְּתָרְם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e.g. Ex 15¹ אֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל־מִנְּהָ *then sang Moses*, &c.; Nu 21¹⁷, Dt 4⁴¹, Jos 10¹², 1 K 3¹⁸, 8¹, ψ 126², Jb 38²¹. (The perfect is used after אֵין when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4²⁸ אֵין הָיָה *then began*, &c.; Gn 49⁴, Ex 15¹⁵, Jos 22³¹, Ju 5¹¹, ψ 85²⁰.)³ After בְּתָרְם e.g. Gn 19⁴ יִשְׁכְּבוּ בְּתָרְם *before they lay down*; Gn 2⁵, 24⁴⁵, 1 S 3^{3,7}, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24¹⁵ instead of the perf. בָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3⁷ [וַיִּבְלֵא] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּתָרְם (sometimes also simply בְּתָרְם Ex 12⁸⁴, Jos 3¹), e.g. Jer 1⁶ בְּתָרְם הֵיטָא *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27³⁸, 37¹⁸, 41⁵⁰, Ru 3¹⁴ (perhaps also in ψ 90² an imperf. was intended instead of יִלְרִי; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3²; but note also Pr 8²⁵, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הָרִים הָיוּ מְסֻבִּים, the predicate being separated from בְּתָרְם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90²). After עַד־ Jos 10¹³, ψ 73¹⁷ (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29³⁴; on the other

¹ Cf. the Meša' inscription, l. 5, יֵאֵנָה כְּמוֹשׁ בִּארְצָה for Chemosh was angry with his land. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

² According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10¹³ *bis* (where, however, וַיִּסְרֹם might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48⁵, 57¹⁷, ψ 183^{3 b}, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1¹⁰ and Ez 16¹⁰. In some other cases י is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for י (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42⁶, 43²⁸ [contrasted with 42²⁵], 51^{2 bis}, 63^{3 ff.} and the note on § 53 p.

³ After אֵין *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24⁴¹, Ex 12⁴⁸, Mi 3⁴, Zp 3⁹, ψ 51²¹.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2²². As after אָן , so also after $\text{בָּרַחַם, בָּרַחַם, בָּרַחַם}$ and עָרַר the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e.g. 2 K 2⁹, Is 65²⁴, Jb 10²¹; after עָרַר e.g. Is 22¹⁴. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after בָּרַחַם in Ex 9³⁰, 10⁷.

2. Driver (*Tenses*³, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the *participle* as expressing *mere* duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing *progressive* duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words וַיֵּצֵא וְנָהָר Gn 2¹⁰ represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but וַיִּפְרֹךְ , which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way $\text{וַיַּעֲלֶה יָמִלֵּן}$ Gn 2⁶ represents new mists as constantly arising, and $\text{וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים$ Is 6⁴ new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence $\text{וַיִּכְרַם מִצְרַיִם}$ Ex 15¹² (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and $\text{וַיִּנְהַלֵּי$ Nu 23⁷ the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were repeated in the past, either *c* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1⁵ *thus did* ($\text{וַיַּעַשׂ$) Job continually (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4^{3f.}, 22^{6f.}, 23¹¹, 29^{7,9,12f.}, Gn 6⁴, 29², 30⁷⁸, 42^{31,39} (*I used to bear the loss of it*), Ex 1¹², 19¹⁹, 33^{7ff.} (וַיֵּלֶךְ used to take every time), 40^{36ff.}, Nu 9^{17f. 20ff.}, 11^{5,9}, Ju 6¹, 14¹⁰, 21²⁵, 1 S 1⁷, 2²², 9⁹, 13¹⁹, 18³, 27⁹, 2 S 1²², 12³, 13¹⁸, 1 K 5²⁵ (of tribute repeated year by year), 10³, 13³³, 14²⁸, 2 K 4⁸, 8²⁹, 13²⁰, 25¹⁴, Jer 36²³, ψ 42⁵, 44², 78^{15,40}, 103⁷, Est 2¹⁴; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18¹⁰.

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are continued for a shorter or longer time,¹ e.g. Gn 37¹⁵ מַה תִּבְקֹשׁ what seekest thou? 19¹⁸ לֹא אֵינִי I cannot; 24⁵⁰, 31³⁵, Is 1¹². Other examples are Gn 2¹⁰, 24³¹, 1 S 1⁸, 11⁵, 1 K 3⁷, ψ 2², and in the prophetic formula יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ saith the Lord, Is 1^{11,18}, &c., cf. 40¹. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15²⁰ a wise son maketh a glad father; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4¹⁷ is mortal man just before God? In a negative sentence, Jb 4¹⁸, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be repeated at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are customarily repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, *e*), e.g. Dt 1⁴⁴ as bees do (are accustomed to

¹ It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between *continued* and *repeated* actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6²¹, 32³³, 43³², Ju 11⁴⁰, 1 S 2³, 5⁵, 20², 2 S 15³², Is 1²³, 3¹⁶, ψ 1³. So again (see f) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23⁸ *a gift blindeth* (עֵינַי), &c.; Gn 2²⁴, 22¹⁴, Is 32⁶, Am 3⁷, Mal 1⁶, Jb 2⁴, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49²⁷ *Benjamin is* יְבִרָה אֶבְרָתָא *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10⁹, 22¹⁴, &c.; לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה בָּן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence *may not, shall not be*, see u), Gn 29²⁶, 20⁹, 34⁷, 2 S 13¹².

h (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32³⁰ *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24³¹, 44⁷, Ex 5¹⁵, 2 S 16⁹. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 1⁷ (2²) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16⁸ (cf. 42⁷) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

i 3. In the sphere of *future time*. To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(a) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4¹ *they will not believe* (יֹאמְרוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6¹, 9⁵, &c.

k (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43⁷ *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2¹⁹, 43²⁵, Ex 2⁴, 2 K 3²⁷ אֲשֶׁר-יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13¹⁴, Jon 4⁵, Jb 3³, Ec 2³, ψ 78⁶ *that the generation to come might know*, יִלְדוּ *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4⁴, 6¹¹ (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132⁵, and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until*, Gn 29⁸, Nu 20¹⁷, &c.

m 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and *n* arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e.g. ψ 59¹⁷ with verse 18; 2 S 22⁵⁰ with ψ 18⁵⁰; Ju 19¹¹, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18³), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e.g. תֵּרָאֵה *let it appear* Gn 1⁹, 41³⁴, Lv 19²³, 2 S 10¹² (and so frequently in verbs ל"ה ; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9⁵ (תִּהְיֶה); ψ 61⁷ (תִּזְכֹּרְהוּ); Pr 22¹⁷ (תִּשְׁמַח); 23¹, Jb 6²³ (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10²⁰ *Keith*; so probably also יִדְרִי *let him judge!* ψ 72².—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e.g. Jb 10¹⁸ אֶנְיָנִי *I ought to* [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19 אֶהְיֶה and אֶנְבֵּל Lv 10¹⁸, Nu 35²⁸. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e.g. Jb 9²⁹ אֶרְשָׁע *I am to be guilty*, 12⁴. Cp. Jb 9¹⁵, 19¹⁶; in a question, ψ 42¹⁰, 43².

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not *O* happen. The imperfect with לֹא represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive¹ with אַל (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אַל with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus לֹא with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e.g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב *thou shalt not steal* Ex 20¹⁵; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So לֹא with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16¹⁰.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after אַל , does not, as a rule *p* (according to *n*, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after אַל of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל"ה (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs ע"ו , to express a prohibition or negative wish, אַל-תִּבְיֹט Gn 19¹⁷, אַל-תִּסְדֹּר Jos 1⁷, אַל-יָאִשִּׁים 1 S 25²⁵. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) וְאַל-נִמּוּת *that we die not*, 1 S 12¹⁹. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, אַל-יִנָּמ *he will not slumber*,² ψ 121³; cf. Jer 46⁶, 2 Ch 14¹⁰.

¹ As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by אַל and the imperative.

² To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of לֹא with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.

- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as אֲשֶׁר Gn 11⁷ (לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) אֲשֶׁר that they may not understand; Gn 21³⁰, 27^{4,19}, Ex 9¹⁴, &c.; אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן Nu 17⁵; לִמְעַן Dt 4¹, ψ 51⁶, 78⁶, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר 1 Ez 12¹², in order that²; לְבִלְתִּי that . . . not, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴; also after אֲפֹר that not, lest, Gn 3²², 11⁴, 19¹⁸, &c.³; cf. also the instances introduced by לֹא in § 109 g.—In Lv 9⁶ such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1¹⁹ to the principal clause simply by !: while they sought them food וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם to refresh their souls (cf. also La 3²⁶, it is good and let him hope, i. e. that he should hope); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 2⁷. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32⁸ הַדֶּגֶר־וְיִי תִהְיֶה בְּיָדְךָ in the way which thou shouldst go.
- r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the potential of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with can, may, should⁴). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2¹⁶ of every tree of the garden (אֶכֶל הָאֵילִם) thou mayest freely eat (the opposite in verse 17); 3², 42²⁷, Lv 21^{3,22}, Jb 21³. In the 1st pers. ψ 5⁸, 22¹⁸ (I may, or can, tell); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5⁵.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20⁹ מִי־יֹאמַר quis dixerit? Cf. Gn 17¹⁷, 18¹⁴, 31⁴³, 1 S 11¹², 2 K 5¹² הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֹץ בָּהֶם may I not wash in them? Is 33¹⁴, ψ 15¹, 24⁸, Ec 5⁵. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39⁹ how then can I . . . ? 44³⁴, Is 19¹¹, ψ 137⁴, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43⁷ הֲיָדוּעַ גֵּרַע could we in any wise know . . . ? Cf. 2 S 3³³ יָמוּת was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . . ?), and so probably also Gn 34³¹ (should he deal . . . ?). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—
- u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3¹¹, who am I (אֲנִי אֵלֶּיךָ) that I should (ought, could) go? 16⁷, Nu 11¹², Ju 9²¹, 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 K 8¹³, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹¹, 21¹⁵, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38¹⁸, Ex 5².

¹ But אֲשֶׁר יַעַן in a causal sense (because, since), e. g. Ju 20²⁰ (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34²⁷) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4²⁴ see above, § 74 g.

[² R.V. because he shall not see.]

³ In 2 K 2¹⁶ אֲפֹר occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c⁶, since a perfect consec. follows, read with Driver יִכְרֹץ.)

⁴ By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11⁵, ψ 8⁵, 114⁵, the context shows that the *υ* imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e.g. Gn 20¹⁰, Ju 18²², 2 S 7¹⁸, Is 22¹.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e.g. Gn 32¹⁸ לֹא יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ which cannot be numbered for multitude; 20⁹ לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה (אֲנִי) that ought not to be done (cf. above, g); ψ 5⁵.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23⁴ יֵאָמֵר . . . פֶּן-יֵאָלֵךְ yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil; Jb 9²⁰ though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me. After a perfect in the protasis, e.g. Jb 23¹⁰. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e.g. Jb 5⁸ but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place); 3^{13,16}, 14¹⁴, ψ 55¹³, Ru 1¹². However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

§ 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i.e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.¹ sing. or *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הָ־, ² represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle הֵן:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e.g. Ex 3³ אֶפְתָּחֵנָּה וְנִרְאֶה I will turn aside now, and see . . . ! So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e.g. Gn 18²¹, 32²¹ (rarely so used after לֹא, Gn 21¹⁶ let me not look . . . ! Jer 18¹⁸), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e.g. Is 5¹ I will sing³ . . . ! 5⁶, 31⁸. Cf. also Gn 46³⁰ now let me die (I am willing to die),

¹ For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

² But verbs הָ־, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הָ־; cf. e.g. in Dt 32²⁰ אֶמְתִּירָה after אֶרְאֶה.

[S P V 1st ed. 1881]

since *I have seen thy face*; and ψ 31^s. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. ψ 2^s בְּנִתְקַח *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gn 11^s.

c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 2²⁷ אֶעְבְּרָה *may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)!* Nu 20¹⁷ נֵעְבְּרָהּ *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer 40¹⁵ *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 S 16⁹; so after אֲלֵ 2 S 18¹⁴; after אֲלֵ 2 S 24¹⁴, Jer 17¹⁸, ψ 25² אֲלֵ-אֲבוֹשָׁה *let me not be ashamed*; cf. ψ 31^{2,13}, 71¹); 69¹⁵. After אֲלֵ-נָא Jon 1¹⁴.

d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative; ψ 9¹⁵ after לְמַעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27⁴ *bring it to me, וְאֹכְלָה that I may eat, prop. then will I eat*; Gn 19⁵, 23⁴, 24⁵⁶, 27²⁵, 29²¹, 30^{25f}, 42³⁴, 49¹, Dt 32¹, Ho 6¹, ψ 2^s, 39¹⁴, Jb 10²⁰ *Qerê*; Is 5¹⁹ *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, וְנִדְרָעָה that we may know (it)!* Gn 26²³, 1 S 27⁵. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18^{30,32}, Ju 6³⁰, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22⁷, Is 40²⁵, 41²⁶, Am 8⁵.

e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16⁶ אִם-אֶדְבָּרָה *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאֶחְדָּלָה and should I forbear, what am I eased?* without אִם Jb 19¹⁸, 30²⁶ (where, however, וְאֶחְדָּלָה is probably intended); ψ 73¹⁶ (unless וְאֶחְדָּלָה should be read), 139^{8f}. After the 3rd person, Jb 11¹⁷ *though it be dark, &c.* So perhaps also 2 S 22³³ אֶדְבָּרָה *if I determined to pursue, then . . .*, but cf. ψ 18³⁸.

f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31^{7f} *if my step hath turned out of the way . . . , וְאֶזְרָעָה then let me sow*; cf. 16^{4f}. *I also could speak as ye do, if . . . !* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g. ψ 40⁶ *else would I declare and speak of them*; 51¹⁸ *else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it* (cf. the precisely similar וְאֶזְרָעָה ψ 55¹³); Jb 6¹⁰. In the 1st plur. Jer 20¹⁰. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish $\text{מִי־יִתֵּנִי, מִי־יִתֵּן}$, e. g. Jer 9¹ *oh, that I had . . . , וְאֶעֱזָבָה then* (i. e. if I had) *should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.*; Ju 9²⁹; without *Wāw* Is 27⁴, ψ 55⁷, Jb 23⁴ (cf. also verse 7).

g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38¹⁰ וְאֶלְכָה; Jer 3²⁵, 4^{19,21}, 6¹⁰, ψ 55^{3,18} (?); 57⁵, where, however, with Hupfeld, שִׁכְבָה should be read; 77⁷, 88¹⁶, and in the 1st plur. Is 59¹⁰), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also ψ 66⁶ $\text{שָׁם נִשְׂמְחָה שָׁם}$ *there did we rejoice*¹; ψ 119¹⁶⁸ וְנִאֲמָנָה ; Pr 7⁷), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after ψ 73¹⁷ *until I went* . . . אֲבִינָה *I considered their latter end*; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but אֲבִינָה Pr 7⁷ is still dependent on the preceding וְ); עַד־אֲרִינָה Pr 12¹⁰ is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49¹⁹, 50⁴⁴ we have $\text{כִּי־אֶ$ with a similar meaning), *as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink)*. On the other hand, in Ex 32³⁰ אֲנִי־אֶכַּפֵּר is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of אֲנִי־אֶכַּפֵּר after $\text{אֲנִי־אֶ$.

§ 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the *cohortative* is used in the 1st pers., so the *jussive* is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary *imperfect*,² § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The *jussive* standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or pre-cative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא . Examples: Gn 1³ יְהִי אֹרֶךְ *let there be light*! Gn 1^{6,9,11}, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6²⁶ *the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace*! cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30³⁴ לִי יְהִי *I would it might be*; ψ 81⁹ אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי *if thou wouldst hearken unto me*! As a humble request, Gn 44³³ $\text{יְשִׁב־נָא עִבְדְּךָ}$ *let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c.*, Gn 47⁴.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always אַל־ (in negative desires and requests frequently

¹ Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׁם is the use of the historic imperf. after אֲנִי , § 107 c.

² With regard to verbs לָחַל , it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g. אֲלִי־יִרְאָה Jb 3⁹ (but previously יִקַּן *let it look for*!); especially in (Neh 2³) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1⁹ תִּרְאָה ; Ju 6³⁸ יְהִיָּה , but previously יְהִי־נָא תִּרְאָה ; Is 47³ תִּרְאָה , previously תִּקָּל ; ψ 109⁷. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הָ , see § 75 hh.

אֵלֶּיךָ); e.g. Ex 34³ אִישׁ אֶל־יָרֵא neither let any man be seen! Pr 3⁷ בֵּלִי אֶל־יָאֵמֶן (אֶל־תִּהְיֶה) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15³¹ אֶל־יִאֱמָן ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9²⁶ אֶל־תִּשְׁחָת destroy not! 1 K 2²⁰, ψ 27⁹, 69¹⁸.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֵל with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֵל with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2⁶, Ez 48¹⁴), or (as in Gn 24⁸) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under *k*. Moreover, cf. יִזְכֶּה לֹא Jo 2³ and from the same verb Gn 4¹² (unless it is to be referred to *h*) and Dt 13¹. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22¹⁹ for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, *i*). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יִזְכֶּה, &c., should not be restored.—On לֹא־תַחֲלוּס עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7¹⁶, 13⁹, &c., Ez 5¹¹, &c., cf. § 72 *r*, according to which תַּחֲלוּס should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֹא 1 S 14³⁶ לֹא־יִנְשָׂא (co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 S 17¹²; cf. Is 41²³ *K^{eth}*. (וְנָרָא, i.e. נִגְרָא, after another cohortative); also (see above) לֹא אֶמְקֶה Dt 18¹⁶, Ho 9¹⁵, and even without לֹא Ez 5¹⁶.

e 2. אֶל־ with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 *p*) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2⁹ (where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאֶל־תִּשָּׂא לָהֶם and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34⁶, 41³, 50³, 121³ (אֶל־יִתֵּן); Pr 3²⁵, Jb 5²² אֶל־תִּירָא neither needest thou be afraid; 20¹⁷, 40³².

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending¹ (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24⁵¹ take her and go, and let her be (וְהָיָה prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30³, 31³⁷, 38²⁴, Ex 8¹, 9¹³, 10¹⁷, 14³, Jos 4¹⁶, Ju 6³⁰, 1 S 5¹¹, 7³, 1 K 21¹⁰, ψ 144⁵, Pr 20²², Jb 14⁶. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7² (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְהָעֵשׂ and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22²⁰, Is 19¹², Jb 38³⁴. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19²⁰ אֲפֹלֶטָה נָא שָׁמָּה oh, let me escape thither . . . וְהָיָה נַפְשִׁי that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, *g*), 1 K 13³³ whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . וְהָיָה that he might be a priest (read פָּהֵן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading וְהָיָה is to be preferred.

¹ This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e.g. Gn 20⁷, ψ 27¹⁴, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35²¹ a negative final clause with וְלֹא־ is dependent on an ג imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of וְלֹא־ and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42², 1 K 14², 18⁴⁴; after a jussive, Ex 30²⁰, Neh 6⁹; after a perfect consec., Ex 28^{35,43}, 30¹², Nu 18⁵; after לֹא־ with an imperfect, Lv 10⁹, Nu 18³, Dt 17¹⁷ *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ($\text{וְלֹא־יִסַּר לְבָבוֹ}$) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20¹⁴, 2 S 21¹⁷, Jer 11²¹; after וְלֹא־ with jussive, Lv 10⁹, 11⁴⁸, 16², 2 S 13²⁵, Jer 25⁶, 37²⁰, 38^{24 f.}; after the asseverative אִם with the imperf., Gn 14²³; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10⁴ *with nails . . . they fasten it* (וְלֹא־יָסִיק) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9⁷.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the protasis or in the apodosis, cf. ψ 45¹² יִהְיֶה *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104²⁰ $\text{וְיִהְיֶה . . . תְּשֶׁח}$ *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22⁴, Lv 15²¹, Is 41²⁸, Ez 14⁷ (וְלֹא־), Jb 34²⁹; in the apodosis, Ex 7⁹ *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9⁹ after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10¹⁶, 13⁵, 22²⁸. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4¹² (לֹא־תִסְעָר), but see above, d). In 2 K 6²⁷ אֶל־יִשְׁעֶךָ (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based \dot{z} on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e.g. Nu 22¹⁹ (מִה־יִּסְעָר), but cf. above, d); Jb 9³³ *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (יִשְׁעָר), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23¹⁹ וְיִכְבֹּד *that he should lie* is probably intended as a *jussive*; Ec 5¹⁴; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9¹¹ *who is the wise man*, וְיָבִין *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14¹⁰.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral \dot{k} sense, for the ordinary imperfect form, and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28^{21,36}, 32⁸, 1 K 8³¹, Is 12¹, Mi 3⁴, 5⁸, ψ 11⁴, 18¹², 21² מִה־יִּגְלֶל (מִה־יִּגְלֶל), Keth. וְיִגְלֶל , 25⁹, 47⁴, 90⁸, 91⁴, 107²⁹, Pr 15²⁵, Jb 13²⁷, 15³³, 18⁹, 20^{23 b}, 27²², 33¹¹, 36¹⁴, 38²⁴, Ec 12⁶ (verse 7 יִשָּׁב יִשָּׁב), but immediately afterwards וְיִשָּׁב), Dn 8¹²,—but also in shortened forms, such as יִהְיֶה Gn 49¹⁷ (Sam. וְיִהְיֶה), Dt 28⁸, 1 S 10⁶, 2 S 5²⁴, Ho 6¹, 11⁴, Am 5¹⁴, Mi 1², Zp 2¹³, Ze 9⁵, ψ 72^{10 f.} (after other jussives), 104³¹, Jb 18¹², 20^{23,26,28}, 27⁸, 33²¹, 34³⁷, Ru 3⁴. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42⁶, 50², ψ 68¹⁵, Pr 25²⁵, Jb 24¹⁴, 29³, 40¹⁹), or actually in pause (Dt 32¹⁸, Jb 23^{9,11}, La 3⁶⁰), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms.

§ 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in *REJ.* 1897, p. 106 ff.

- a* 1. The imperative,¹ which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18⁴⁴, Is 56¹, 65¹⁸) with other imperatives:
- (*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12¹ *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10¹²) and requests, 2 K 5²², Is 5³; on the addition of נָּ see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2²² *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22¹⁵, Ju 10¹⁴, Is 47¹² (with נָּ), Jer 7²¹, Ez 20³⁹, Am 4⁴, Jb 38³⁴, 40^{10ff.}, La 4²¹. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3¹⁵ (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8^{9f.}, 29⁹.
- b* (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18²³ after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21¹², 45¹¹.
- c* (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)² or promise, e.g. Is 65¹⁸ *but be ye glad*, &c. (i.e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37³⁰, ψ 110²; in a threat, Jer 2¹⁹. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54¹⁴ *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1²⁸, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹³, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the imperative *Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42¹⁶ וְנִפְחָסוּ לָכֶם וְנִבְחָסוּ וְיִבְחָסוּ לָכֶם *and ye shall be bound*; Dt 32⁵⁰, Is 49⁹ (Is 45²², see below, *f*).
- d* Rem. 1. The particle נָּ *age*! (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12¹³, 24², sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16²⁶, 20¹⁰) or in ridicule (Is 47¹²).
- e* 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle וְ Gn 23¹³ (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read וְ for וְ and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anaecoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after וְ, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.
- f* 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

¹ On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

² Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Cure. vi. 4, 12.

express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e.g. Gn 42¹⁸ וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְחַיִּיתָ *this do, and live*, i.e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17¹, 1 K 22¹², 2 K 5¹³, Is 36¹⁶, 45²² (וְהַיִּשְׁעֵי), Jer 6¹⁶, Am 5^{4,6}, ψ 37²⁷, Pr 3³¹, 4¹, 7², 13²⁰ *Keth.*, Jb 2⁹, 2 Ch 20²⁰; in Jer 25⁵, Jb 22²¹ אַף is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e.g. Is 8⁹ וְהָיוּ רַעֲיֵי עַמִּים חֻצֵּי (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative ^g Is 8¹⁰, 55².

2. In Pr 20¹³ the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e.g. Dt 24²⁴ רָשָׁה וְהָחֵל (where רָשָׁה is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19⁶ וְלֵיָּן וְלֵיָּן הָוֵאֵל־נָא וְלֵיָּן *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as לָכֵן (לָכֵן), קִים (קִימוֹ), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!* ^h

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20⁷ *and he shall pray for thee*, וְחַיִּיתָ *and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14¹⁶, 2 K 5¹⁰, Jb 11⁶, ψ 128⁵ *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest*, &c.; Ru 1⁹, 4¹¹; after a cohortative, Gn 12², 45¹⁸, Ex 3¹⁰ וְהָיָה *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18²², 1 S 12¹⁷, 1 K 1¹²; Jer 35¹⁵ (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21³ *wherewith shall I make atonement*, וְיִבְרַכְּךָ *that ye may bless*, &c.—In Nu 5¹⁹ the imperative without ! (in 32²³ with !) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4²⁰ לְעֹמֶר (עֹמֶר), according to Qimhi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֹמֶר should be read; but probably we should simply read עֹמְרִי with Moore), Mi 1¹³ and Ze 13⁷ (after עֹמְרִי); and in Is 22¹ the 2nd sing. masc. (עֹמֶר).

the four forms of the 2nd fem. plur. imperative in Is 32¹¹, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3¹⁵ the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

§ 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a** 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately¹ before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3¹ *now the serpent was* (וַיִּהְיֶה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4¹, 6^{9ff.}, 10^{9ff.}, 15¹⁹, 11^{12ff.} 27^{ff.}, 14^{5ff.}, 15^{1ff.}, 16^{1ff.}, 21^{1ff.}, 24^{1ff.}, 25^{19ff.}, 36^{2ff.}, 37².
- b** Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect² (viz. וַיָּבֹא *it came to pass*), e.g. Is 6¹ *in the year that king Uziah died, I saw* (וַיֵּרָא), &c.; Gn 22⁴, 27⁵⁴, Ju 11¹⁶, 1 S 4¹⁹, 17⁵⁷, 21⁶, Ho 11¹: on the use of וַיָּבֹא to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17⁵⁵ (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12⁷, 15⁸, &c., Dn 10¹¹, 15¹⁹; the *Perfect* after וַיָּבֹא and the subject, 2 Ch 7¹.
- c** 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1⁶ *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וַיִּקְרָא לַחֹשֶׁךְ) *Night*; verse 10, 2²⁰, 11³ and frequently.
- d** 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28^{8ff.} וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו *when Esau saw that . . . , he went*, &c.; so also, frequently וַיֵּשְׁבֶנּוּ, &c., Gn 37²¹, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 2¹⁰ (וַתֹּאמֶר) *for she said*; cf. 1 S 7¹². Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2²⁵ (וַיִּהְיוּ) *they were*; but Jos 4⁹, 1 K 8⁸ *they are*; Gn 36¹⁴ (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 36³² (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 1 K 1⁴⁴.

¹ On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

² Cf. Is 45⁴, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36⁷, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely *external* connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32³¹ and (yet) *my life is preserved*; 2 S 3⁸ and yet thou *chargest me*; Jb 10⁸, 32³; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30²⁵ ff.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) and it came to pass, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4^{3,6}, 8⁶, 11², Ex 12²⁰, 13¹⁷, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7¹⁰, 15¹², 22¹, 27³⁰, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8¹³, 14¹⁷, 40¹, Ex 12⁴¹, 16²², Nu 10¹¹, Dt 1³, 1 S 18³⁰, 2 K 8²¹, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41¹.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי is especially common, ^g when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, b; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22¹ and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham), the similar cases in Gn 19³⁴, 21²², 1 S 11¹, Ru 1⁴. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by וַיְהִי or וַיְהִי with an infinitive (Gn 12¹⁴, 19^{17,20} 39¹³, 15^{18,6}, Ju 16²⁵) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106 f), e.g. Gn 15¹⁷, 24¹⁵, 27³⁰, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי when, Gn 26⁸, 27¹, Ju 16¹⁶, כִּי אֵשֶׁר when, Gn 12¹¹, 20¹³, מֵאָז from the time that, Gn 39⁵; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 u), e.g. 2 K 13²¹ וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אֵשֶׁר and it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . .; Gn 42³⁵, 2 K 2¹¹ (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וַיְהִי); 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 S 13³⁰, 2 K 6^{5,25}, 19³⁷ (= Is 37³³).—In 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²², 15² a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, h), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in ^g are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיְהִי, introduces the apodosis either—(a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 x), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15²³ because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמְאָסֶךָ he hath rejected thee (cf. Nu 14¹⁶, Is 48⁴, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9²¹; for (b) Gn 22²⁴ וַיִּפְלֵשֶׁן and (as to) his concubine . . ., וַיִּהְיֶה she bare, &c.; Ex 38²⁴, Nu 14^{36,6}, 1 S 14¹⁰, 17²⁴, 2 S 4¹⁰, 19⁴¹ K⁹th., 21¹⁶, 1 K 9^{20,6}, 12¹⁷, 2 K 25²², Jer 6¹⁰, 28³, 33²⁴, 44²⁵.—In 1 K 15¹³, 2 K 16¹⁴ the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by וְהָיָה.

¹ Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיְהִי in its many and various connexions are given by König in ZAW. 1899, p. 260 ff.

² Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (Omri) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲבֹד he oppressed Moab, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gn 30^{27,6} (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me, &c.—In Gn 27³⁴ read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׁמֵךָ.

i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gn 2¹, 23²⁰ וְהָיָה הַשָּׂדֶה וְהָיָה לְאֵימָן so (in this way) *the field became* (legally) *the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17⁵⁰, 31⁶.

l (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gn 39², Jb 2³ and *he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא so *that thou thus* (as it now appears) *groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65⁹ so *that they are afraid* . . .; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20¹⁷ וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא so *that my mother should have been* . . . Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38⁹ וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא so *that he dies* (must die).

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e.g. Is 51¹² *who art thou* (i.e. *art thou so helpless*), וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא that *thou art* (must needs be) *afraid?* ψ 144³ (cf. ψ 8⁵, where in a very similar context כִּי that is used with the imperfect); Gn 12¹⁹ (וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא); 31²⁷ וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא so *that I might have sent thee away*.

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

n (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 a, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (i) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the *imperfect consecutive* as an historic tense. The *imperfect consecutive* also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e.g. Gn 27¹, Nu 11²⁰, Dt 4³⁷, 1 S 8⁸, 1 K 2⁵, 11³⁸, 18¹², &c.; also in Is 49⁷ וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא. In Jb 31^{26,34} the *imperfect consecutive* is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An *imperfect consecutive* occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106 f), e.g. in Gn 26¹⁸, 28^{8 f}, 31^{19,34} (now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וְהָיָה כִּי תִּבְרָא and had

put them, &c.); Nu 14³⁶, 1 S 28³, 2 S 2²⁸, Is 39¹. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 r, § 116 a, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 g, e.g. ψ 16³ *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) *and my glory rejoiceth* (וַיִּגִּל); Is 3¹⁶ (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as ψ 29¹⁰ אָשַׁב (prop. he sat down, *and has been enthroned ever since*), ψ 41¹³.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *s* frequently confirmed (see § 106 k), e.g. Jb 14² *he cometh up* (אָמַל) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּמָּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבָּרַח) *also as a shadow, and continueth not*; Jb 20¹⁵, 24^{2,11}, Is 40²⁴, Pr 11².

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e.g. Jb 14¹⁰ *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) *and becometh powerless* (וַיִּחַלְשׁ), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4⁵, Ho 8¹³, Hb 1^{9,11}, ψ 55¹⁸, 90³, Jb 5¹⁸, 7¹⁸, 11³ (*when thou mockest*), 12²⁵, 34²⁴, 37⁸ (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39¹⁵. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence, ψ 59¹⁶, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2²⁰, ψ 42⁶ (וְהָיָה לָּךְ) *for which in verse 12 and in 43⁵ we have וַיִּמַּח דָּחַיָּךְ and why art thou disquieted?*).

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e.g. Nu 22¹¹, 1 S 2⁶, 2 S 19² *behold the king weepeth* (בָּכָה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom*; Am 5⁸, 9^{5,11}, Na 1⁴, ψ 34⁸, Pr 20²⁶, Jb 12^{22,27}, but cf. e.g. Jb 12⁴ קָרָא לַיהוָה *who called upon God*, וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ *and he answered him*.

(e) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51¹², ψ 144³ (see above, *m*); Jb 10²². So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 r), Is 30¹², Jer 10¹³, ψ 92⁸, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(a) an *u* imperfect which refers to the future, ψ 49¹⁵, 94^{22,11};—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 n, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5¹⁵ (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from *v*); 5¹⁶ (cf. 2^{11,17}, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5²⁵, 9^{5,10,11},

13^{15, 17 ff.}, 22^{7 ff.}, Jo 2²³, Mi 2¹³, Ez 33^{4, 6}, ψ 7¹³, 64^{8 ff.};—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4¹⁶.¹

a Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e.g. Jb 9¹⁶ וְיִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אִם־יִקְרָא אֲנִי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . . ; ψ 139¹¹ וְאִמַּר if I should say (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48^{18 f.} an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by וְיִהְיֶה *utinam* (וְיִהְיֶה and it, or so that it were, equivalent to then should it be). Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20¹⁷) and *m* (Gn 31²⁷), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring *contingently*.

§ 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. (1903), pp. 60-69.

a 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 *a*; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 *b*) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111 *a*, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.), reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.² The strict regularity of this

¹ Also in Jer 51²⁰ the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וְיִתְּלֶהּ Ho 8¹⁰ would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיִתְּלֶהּ, and Ewald reads וְיִתְּלֶהּ.—In Ez 28¹⁶ (cf. Jer 15^{6 f.}) וְאֶחָדָם appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

² It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49 *a*, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw consecutivum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49 *b*, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the *perfect* and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e. g. Ez 14¹³, Am 5¹⁹, Ru 3³, four perfects in each case, Is 8⁷ five, Ex 6⁰¹ eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e. g. Gn 12¹² *when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say* (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וַיִּהְיוּ אֵתִי) *but thee they will save alive* (וַיִּחְיֶיךָ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see e), (b) in loose connexion (see x) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see ff).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i. e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2⁶ וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת־ there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׂקָה and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2¹⁰ וַיְהִי and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29^{2f.} (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33⁷⁻¹¹ וַיֵּךְ he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34^{34f.}, Nu 9^{19,21} (among several simple imperfects), 10¹⁷, Ju 2¹⁹, 1 S 2¹⁹ וַיַּעֲשֶׂה.

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) in *past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

she used to make . . . וְהֵעֲלָתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year; 27⁹ (וְהֵעֲלָתָהּ), 1 K 14²⁸, 2 K 3³⁵, 12¹⁵ (in verses 16¹ imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6⁴ (וְיִלְדוּ) as a continuation of יבאו, Jb 31²⁰.¹

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39³ (Samaritan וקצצו), 1 S 5⁷ (1 see § 112 rr), 7¹⁰, 2 S 15^{2,5}, 16¹³ and he threw stones at him, וַיִּפֹּר and cast dust continually; 12^{16,31}, 2 K 6¹⁰, 12^{11 ff.} 15, Jer 37¹⁵, Jb 1⁵.

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one single action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex 18²⁰, 40^{31 f.}, 1 S 1⁴, 2 S 15^{1 f.}, 1 K 14²⁷ (cf. verse 28); 1 K 18⁴, 2 K 12¹⁰. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *ad.*

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37³ (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)²; Gn 31⁷, Nu 11⁸, 1 S 16¹⁴, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 22⁹; ³ in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26⁹ *who has ever*, &c.; ψ 80¹³, Jb 1¹⁴, Ru 4⁷.

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1¹¹ עַל-יְרֵכּוֹ because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6¹³, 2 S 13¹⁹, Jer 23¹⁴.

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6³ (וְיָקָרָה), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲלֵי יְרֵכּוֹ, verse 2); 1 S 2²², 2 S 17¹⁷.⁴

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47²² the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וַיֹּאכְלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c.; 1 K 4⁷.

m (b) To express present actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2²⁴ therefore a man leaves (יֵעָזֵב is accustomed to leave) . . . וַיִּבָּק and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is 5¹¹ (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation

¹ Also in Ez 44¹² (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וַיִּהְיֶה and וַיִּשְׁתַּרְתוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen: *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh* . . .

² Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2¹⁹.

³ Am 4⁷ would also come under this head, if וְהִמָּטְרָתִי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; כִּי־עָתִידִי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

⁴ That וְהֵלְכָתָהּ, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וַיִּלְכְּבוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וַיִּבְלְלוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיִּיָּאֵל and וַיִּלְכְּבוּ of actions which happened only once.

of וַיִּלְכֹּם); Is 28²⁸, Jer 12³, Ho 4³, 7⁷, ψ 90⁶, Jb 14⁹; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20¹⁸, Is 29^{8,11f}, Am 5¹⁸.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21¹² מִכָּה אִישׁ וְנָמַת (instead of מִכָּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְנָמַת אִישׁ) if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21¹⁶, Is 29¹⁵, Am 6¹, Hb 2¹².

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7^{9f}. *will ye steal, murder, and o* commit adultery (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee) וְבָאתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express *future* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical con- *p* sequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(α) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9^{3f}. כִּשְׁשׁ אֶחָדָם וְיִלְכֹּם אֶחָדָם I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4¹⁴, 40¹³, Ex 7³, 1 S 17³², 2 K 5¹¹, Jb 8^{6f}. (also with a change of subject, Gn 27¹², Ju 6¹⁶, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39⁹, Ex 27², 2 S 12¹⁸, 2 K 14¹⁰, Am 8⁸, ψ 41⁶; cf. also Ru 1¹¹; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15⁴; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם Gn 32⁹, Ex 19⁵, 1 S 1¹¹, or כִּי Gn 37²⁶, or הֵן Jer 3¹; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, Nu 15⁴⁰, Is 28¹³; after אֲשֶׁר Dt 2²⁵, or כִּי Gn 3²², 19¹⁹, 32¹², Is 6¹⁰, Am 5⁶; in temporal clauses, Is 32¹⁵, Jer 13¹⁶; and in relative clauses, Gn 24¹⁴, Ju 1¹², 1 S 17²⁶.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or *q* optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 1^{14f}. וְהָיָה . . . מְאֹרֹת יְהִי let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24⁴, 28³, 31⁴⁴, 1 K 1², 22¹³, Ru 2⁷, 1 Ch 22¹¹; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109¹⁰.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, *γ* e.g. 2 S 7⁵ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לֵךְ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דָּבַר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6¹⁴, 8¹⁷, 27^{43f}, 1 S 15^{3,18}, 1 K 2³⁶, Jer 48²⁶.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *s* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17²⁰ אֲנִי וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2¹¹, 5¹⁴; on Am 4⁷ see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9⁹, 11¹³.

(ε) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7⁴ for yet seven days, אֲנִי וְיִלְכֹּם אֶחָדָם and I will cause it to rain . . . וְיִלְכֹּם אֶחָדָם and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21⁹; also with a different subject, Gn 24^{43f}. the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיְצֵאתָ) . . . , וְאָמְרָתִי אֵלֶיָּהּ *to whom I shall say* . . . , וְאָמְרָהּ *and she (then) shall say*, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִיזָה, e.g. Gn 6^{17f.}; with a different subject 1 K 20³⁶, Am 6¹⁴; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִיזָה (cf. § 140), Ex 3¹³ *behold, I come* (i.e. if I shall come) . . . לָהֶם וְאָמְרָתִי *and shall say unto them* . . . , וְאָמְרָהּ *and they (then) shall say*, &c.; 1 S 14⁸ⁿ, Is 7¹⁴, 8^{7f.}, 39⁶.

u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 *t*), e.g. Is 31⁵, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 *dd* and *ee*), e.g. Lv 2⁶, Dt 1¹⁶, Is 5⁵, Ez 23^{46f.}

v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 *r*), e.g. 1 S 10⁸ לְךָ הִוָּדַעְתִּי אֵלַי וְעַד-בֹּאִי *until I come unto thee* (prop. until my coming) *and show thee*, &c.; Gn 18²⁵, 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹⁸, Ez 39²⁷; cf. 1 K 23^{7,42}.

w Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14²⁴, where the idea of time precedes, *until it be evening and until I be avenged*, &c., and Is 5⁵, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, *d-v*) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce *future* events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41³⁰ וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הִיזָה with a following substantive (1 S 9⁶), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under *t*), e.g. 1 S 23¹ *behold, the days come*, וְנִקְרַעְתִּי *that I will cut off*, &c.; Is 39⁶, Am 4², 8¹¹, 9¹³, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, Jer 51⁵³, Ho 1⁴. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6⁷ *lo, this hath touched thy lips*, וְכִּי *therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away*, &c. (not copulative and *it is taken away*, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20¹¹, 26²², Ju 13³ (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8¹⁴. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6⁶ⁿ. Also in Amos 5²⁰ וְשָׁאָהֻם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, *rr*.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה¹ and it shall come to pass (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וְהָיָה, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9¹⁴, 12¹² (וְהָיָה = *if*, as in 46³⁸, Ex 1¹⁰, 22²⁶ and frequently), 1 K 18¹², Is 14^{3 f.}, Am 5⁹; or in the imperfect, Gn 4¹⁴, Is 2², 3²⁴, 4³, 7^{18.21 f.} (cf. 29⁸); or in the jussive, Lv 14⁹. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5²⁷, Jer 42¹⁶ וְהָיָה (before הַחֹרֶב), and in Jer 42¹⁷ וְהָיָה (before בְּלִי-הָאֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וְהָיָה occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה *z* in 1 S 10⁶, 2 S 5²⁴ (1 Ch 14¹⁵), 1 K 14⁵, Ru 3⁴, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3⁴ (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14⁵ the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וְהָיָה. In the other passages וְהָיָה (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10⁶, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(b) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10¹⁹ *love ye therefore the aa* stranger; 1 S 6⁵, 24¹⁶, 1 K 2⁶ (in Gn 40¹⁴ the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of וְ). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45^{12 f.}, 1 K 2^{2 f.}, Ru 3^{3 f.}, 3⁹.—In Gn 17¹¹ the perfect consecutive (וְנִמְלֶחֶם and ye shall be circumcised, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be *bb* made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46³⁸, 47²⁴, Ju 4²⁰. Cf. also Gn 24¹⁴, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

(c) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 20¹⁵ *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וְעַבְדִּי and *shouldst thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5⁵ (וְהַיְשָׁבֹתָם will ye then make them rest?); Nu 16¹⁰, 1 S 25¹¹, and (if it is *Mil'ra'*) ψ 50²¹ (וְהַחֲרַשְׁתִּי).

(d) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1³ (וְעָלָה of annual festival journeys); 13²¹ (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27⁹ (וְהָיָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְהָיָה); 1 K 5⁷ (וְכִלְכְּלוּ).

¹ On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see König's statistics in *ZAW.* xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9²⁵, Jer 25⁴, Ho 12¹¹, Dn 8⁴.—In Jb 1⁴¹ a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6¹⁷ a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

cc Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on *y* and *bb*) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30⁴¹, (but in verse 42^a, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יִשָּׂא *he used not to put them in*, according to § 107 *e*); Gn 38⁹, Ex 17¹¹, 33⁷ *π.* (see above, *e*), Nu 21⁹, Ju 6⁸, 19³⁰, 1 S 16²³ (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15⁸; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 21⁹, 2 S 14²⁶.—In Ju 12⁵⁶, וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13²² by לֹא יִשָּׂא with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

ff 5. Finally the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences¹ (§ 159 *g, o, s*):

(a) After אִם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7^{4b} וּמָתְנִי וְיָמִיתֵנִי *if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die*; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (יָמִיתֵנִי) which immediately precedes; Gn 18²⁶, 24^{s.41}, 32⁹, Nu 30¹⁵, Ju 4²⁰, 1 S 11¹, 20⁶, 1 K 3¹⁴, Na 3¹², Ec 4¹¹.

gg (β) After אִם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5²⁷, 2 K 5²⁰, 7^{4a}, Is 4¹⁶; as precativ apodosis after אִם־נָּךְ with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33¹⁰; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אִם with a perfect, Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6⁸, Jb 7⁴; after אִם with imperfect, Gn 31⁸.

hh (γ) After כִּי (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12¹², Ex 18¹⁶, Ju 13¹⁷, Is 58⁷, Ez 14¹³.² Frequentative with reference to the past, after כִּי with frequentative perfect, Ju 2¹⁸, Jb 7¹³.

¹ In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of וְהָיָה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under *y, bb, ee*.

² In 1 S 24¹⁹ a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, *for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away?* Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְיָכִי should be read for וְיָכִי.

(δ) After אִשָּׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44⁹ וְיָמָת . . . אִתּוֹ *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex 21¹³ *and if a man lie not in wait, &c.*; Ju 1¹².

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gn 44²⁹ וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם . . . יְהוֹרַדְתָּה *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; cf. Gn 33¹³, 42³⁸, 44^{4,22}, 47³⁰, Nu 30¹², Ru 2⁹, and probably also Ez 39²⁸.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 S 17^{24f.} . . . וּבָא הַלֵּוֹנִי *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex 33¹⁰, Nu 10^{17f.}, 1 K 18¹⁰, Jer 20⁹ (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֹא with an imperfect¹).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14¹⁴ on account of הִכְפֹּה; 33⁴ on account of דָּמוֹ. In 1 S 14⁶² the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, *and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him*, where וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15². Conversely, in 1 S 2¹⁶ (וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ) perhaps a mere mistake for וַיִּקְרָא, 17^{35b} an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17¹⁴ וְגַ' וְנִכְרְתָה זָכָר . . . וְעָרַל זָכָר *and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.*; cf. Gn 30³², Ex 12¹⁵, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 6¹³, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7¹⁴; in a wider sense also Ex 4²¹, 9¹⁹, 12⁴⁴, Is 9⁴, 56⁵.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e.g. after לָעַן אִשָּׁר with the perfect, Is 3^{16f.}; after לָעַן אִשָּׁר with perfect, 1 K 20²⁸; after לָעַקֵּב with perfect, Nu 14²⁴; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e.g. ψ 25¹¹ וְסִלַּחְתָּ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמִי *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37²⁹ after לָעַן with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e.g. 1 S 2¹⁵ וּבָא . . . יִקְרָא אֶת־הַחֵלֶב *before they burnt the fat, the priests' servant came* (used to come), &c., hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1¹⁹; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e.g. 1 S 2^{18f.} וּבָא . . . כְּלֵאִישׁ וְיָבֵחַ זֶבֶח *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,*

¹ In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gn 44²⁹ (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19³⁰, 2 S 20¹²), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3⁵, Ex 32³⁴ (after *כִּי* with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44³¹, Ju 16², Jos 6¹⁰, 1 S 12²³, 16²³ (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15⁵, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20¹⁸, 2 S 14²⁶, 15¹⁰, Is 18⁵; moreover, Ex 17⁴, Is 10²⁵, 29¹⁷, 37²⁶; even after single disconnected words, e.g. Ex 16⁶ *וְיָדַעְתֶּם* *at even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7¹⁶, 1 K 13³¹, Pr 24²⁷.

pp 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.¹ In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28⁶, and probably Nu 21¹⁵, Dt 33².)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with *י* as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in *Qoheth*, and sporadically in other very late books,² perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12³² *וַיִּשְׁמַע*; 2 K 11¹ *וַיִּשְׁמַע*; 14¹⁴ *וַיִּשְׁמַע* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25²⁴, the word is wanting); 2 K 23⁴ *וַיִּשְׁמַע*, &c.; verse 10 *וַיִּשְׁמַע*, &c.; verse 12 *וַיִּשְׁמַע*, &c.; verse 15 *וַיִּשְׁמַע*, &c.³ Cf. also Ez 37^{2,7,10}.

qq (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40⁶ (read with the LXX and Vulgate

¹ Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infm. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

² In the whole of *Qoheth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1¹⁷ and 4^{1,7}. Several of the perfects with *י* can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e.g. 1¹³, 2^{5,9,11,13,15}, 5¹⁸, compared with 6²; but this is impossible in such passages as 9^{14 ff.} In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with *י*, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

³ Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12¹², a number of critically questionable perfects with *י*. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23⁴ from *וַיִּשְׁמַע* to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with *י* never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23⁵ *וַיִּשְׁבִּית*, verse 8 *וַיִּחַץ*,

ואמר; Jer 38²⁸, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40⁸ (והיה), &c., wanting in the LXX; also in Ju 7¹³ וַיִּפְּל הָאֱהָל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3¹³ read, with Klostermann, the 2nd sing. masc. instead of והגדתי; in 1 K 21¹² וְהָעִירִי is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (α) the following, at any rate, may also be ⁷⁷ explained as frequentatives, Gn 21²⁵, 49²³, Ex 36³⁸, 38²⁸, 39³, 1 S 5⁷, 17²⁰, 24¹¹ (but even so וַאֲמַר would be expected); 2 K 23¹², Is 28²⁰ (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5²⁶ (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, x); ψ 26³, Ez 8³⁶.

(β) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented SS by the perfect with ו (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with ו), in Gn 15⁶, 34⁵, Nu 21²⁰, Jos 9¹², 22^{3b}, Is 22¹⁴, Jer 3⁹. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15⁸⁻¹¹, 16²⁻⁸ (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17⁸, 18²⁰), 18¹²⁻²¹, 19^{11-14, 22, 26-28, 34}, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (SBOT., Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15^{1b}. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in αα. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36²⁰ is most simply explained as repeated from 26²⁵.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36^{29 f}, Ju 3²³, 1 R 18¹⁸ (read וַיַּעֲלֵי), 1 S 4¹⁹, 17³⁸, 2 S 16⁵, 19^{18 f}. (read וַיַּעֲלֵי and וַיַּעֲבֵר), 1 K 3¹¹ (where וַשָּׁאֵלֶת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13³, 20²¹; 2 K 14⁷ (where, with Stade, וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ should be read); 14¹⁴, 18⁴ (where, at any rate, וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ might be taken as a frequentative, but not וַכֵּרֶת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with וַהֲוָה הַקִּסִּי; 18^{8b}, 21¹⁵, 24¹⁴, Jer 37¹⁵ (where וַהֲבִי, but not וַנְּחַנֵּי, might be frequentative); Ez 9⁷ (omit וַיִּצְאָה with Stade, and read וַהֲבִי); 20²² וַהֲשִׁבְתִּי *Mir'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7⁴ (וַאֲכַלָּה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16¹².

Finally, in 1 S 11², 10⁹, 17⁴⁸, 25²⁰, 2 S 6¹⁶, 2 K 3¹⁵, Jer 37¹¹, Am 7² וַיְהִי is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וַיְהִי, but in Gn 38⁵ וַהֲוָה with the LXX.

B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

§ 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infin. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG.* 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *α* the idea of the verb in the abstract, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

¹ Or does וַנַּעֲלֵ, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13¹⁸ also וַנַּעֲלֵ follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,¹ see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

b Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25²⁷ אָכַל דְּבִשׁ הָרְפוּהוּ לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10⁵, Jb 6²⁵, Ec 4¹⁷; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58¹¹, Ze 14¹².

(b) As predicate, Is 32¹⁷ and the effect of righteousness (is) הַשְׁקֵט וְיָטַח *quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) and confidence.

(c) As object, Is 1¹⁷ לִמְדוּ הַיָּמִיב *learn to do well*; Is 7¹⁵, Pr 15¹², Jb 9¹⁸; according to the sense also Jer 5²³ 23¹⁴, as well as Is 5⁵ הָיָה וְהָיָה *virtually* depend on the idea of the wish contained in הָיָה; Is 22¹³, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הָיָה, and 59¹³ (six infinitives governed by יִרְעֻנוּם in verse 12); Dt 28⁵⁶ is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,² also Is 42²⁴, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9⁴, Jb 13³ the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negatived by לֹא in Is 57²⁰, Jer 49²³), so also in La 3⁴⁵ where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

(d) As genitive, Is 14²³ בְּמַטְאֵמָה הַשְׁמֵד *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4⁴ בָּעֵר בְּרִיחַ; cf. further, Pr 1³, 21¹⁶. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions³ (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by וְ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. 1 S 22¹² . . . לָהֶם בְּתַתֶּךָ לוֹ בָּתָּחָךְ *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36³; 1 S 25^{28, 33} (after כֵּן); after לְ Ex 32⁶, Jer 7¹⁸, 44¹⁷.

(e) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is 22¹³ הָרֹג בְּקֶרֶךְ וְשָׁחַט צִנָּן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20⁸, 23³⁰, Dt 5¹², Is 37¹⁹, Ez 23³⁰, and of the examples in a-d, Dt 28⁵⁶, Is 5⁵, 58⁶¹, Pr 25²⁷, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is 7¹⁵ מֵאֵם בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15¹² (הוֹכִיחַ לוֹ).

(f) If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on a), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e.g. Jer 9²³ וְיָדַע אֶתִּי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36³.

¹ The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a nominal suffix.

² Perhaps הָיָה according to § 53 k should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הָיָה.

³ ואחרי שָׁחַט 1 S 1⁹ is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *h* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*¹ in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer 22¹⁹ *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, קָחֹב וְהִשְׁלָךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i.e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21¹⁶ הִרְחִיק *a removing*, i.e. distant; cf. Ex 33⁷, Jos 3¹⁶); Gn 30³², Ex 30³⁶, Nu 6^{5,23}, 15³⁵ (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3¹⁷, 1 S 3¹² (הָחֵל וְכָלָה *a beginning and ending*, i.e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8², Is 7¹¹ הַעֲמִקְםָּ and הַגְבֵּהָ, prop. *a making deep . . .*, and *a making high*, i.e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57¹⁷ הִתְחַבֵּר *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer 3¹⁵ דָּעָה וְהִשְׁבִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hb 3¹³ עֲרוֹת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7³, ψ 35¹⁶ (דָּרַק, to define more precisely קָרַע verse 15); Jb 15³.²

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *i* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. Is 20² *and he did so* הָלַךְ עָרוֹם וְיָהָה *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30¹⁴ *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading בָּתוֹת; the Masora requires בְּתוֹת) *without sparing*.

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הִרְבֶּה (cf. § 75 *f*) *multum faciendo*, i.e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטִיב *bene faciendo*, i.e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e.g. Dt 13¹⁵); in Dt 9²¹, 27⁸ it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4⁹ it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הִשָּׁעַם *mane faciendo*, i.e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17¹⁶ joined with the infinitive absolute הָעֶרֶב *evening* (morning and evening, i.e. *early and late*), elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27¹⁴) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e.g. Jer 11⁷ for *I earnestly protested* (הִעָרַתִּי) *unto your fathers . . .* הִשָּׁעַם וְהָעֵר *rising early and protesting*, i.e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25³, 26⁵ (where י should be omitted before ה); Jer 29¹⁹, 32³³, 2 Ch 16¹⁵.

¹ That this *casus adverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

² Also in 2 K 21²³ for מָחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מָחָה וְהָפַךְ; similarly, with Stade, וְקָשָׁה in Ju 4²⁴, and on Is 31⁵ cf. *t*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to define more accurately or to strengthen the idea of the verb.¹

- mn These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schemata etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i.e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e.g. Ex 22²² אֵלַי יִצְעַק אֶלֶּיךָ it actually happens that he cries to me, with Gn 27³⁴ (as it were, he cried, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

- n (a) The infinitive absolute used before the verb to strengthen the verbal idea, i.e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gn 2¹⁷ מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18^{10,18}, 22¹⁷, 28²², 1 S 9⁶ (cometh surely to pass); 24²¹, Am 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Hb 2³, Zc 11¹⁷; with the infinitive strengthened by אָף Gn 44²⁸ (but 27³⁰ and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43³ בָּנֵי הָעָר הָעָר he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20⁶ נִשְׁאַל נִשְׁאַל David earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17¹³, Ju 1²³ הוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9⁸ I will destroy it from off the face of the earth לֹא הִשְׁמִיד אֶשְׁמִיד saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30¹¹ and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20¹⁸, 1 K 3²⁶, Jo 1⁷, Jb 13⁵.

- o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20⁶. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43³, 1 S 20⁶; also Gn 3¹⁶, 26²⁸, 32¹⁷, 1 S 14²⁸, 20³. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15¹³, 43^{7,20}, Ju 9⁸, 1 S 10¹⁶, 23¹⁰, 2 S 1⁶, 20¹⁸.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. . . im Hebr.*, Lpz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finitler und infinitiver Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15²⁶ *if thou wilt diligently hearken*, &c., Ex 19⁵, 21⁵, 22^{3, 11 f.}, 16, 22 (see above, m); 23²², Nu 21², Ju 16¹¹, 1 S 11¹, 12²⁵; after לִי 1 S 14³⁰.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24²⁴ *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנִי אֶתְּךָ) *it of thee*, &c. (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15¹³ *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31³⁰ (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. esto), *because thou sore longedst*, &c.; ψ 118^{13, 18}, 126⁶ (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, r—comes after the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 216^{f.} אָכַלְתָּ חֵלֶב אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְוָה לֵאמֹר *thou mayest freely eat, but*, &c. (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2³⁰ *I said indeed . . .*, 14⁴³.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and *q* especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37⁸ הֲמִלְכָה עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37¹⁰, 43⁷, Ju 11²⁵, 1 S 2²⁷, 2 S 19⁴³, Jer 3¹, 13¹², Ez 28⁹, Am 3⁵, Zc 7⁵; but cf. also Gn 24⁵ *must I needs bring again?*

(b) The infinitive absolute after the verb, sometimes (as in *n*) to *r* intensify¹ the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11¹⁵, Jb 13¹⁷, 21², 37² שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22¹⁰; after participles, e.g. Is 22¹⁷, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23¹¹, 24¹⁰ *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24¹⁰, 2 K 5¹¹, Dn 11¹⁰, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of הֵן Gn 31¹⁵, 46⁴, Nu 16¹³); sometimes to express the long continuance of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6⁹ שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6²⁹; after a participle, Jer 23¹⁷; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19⁹, Nu 11³².

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6¹² הֵלְכוּ הֵלְכוּ וַיִּנְעוּ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6^{13b} *Qerê*); Gn 8⁷ *it went forth to and fro*²; Is 19²² *smiting and* (i.e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2²⁶ (see above, m).

Rem. r. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6^{13a} and 2 S 13¹⁰ [but Stade's וַיִּעַק is

¹ In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands after the verb, but in Syriac before the verb.

² Also in Ez 1¹⁴ for the distorted form רָצוּא reads simply יָצוּא יָצוּא.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31⁵ referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהָיִיל and וְהָסִילִים, or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19²³, 2 S 16¹³) or participle (2 S 16⁶); cf. also *u.*

- u 2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ *to go*, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos 6^{3,13}, 1 S 6¹², 2 S 3¹⁶, 13¹⁹; cf. also, Is 3¹⁶, where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and ψ 126⁶, where הָלוֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8³ וַיָּשׁוּבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הָלוֹךְ וְשׁוֹב and *the waters returned . . . continually*; Gn 8⁵, 12², Ju 14⁹, 2 K 2¹¹; with a participle following, Jer 41⁶ (unless we read *u* בָּבֶלְיָהּ, as in 2 S 3¹⁶); with an adjective following, Gen 26¹³, Ju 4²⁴, 1 S 14¹⁹, 2 S 5¹⁰ (1 Ch 11⁹), 2 S 18²³.¹

On the other hand, in 1 S 17⁴¹ the participle הָלֶכֶת is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הָלוֹךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19¹⁹, 1 S 2²⁶, 2 S 3¹, 15¹², Est 9⁴, 2 Ch 17¹²) or participle (1 S 17¹⁵, Jon 1¹¹, Pr 4¹⁸, Ec 1⁶).

- v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,² e.g. Ex 5²³ וְהָיִל לֹא-אֶרְצֶלְתָּ *neither hast thou delivered at all*, Ju 15¹³, Jer 13¹², 30¹¹; cf. Mi 1¹⁰ (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3⁴ (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2¹⁷ is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9³, ψ 49⁸.
- w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gn 28²² Piel; 17¹³, Ex 22⁵, Ez 14³ Niph'al; Gn 40¹⁶ Pu'al; Ho 4¹⁸ Hiph'il; Ez 16⁴ Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Piel and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20²⁸) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20¹⁸ (with Piel; but in Gn 37³², 44²⁸ טָרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 e); 46⁴ (with Hiph'il); Ex 19¹⁸, 21²⁰, 2 S 23⁷, Is 40⁸⁰, Jer 10⁵, Jb 6² (with Niph'al); Is 24¹⁹ (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 o), and so always מוֹת יוֹמָת *he shall surely be put to death*. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19²⁰, 2 K 3²³ Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הִפְּרָה and הִתְקַרְבַּה; 1 S 2¹⁶ (Piel for Hiph'il, unless יִקְפְּרֶנָּה is to be read); Ez 16⁴ (Hoph'al for Pu'al).³ Finally, the infinitive absolute may

¹ Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empiétant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

² Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes לֹא et אֵל . . .* (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

³ In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; but in Is 28²⁸ אָדָּשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for דָּשׁ, and in Jer 8¹³, according to § 72 aa, we should read אֶסְכֶּם, and in Zp 1² אִמָּה. Barth, *Nem.-bildung*, § 49 b, sees in אָדָּשׁ and אֶסְכֶּם infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to ^a*qām*[ā] the Aram. *infin.* 'Aph'el of קָם; but there is no more evidence for a *Hiph.* of דָּשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָדָּשׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.¹ In Is 20²⁴ the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *x* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *a*), in Nu 23²⁵ (נָסַם קֶבֶד; cf. Ru 2¹⁶ שָׁלַם נָסַם); Jer 50³⁴ (רָיַב יָרִיב); Pr 23¹ (בָּיַן חֲבִיץ). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Of. also 2 K 3²⁴ נִיבְּלָאוּ כֹהֵן וְחִבּוֹת (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in ψ 50²¹, Neh 1⁷ (חִבַּל), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7⁷, unless הִעֲבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as *a substitute y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9⁵ (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוּר *and have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36⁷ (?), 1 S 2²⁸, Is 37¹⁹, Jer 14⁵, 19¹⁸, Hag 1⁶ (four infinitives), Zc 3⁴ (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלָּכְשׁוּ אֹתוֹ), 7⁵, Ec 8⁹, 9¹¹, Est 3¹³, 9^{6,16,18}, 12^{6ff.}, Neh 9^{8,13}, 1 Ch 5²⁰, 2 Ch 28¹⁹; ² after the perfect consecutive, Zc 12¹⁰; after the perfect frequentative 1 K 9²⁶ (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lv 25¹⁴, Nu 30³, Jer 32⁴⁴ (three infinitives), 36²³, 1 Ch 21²⁴; after a cohortative, Jos 9²⁰; after the imperfect consecutive, Gn 41⁴³ (as a continuation of וַיִּירָב); Ex 8¹¹, Ju 7¹⁹, Jer 37²¹, Neh 8⁸, 1 Ch 16³⁰, 2 Ch 7³; with אִם *or* after the jussive, Dt 14²¹, Est 2³, 6⁹; after the imperative, Is 37^{30b}, Am 4^{4f.}; after the participle, Hb 2¹⁵ (strengthened by אֵל, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8⁸.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

¹ On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *v*, *q*.

² In Ez 7¹⁴ a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads הִכְיָנוּ הִכְיָנוּ הִכְיָנוּ.

absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.¹:—

bb (α) For an emphatic imperative,² e.g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), *observe* Dt 5¹²; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) *remember*, Ex 13³, 20⁸ (the full form occurs in Dt 6¹⁷ תִּשְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרֶנּוּ; 7¹⁸ זָכוֹר תִּזְכְּרֶנּוּ); Lv 2⁶, Nu 4², 25¹⁷, Dt 1¹⁰, 2 K 5¹⁰, Is 38⁵, Jer 2², followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1¹³, 2 K 3¹⁶, Is 7⁴, 14³¹ (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2² three imperatives follow). But הִבֵּיט ψ 142⁵ may be only an incorrect spelling of הִבֵּיט imperative.³

cc (β) For the jussive, Lv 6⁷, Nu 6⁵, 2 K 11¹⁵, Ez 23⁴⁶; cf. also Pr 17¹² (*let it rather meet*).

dd (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22^{13b} אָכֹל וְשָׂתוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21³¹, 23^{30, 46}; perhaps also Jer 31² (הִלֹּךְ).⁴

ee (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e.g. 2 K 4³ ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19²⁹ (Is 37³⁰), 2 Ch 31¹⁰; also in indignant questions, Jb 40² shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? ⁵ (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3¹ and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7^{9a}. (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).

ff (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e.g. Hos 4² *swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery* (in these they are busied); 10⁴ (after a *perfect*); Is 21⁵, 59⁴, Jer 8¹⁵, 14¹⁹, Jb 15³⁵; cf. further Jer 32³³, Ec 4².—In Ez 23³⁰, Pr 12⁷, 15²², and 25⁴, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

¹ Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser* . . . , *se mêler des voleurs*!

² Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qāṭol* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'ālī*. It thus appears that the infin. *qāṭol* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

³ In Ez 21³¹, for the infinitives construct הִסִּיר, הָרִים, הִשְׁפִּיל (beside הִנֵּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הִסֵּר, &c. The K^othibh probably intends הִסִּיר, &c.

⁴ In 2 S 3¹⁸ the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22³⁰ (2 Ch 18²⁰), which was formerly included under this head (I will *disguise myself and go into the battle*), read אֶתְהַפֵּשׂ וְאָבָא.

⁵ In Jb 34¹⁸ in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הִתְאָמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַמִּתְאָמֵר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e.g. Lv 67, Nu 15³⁵, Dt 15², ψ 17⁶, Pr 17¹², Jb 40², Ec 4², Est 9¹. So, probably, also in Gn 17¹⁰, Ex 12⁴⁸, although here *כִּלְיָוֶכֶר* according to § 121 a might also be taken as an object with a passive verb; cf. Est 3¹⁸. In 1 S 25^{28,33} the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, e.

§ 114. The Infinitive Construct.

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 a), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 a). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(a) As the nominative of the subject, e.g. Gn 2¹⁸ *לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ לְבָדּוֹ*, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30¹⁵, 1 S 23²⁰, Is 7¹³, Pr 17²⁶, 25^{7,24} (but cf. 21⁹ *לֹא-שָׁבַת מִיב* in the same statement); ψ 32⁹ prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18²³, Jer 2¹⁷.

(b) As genitive, e.g. Ec 3⁴ *עַת כְּפֹדִי וְעַת רְקֹדִי* *a time of mourning b and a time of dancing*; Gn 2¹⁷, 29⁷, Neh 12⁴⁶, 2 Ch 24¹⁴. This equally includes, according to § 101 a, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, d) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(c) As accusative of the object, e.g. 1 K 3⁷ *לֹא יָדָעִי צֵאת וְבֵאת* *I know c not the going out or the coming in (I know not how to go out and come in)*; Gn 21⁶, 31²⁸, Nu 20²¹, Is 1¹⁴, 37²⁸ (even with *אֵת*), Jer 6¹⁵, Jb 15²² (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 f); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11⁹.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* *ἐν τῷ εἶναι*, *διὰ τὸ εἶναι*, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e.g. Nu 35¹⁹ *בְּפָגַע-בּוֹ* *in his meeting him*, i.e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27⁴⁵ *עַד-שִׁיבִי* (*עַד-שִׁיבִי*); Is 30¹² *בְּאֵסְפָּרְךָ* *because ye despise*; Jer 2³⁵ *עַל-אֲמַרְךָ* *because thou sayest*; Gn 27¹ *וְעֵינָיו הָיוּ חֹשִׁים* *from seeing*, i.e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in con-*e*nexion with *כִּי* or *כֵּן* to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with *עַד* or *עַל* is resolved into a causal clause), especially after *וַיְהִי* (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 2²⁷ בְּהִיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24³⁰ וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ וַיָּבִי כְּרָאת אֶת־הַחֲנֻם . . . and it came to pass, when he saw (prop. in the seeing) the ring . . . , and when he heard (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ.¹ Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i.e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in *-ndo*) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11⁵ and the Lord came down, לָרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12¹⁰ and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְהָיִיתָ לָּהּ לְאִשָּׁה to be (i.e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28⁴, Jer 38²⁶ (לְמֹת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42⁹, 47⁴, Nu 22²⁰, Jos 2⁹, 1 S 16² with בּוֹא; Ju 15¹⁰, 1 S 17²⁵ with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15¹² וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26⁵ וַיְהִי לְרִישׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38²⁰ וַיְהִי לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14²¹ (?), Jer 51⁴⁹, ψ 25¹⁴ (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18²⁴ (?), 19⁸ לְמִצָּא consecuturus

¹ Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכַתֵּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to כָּתַב, כְּכַתֵּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24⁶³ לְפָנֹת עָרֶב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23¹², Ex 14¹⁷, Ju 19²⁶; 2 S 18²⁹ when Joab sent the king's servant.

est, unless we simply read יִמְצָא with the LXX)¹; 2c²⁵, Ec 3¹⁵ לְהַיִּיתָ *quod futurum est*; 2 Ch 11²², 12¹² (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7⁸ (will he even . . . ?). Cf. also 1 S 4¹³.

Of (b) Jos 2⁵ וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגֹּרָה and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); *Is* 37²⁶, *ψ* 109¹³,² Mostly with the omission of הָיָה, e.g. 2 K 4¹³ מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ וְגו' *what is to be done for thee?* (הֲיִשׁ לְרִבְרָלְךָ) *wouldst thou be* (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c. ? 2 K 13¹⁹ לְהַפּוֹת *it was to smite* equivalent to *thou shouldst have smitten*; *Is* 5⁴, *ψ* 32⁹, 68¹⁹ (?), *Jb* 30⁶ (*habitandum est tuis*), 1 Ch 6²⁵, 10¹⁵, 22⁵, 2 Ch 8¹³ (?), 11²², 19², 36¹⁹ (?), *Ho* 9¹³, *Hb* 1¹⁷. In a question 2 Ch 19²; after לֹא 1 Ch 5¹, 15²; after אֵין 1 Ch 23²⁰, 2 Ch 5¹¹ and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18¹¹ וְעָלִי לָתֶת לְךָ וְגו' *it was upon me, i. e. it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.*³; cf. *Mi* 3¹ (2 Ch 13⁵) *it is not for you to* (i. e. are ye not bound to)?⁴ with a negative, 2 Ch 26¹⁸ וְגו' לֹא לְךָ *it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests*; also אֵין לְ with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (*nefas est*), *may not*, e.g. Est 4² לֹא יָבֹא אֵין *for none might enter*; 8⁸, 1 Ch 15²;⁵ לְ אֵין with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to *it is not feasible, not possible*, e.g. in *ψ* 40⁶, Ec 3¹⁴, 2 Ch 5¹¹.⁶—With either meaning לֹא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6¹⁰ לֹא לְהַזְכִּיר *nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord*: but *Ju* 1¹⁹ *for it was not possible to drive out, &c.*, perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in *Jos* 17¹² וַיִּכְרֹס לָהּ; לֹא; 1 Ch 15².

¹ P. Haupt (*SBOT.*, Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; *Critical Notes on Esther*, p. 17c, on 7⁸) considers it possible that here and in *Pr* 2⁵, 6²⁴, 7⁵, 16³⁰, 30¹⁴, as well as in 14³⁵, 17²¹ before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an *imperf.*, which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לִמְצָא must be read לִמְצָא, i. e. ל + יִמְצָא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

² Somewhat different are the cases where לְ הָיָה with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies *to become something*, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as *Nu* 24²² (cf. *Is* 5⁵, 6¹³) לְבָעַר *for wasting*, for which elsewhere frequently לְשַׂמָּה and the like; probably also לְבָלֹת *ψ* 49¹⁵ is to be explained in this way, the הָיָה being omitted.

³ 2 S 4¹⁰ (*cui dandum erat mihi*) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אִשָּׁר.

⁴ But in 1 S 23²⁰ after וְלָנוּ and our part shall be the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

⁵ Quite different of course are such cases as *Is* 37⁸ וְכֵחַ אֵין לְלָרָה and there is not strength to bring forth; cf. *Nu* 20⁵, *Ru* 4⁴.

⁶ In 2 S 14¹³ אִשׁ (= יֵשׁ) *it is, there is* is used in a similar sense after אֵם, the negative particle of asseveration, of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left.

m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with ל is used as the object¹ of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with ל and an infinitive are: הָחֵל (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Dt 2^{25,31}, Jos 3⁷), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, יָסַף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without ל, as Gn 4¹², 8^{10,12}, 37⁶, 1 S 3⁸, Jb 27¹, &c.; חָדַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלַה to complete, to make an end of; חָמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12¹¹; קָהַר to hasten (with an infinitive without ל Ex 2¹⁸); אָבָה to be willing (with an infinitive without ל Is 28¹², 30⁹, Jb 39⁹); חָפֵץ to will, to desire; יָמָאן to refuse (to be unwilling); בָּקֵשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Gn 24⁵⁰, 37⁴, Ex 2⁸, 18²³, Nu 22³³, Jb 4²); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20⁶, ψ 16¹¹ (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9¹⁸, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3⁸ הָעֵתִידִים עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָנָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5² and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 f), as הִגְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיֵה to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without ל ψ 33³, but 1 S 16¹⁷, in the same combination, with ל); הִשְׁבִּים to do anything early (ψ 127², along with its opposite יָאַר to do something late, with an infinitive without ל); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26¹⁵),² &c.

¹ This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the ל may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with ל; thus לֹא אָבוּ שָׁמוֹעַ Is 28¹² is equivalent to they desired not obeying (אָבוּ לֹא אָבוּ also with the infin. abs. in Is 42²⁴; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבוּ לְשָׁמֹעַ Ez 20⁸ rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with ל, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

² In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27²⁰ how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31²⁷ wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבֶּה (= often, abundantly), Ex 36⁵, 1 S 1¹², 2 K 21⁶, Is 55⁷, Am 4⁴, ψ 78³³, &c.; with שָׁב (= again), Dt 30⁹, 1 K 13¹⁷, Ho 11⁹, Ezr 9¹⁴; cf. also 2 S 19⁴, Jer 1¹², Jn 4², and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2¹ thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with **ל** is very frequently used in a much looser O connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in *-do*; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12¹⁷ **וְשָׁאַל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ** *in asking you a king*; 14³³, 19⁵, 20³⁶, Gn 3²², 18¹⁹, 34^{7,15}, Ex 23², Lv 5^{4,22,26}, 8¹⁵, Nu 14⁸⁶, 2 S 3¹⁰, 1 K 2^{3f}, 14⁸, Jer 44^{7f}, ψ 63³, 78¹⁸, 101⁸, 103²⁰, 104^{14f}, 111⁶, Pr 2⁸, 8³⁴, 18⁵, Neh 13¹⁸. Sometimes the infinitive with **ל** is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12⁸ *as the roes upon the mountains* **לְמַחֵר** (as regards hasting) *in swiftness*; Gn 2⁸, 2 S 14²⁵ (**לְהַחֵל**); Is 21¹ (**לְחַלּוֹף**); Jo 2²⁶, Pr 2², 26² and so very frequently the infinitive **לְאמֹר** *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus*, *as follows*).¹

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. P constr. with **ל** appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 z), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with **ל** virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e.g. Ex 32²⁹ (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i.e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25³¹ (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 e); ψ 104²¹, 2 Jb 34⁸, Ec 9¹, Neh 8¹⁸, 2 Ch 7¹⁷.—In Lv 10^{10f} **וְלִהְיוֹת** might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 b (= this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30⁸ **וְלִשְׁבֹּחַ** depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in **לְרַחֲמֵם**. On the other hand, in 1 S 8¹² it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is 44²⁸ translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented Q by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2⁴ *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, בְּהִבְרָאָם when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6¹⁸ **עַד-בֹּאֵי ו'** *until*

¹ **לְאמֹר** is very often so used after **וַיְדַבֵּר** in the Priestly document (Gn 8¹⁵, 17⁸, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

² When Delitzsch on ψ 104²¹, referring to Hb 1¹⁷, explains the infinitive with **ל** as an elliptical mode of expressing the *coniunctio periphrastica* (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum surum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with **ל** follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with **ל** without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniunctio periphrastica*.

I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c. Cf. 1 S 18¹⁹ (=when she should have been given); 2 K 2¹, Ho 7¹.

7* Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb we regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָא), Jer 9¹² *because they have forsaken* (עָלְעָוָם) *my law . . .* וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and *have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39¹⁰, 1 S 24¹², Am 1¹⁰; without לָא Jb 28²⁵ (perf. after לְ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 i and v) Am 1¹¹ וְעָלְרָפוּ because *he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27⁴⁵, Ju 6¹³, 1 S 10⁸, 2 K 18³² [Is 36¹⁷], always after עַד־בֹּאִי until *I come*); by a simple imperfect, e.g. Pr 1²⁷ (after בְּ); Is 30²⁶ (after בַּיּוֹם in the day, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5²⁴ (after בְּ), 10², 13⁹, 14²⁵, 45¹, 49⁵, 1 S 2⁸, Pr 2⁸, 5², 8²¹ (always after לְ) ¹; by an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 39¹⁸ and *it came to pass*, וַאֲקָרָא, בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .*; 1 K 10⁹, Jb 38¹⁸ (after לְ); 1 K 18¹⁸, Is 38⁹, Jb 38^{7.9} ff. (after בְּ); Is 30¹², Jer 7¹³, Ez 34⁸ (after וַיַּעַן).

8* 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, without, Nu 35²³, Pr 15²), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לְ prefixed (but also Nu 14¹⁶ (מִבְּלֹאִי), e.g. Gn 3¹¹ אֶבֶל־מִפְּנֵי לְבַלְאִי *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4¹⁵ *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23¹⁰ is לְ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32⁹ (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

§ 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

a 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs ² the *accusative of the object*, e.g. Nu 9¹⁵ בַּיּוֹם הַקִּים אֶת־הַפִּשְׁעֹן *on the day the*

¹ The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb at the end of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive at the beginning of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the לְ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the *external* and *internal* members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegance of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

² For examples of the accusative of the object with a pass. infin. see § 121 c.

tabernacle was reared up; 1 S 19¹ אֶת־דָּוִד לְהָמִית *that they should slay David*; Gn 14¹⁷, 19²⁰, Ex 38²⁷, 1 K 12¹⁵, 15⁴; with a negative, e.g. Lv 26¹⁵ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי עֲשׂוֹת לֹבְלֹתִי *so that ye will not do all my commandments*; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e.g. Dt 29¹² לְפָנֶיךָ הָקִים־אֹתְךָ *that he may establish thee*; Gn 25²⁶, Jer 24⁷; with a verbal suffix, e.g. Ex 2¹⁴ לְהַרְגֵנִי *to kill me*; Jer 38²⁰ הִשְׁבִּינִי *that he would not cause me to return* (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49⁶ the object even precedes the infinitive with ל; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.—If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e.g. Gn 41³⁰ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת אֹתְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִי הוֹדִיעַ *forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this*; Dt 21¹⁶.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e.g. Pr 21¹⁵ מִשְׁפָּט מִשְׁפָּט *to do judgement*. Against regarding it as a genitive, which is in itself possible (*the doing, the executing of judgement*), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as רָאָה for (פָּנִיךָ) רָאָה Gn 48¹¹ (cf. ψ 101³, Pr 16⁴⁶), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i.e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes Šewa; e.g. Gn 18²⁵ צְרִיק לְהָמִית צְדִיק *to slay the righteous* (never as לְהָמִית; cf., on the other hand, above, הִשְׁבִּינִי; 2 K 21⁸, Ez 44³⁰). Similarly in such cases as Is 3¹³ (ψ 50⁴) instead of לְרִין עַמִּים we should rather expect לְרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַמִּים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is 58⁹ (שָׁלַח שָׁלַח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of C לְהוֹצִיאָה Jer 39¹⁴) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5¹⁰, 27¹, 28⁹, Ru 2¹⁰, 1 Ch 12¹⁷, &c.) and plural; e.g. לְהַשְׁמִידֵנוּ *to destroy us*, Dt 1²⁷ (immediately after אֲנִי, so that אֲנִי is doubtless a verbal not a noun-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְלִיכֵנוּ Nu 16¹⁸, Ju 13²³ (after תִּפְּנֵי). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gn 25²⁰ אֹתָם בְּלִית prop. *in the bearing them*; לְרַעַת אֹתִי *to know me*, Jer 24⁷) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e.g. 1 S 20³³ לְהַכְתּוֹ (prop. *for his smiting*) *to smite him*, not, as the form might also mean, *in order that he might smite*; cf. 1 K 20³⁵; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22²⁵; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10²⁰, 2 S 21², &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְהִיךְ Jer 40¹⁴, cf. Mi 6¹³, and even הַמְּלִיךְ *to magnify thee*, Jos 3⁷, must certainly be regarded as *nominal* not *verbal* suffixes. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gn 37⁴ לֹא יִבְּלוּ דְבָרוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם *they could not speak to him peaceably*, cf. Ze 3¹ לְשֹׂנְאֵנוּ *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22¹³ לְתַתִּי *to give me leave* [Dt 25⁷ לֹא אֲבִי יִבְמִי *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me*; 1 Ch 4¹⁰ עֲצָבִי לִבְלִיתִי *that it may not grieve me*!]

- d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11⁹ דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) *the knowledge of the Lord*; לִירְאָה אֹתִי *to fear me*, Dt 4¹⁰, 5²⁶, 10¹²; an accusative follows לֹא־הִבְהֵרָה Dt 10^{12,15}, Is 56⁶ (cf. also 1 K 10⁹, Ho 3¹); לִהְיֶפֶה Is 30²⁸; אֶהְיֶה בְּשֹׁנְאֵת יְהוָה Dt 12⁷; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix כֹּ (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10², Is 13¹⁹, Am 4¹¹, Ez 17⁹. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2⁹, Jer 22¹⁶, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5⁴, &c., 28^{4,6}, 29^{19 f}, 30¹⁵, 38⁵, 2 S 3¹¹, Is 29¹³.

- e 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately¹ after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 e) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see f); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a *nominative*, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see g) very probably in many other instances.

- f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 1²⁷ בְּשֹׁנְאֵת יְהוָה אֶתָּנִי prop. *in the Lord's hating us*; cf. 7⁸, Gn 19¹⁶, 1 K 10⁹, Is 13¹⁹, 47⁹, Ho 3¹, Am 4¹¹. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17¹ *and there was no water* הָעָם לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16¹⁶ (בְּלִירְתִּי הָנָר); Gn 16³, Ex 19¹, Nu 20^{3,4}, 33³⁸, 1 K 6¹, ψ 133¹, 2 Ch 7³, &c.

- g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a *nominative*, are Jb 34²² לְחַפְּתֵי שָׁם פְּעֻלֵי אֱוִן *that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there* (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34¹⁵, Nu 35⁶, Dt 19³, Ju 9², 2 S 24¹³, ψ 76¹⁰, and below, i. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic Qames (cf. b above), e. g. 2 S 19²⁰ אֶל־לִבּוֹ הִמָּלְכָה הַמִּלְכָּה *to his heart*.

¹ In Gn 24³⁰ the subject of בְּרָאָה is wanting (but בְּשִׁמְעֵנוּ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בְּרָאָהּ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 16²⁹, 25²⁶, Ex 9¹⁶, 13²¹, 1 S 18¹⁹, Jer 41⁶, ψ 42⁴ the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לָשׁוֹם according to § 102 *f*. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, *b*) probable, since in such forms as הָנִיחַ Dt 25¹⁹, יָסָה Is 14⁹, הָכִיר ψ 46⁸, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הָנִיחַי Ez 24¹³, הָקִימוֹ Jer 23²⁰, &c., we should expect הָנִיחַ, הָכִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,¹ a distinction between the genitival and nominative constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e. g. in unchangeable forms like קָמַל, קִים, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gn 39¹⁸ בְּהִרְמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13²¹, and the examples, Gn 5⁴, &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1²⁷, &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10¹⁵ אֶת־מְרִימֵי נֶבֶלָה בְּהִנִּיף as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִימֵי cf. § 124 *k*), not בְּהִנִּיף, as would be expected (see *g* above), if נֶבֶלָה were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14¹³, Jb 33¹⁷. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5¹, 13¹⁰, Jos 14⁷, 1 K 13⁴, 2 K 23¹⁰, Is 32⁷. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e. g. in Jer 21¹.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is 20¹ בָּשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ כַּרְגֵּנוֹ when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4¹⁵, Jos 14¹¹, 2 S 18²⁹, Is 5²⁴, ψ 56¹, Pr 25⁸. In Nu 24²⁹ the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

§ 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

¹ In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) 'Amran (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing Amr*, or *qatlu Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) 'Amran (acc. of obj.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭel* (קָטֵל, &c.) or *qāṭōl* (קָטֹל, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the *intransitive* Qal (as a verb middle e), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שְׁנוּא (cf. the feminine שְׁנוּאָה).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28¹¹ שֹׁפֵה לְעֵי שִׁפָּה *men of stammering lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand לֵעָנִי בְּלֹה לְעָנִי Jer 20⁷, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also ψ 9¹⁸ (שֹׁכְחִי) with 50²² (שֹׁכְחִי).

c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 d. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6¹⁷, 2 Ch 17¹¹—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, d and e), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d 2. The period of time indicated by (a) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11⁹), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4²²); בָּא *coming, come* Gn 18¹¹, &c., *venturus* 1 S 23¹, &c.; נָפַל *falling*, but also *fallen*, Ju 3²⁵, 1 S 5⁵, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is 30¹³, Am 9¹¹). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27³¹, 43¹⁸ הָשֹׁב *that was returned*; cf. Ezr 6²¹, &c., הַשְׁבִּים *which were come again* from the captivity); Gn 35³, Ex 11⁵, Zc 12¹, ψ 137⁷, Pr 8⁹, Jb 12⁴ (קָרָא), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41²⁵, 1 K 18⁹, Is 5⁵, Jon 1³, &c., probably also לִקְחִי Gn 19¹⁴. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הֵינֵה) see *p* below.

e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. פְּתוּב scriptus) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niphal*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נֹרָא *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 7⁶, &c.; נִחְמָד *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3⁶, ψ 19¹¹, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102¹⁹; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיִּגְלָר Ju 13⁸) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13², ψ 22³²; נִעְרָן *terribilis* ψ 89⁸; נִחְשָׁב *abominable* Jb 15¹⁶; נִחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is 2²²; הַנֶּאֱכָל that may be eaten (an animal) Lv 11⁴⁷. In *Pa'al* מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, worthy to be praised* ψ 18⁴. In *Hoph'al*, 2 S 20²¹ מְשֻׁלָּךְ; 2 K 11² הַמְּוִקָּחִים; Is 12⁵ מְוִדָּעַת Qer¹.

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18²⁹ אִיב אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42²⁹; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂי that made me Jb 31¹⁵; רֹאֵנִי כִי רֹאֵנִי *who seeth us*? Is 29¹⁵ (in Is 47¹⁰ רֹאֵנִי is abnormal); רָדָם *ruling them* ψ 68²⁸, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18³³ הַמֵּאֲרָנִי that girdeth me (LXX δ παραωv με); Dt 8¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 13^{6, 11}, 20¹, 2 S 1²⁴, Is 9¹² (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63¹¹, ψ 81¹¹, 103⁴, Dn 11⁶; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9²³ הָרִדִים בָּעָם *which bare rule over the people*; 2 K 20⁵ הִנְנִי רֹפֵא לָךְ *behold, I will heal thee*.²

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a verb expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a noun (see g) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭil* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34⁹ רֵיחַ הַכְּבִיָּה *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5⁵ הַפֶּן רֵשָׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 a; and cf. § 128 x), e. g. ψ 5¹² אֲהֵבִי שְׁמֶךָ *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19⁸⁴; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22¹² and often יִרָא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing*.

¹ Such examples as נֹרָא, נִחְמָד, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also to be *feared, &c.*

² On the other hand, in Is. 11⁹ as the waters לִים מְכַסִּים covering the sea, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 125, 7 Obs.]. Cf. Hab. 2¹⁴.

God; Hb 2¹⁵; with an infinitive, ψ 127²; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e.g. Gn 4¹⁴ פֶּל־מִנְאִי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf. עֹשֵׂי *my maker*); 12³ מְבַרְכֶּךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלֶךָ *that curseth thee* (but read either מְקַלְלֶיךָ , or מְבַרְכֶּךָ in the preceding clause); 27²⁰, 1 S 2²⁰, Is 63¹³, ψ 18⁴⁰. In Jer 33²² read מִשְׁרָתִים אֹתִי .¹

h Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּנִי *intiens* and יֵצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בָּוֵא and יֵצֵא , in the sense of *ingredi, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e.g. Gn 23^{10,18} $\text{בָּאִי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ}$ *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1⁴; after יֵצֵא , Gn 5¹⁰, 34²⁴, 46²⁶, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38¹⁸, and frequently, יֹרְדֵי-בֹר *they that go down into the pit* (the grave); ψ 88⁶ קֶבֶר *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32²⁴ (Mi 7¹⁷); 1 K 2⁷, 2 K 11^{5,7,9} *those that came in* (or went out) on the sabbath, Pr 2⁷, 1 Ch 5¹⁸, &c.; instead of the construction with מִן , e.g. Is 59²⁰ (*those who turn from transgression*), Mi 2⁸.

i These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 18^{40,49} קָמִי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15⁷, Dt 33¹¹, ψ 44⁶, Ex 32²⁶, Is 12⁷ שֹׁבֶרֶתָּהּ *her converts*; ψ 53⁶ (חֲנָךְ); Pr 21⁹ פֶּל־בִּפְאֵיהָ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29⁷ וּמִצְרֹתֶיהָ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for $\text{פֶּל־חֲזָקָתָאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מִ}$); ψ 102⁹ even with a participle Po'al, מְהוֹלְלִי *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen מְחַלְלִי *who pierce me*.—In Is 1³⁰ as a terebinth נִפְלֹת עָלֶיהָ *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נִפְלֹת is in the absolute state, and consequently עָלֶיהָ in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עָלֶיהָ as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14² (see k).

k 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,² or may be connected

¹ When, as in Jb 40¹⁹, the participle with the noun-suffix הָעֹשֵׂי *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33²² מִשְׁרָתִי אֹתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מִשְׁרָתִי in verse 21). In Am 4¹⁸ an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, $\text{עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה}$ *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2¹⁷ $\text{בְּעֵת כְּוִלְכֶּךָ}$ is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלִי) should be read as in 6¹⁶. In Ez 27³⁴, the ancient versions read $\text{נִשְׁפָּרְתָּ עַתָּה}$ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult $\text{עַתָּה נִשְׁפָּרְתָּ}$. In 1 K 20⁴⁰ read עֹשֶׂה before הָהָה וְהָהָה .

² On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e.g. Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 2¹⁸, Ez 9² לְבוּשׁ בָּרִימִים *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְבִּישׁ הַבְּרִימִים; (even with a suffix קָרַע בְּתַנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15³²; with the participle following Ju 17⁷); but Ez 9¹¹ לְבוּשׁ הַבְּרִימִים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13³¹ קָרַעִי בְּרִימִים *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41⁵); Nu 24⁴, Dt 25¹⁰, Is 3⁵, 33²⁴, Jo 1⁸, ψ 32¹ נָשִׁי-פָשַׁע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, הִטָּאָה בְּכַסִּי *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14² יָלֹאז הָרָקִיז *he that is perverse in his ways*.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the cause, e.g. in Is 1⁷ אֵשׁ שָׂרְפֹתָ *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41⁶, Ex 28¹¹, Dt 32²⁴; before a genitive denoting the author, e.g. Gn 24³¹ בְּרִיךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115¹⁵ לִיהוָה בְּרוּכִים, see § 121 f); cf. Is 53⁴, ψ 22⁷, Jb 14¹ (15¹⁴, 25⁴); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9¹⁸ קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i.e. those invited by her; cf. 7²⁶, ψ 37²².

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in round clauses (which, according to § 140 e, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Ec 1⁴ נָא אֲבִידֶלֶת הָלֶךְ דּוֹר הָלֶךְ דּוֹר *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth *abideth* (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3⁵, 16⁸ (I am fleeing); 32¹², Ex 9¹⁷, 1 S 16¹⁵, 23¹, 2 K 7⁹, Is 1⁷; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 o and § 105 b), e.g. Gn 16¹¹ הִנֵּה הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27⁴²; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), cf. § 141 e, e.g. Gn 15², &c.

(b) To represent past actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-clauses, e.g. Ex 20¹⁸ וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 K 1⁵; in negative statements, e.g. Gn 39^{23 a}; sometimes in relative clauses, e.g. Gn 39^{23 b}, Dt 3² (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e.g. Gn 32¹⁰ הָאִמֶּר *which saidst*; 12⁷, 16¹⁸, 35¹³, 36³⁵, 48¹⁶, 2 S 15³¹, &c.); sometimes again (see n) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e.g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom* וְלוֹט יָשָׁב *and* (i.e. *while*) *Lot sat*, &c.; 18^{1.8.16.22}, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 2 Ch 22⁹; also with the subject introduced by הֵנָּה 37⁷, 41¹⁷. (On הֵנָּה with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 u.)

(c) To announce future actions or events, e.g. 1 K 2², 2 K 4¹⁶ *at this season when the time cometh round*, בְּנִי אַתָּה הִבְקַת בֵּן *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gn 7⁴, 15¹⁴, 17¹⁹, 19¹³, Hag 2⁶ (but in Is 23¹⁵, where, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 cc, &c, and § 121 c, d. So also Neh 4¹² is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

וְנִשְׁחַת, with Qimhi, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41²³, Is 5⁵ *what I am doing*, i.e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37³⁰; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּךְ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e.g. Gn 6¹⁷, 15⁸, 20⁸, 24^{18f.}, 48²¹, 50⁵, Ex 3¹³, 8²⁸, 9⁸, 34¹⁰, Jos 2¹⁸, Ju 1¹⁷, 9³⁸, 1 S 3¹¹, 2 K 7², Is 3¹, 7¹⁴, 17¹, Jer 30¹⁰, Zc 2¹³, 3⁸; with a participle passive, 2 S 20²¹: cf. also § 112 t.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e.g. Gn 37⁷) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6⁸⁶ אִם-יִשָּׁע מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43⁶ יָרֹו הַנְּטוּיָה אִם-אֵינְךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19¹¹.—In such cases as Is 14²⁷ הַנְּטוּיָה יָרֹו the stretched out hand is his, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9^{11.16}, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2¹¹, 45¹², Is 66⁹, Ez 20²⁰, Zc 7⁶ (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7², Dt 32¹, 4³, &c., 1 S 4¹⁶, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12⁸ and 21¹¹ even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

q 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect הָיָה (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e.g. Jb 1¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיָה הֹרֶשֶׁת the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gn 37², 39²², Ex 3¹, Dt 9²⁴, Ju 1⁷, 1 S 2¹¹, 2 S 3⁸; the same occurs with a passive participle, e.g. Jos 5⁵, Zc 3³; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e.g. in Is 2²; the jussive in Gn 1⁶, ψ 109¹²; ¹ and יִהְיֶה with a participle in Ju 16²¹, Neh 1⁴.

s 3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26⁸, ψ 16⁸, Jb 9³²) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e.g. Gn 24³⁰, 37¹⁵, 38²⁴, 41¹, 1 S 10¹¹, 15¹², Is 29⁸ (the participle always after הוּא); cf., moreover, Gn 32⁷, Dt 33⁸, 1 S 17²⁸, 20¹, Is 33⁵, 40¹⁶, ψ 22²⁰, 33⁵, 55²⁰, Jb 12^{17.19} ff., 25², 26⁷.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18²⁸; in Is 32¹², Ez 8¹², Neh 9³; in a relative clause, Gn 39²², Is 24².—The *personal pronoun* of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2¹⁰; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20¹⁶ (where, however, for the participle וְנִשְׁחַת the 2nd fem. perf. וְנִשְׁחַתְּ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1⁵ (?), Zc 9¹², Mal 2¹⁶; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 24⁴ (if the text be right), 6⁸, Ez 13⁷ (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is 21¹¹ אֲלֵי קָרָא there is one calling unto me (= one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30²⁴, 33⁴.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex 5¹⁶ (אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer 38²³ (in 33⁵ the text is corrupt), Ez 13⁷ (?), 36¹⁸, 37¹¹ (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

¹ A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בֵּרַךְ blessed be . . . Gn 9²⁶, &c.; אָרַר cursed art thou . . . 3¹⁴, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by ׀); e.g. Jb 1^{16 f} **כֹּא עוֹר זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְהָא אַחֵר** *he was yet speaking, and (=when) another came, &c.*¹; cf. Gn 29³, 1 S 9^{11, 27}, 2 C 36, 1 K 14¹⁷ *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died*; 2 K 2²³, 4⁵, Dn 9^{20 f}; also in Ju 19²², 1 S 9¹⁴, 17²³, 1 K 14², Jb 1^{18 f}, in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהָא.—On the other hand, in 1 K 14 the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending.² Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וְהָא (cf. § 111 g), and the apodosis by הִנֵּה, Gn 42²⁵, 2 K 2¹¹, 13²¹; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 S 7¹⁰, 2 K 19²⁷ (Is 37³⁸).

Participles active, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and *passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e.g. Gn 38²⁵ **וְהָא מֵצֵאתָ וְהָא מְבִרָה** *she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; cf. Gn 50²⁴. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166–169.]

5. Different from the examples treated in *u* and *v* are the instances in *w* which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a compound noun-clause, see § 143 c) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e.g. Gn 9⁶ **שֶׁפֶד דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם כְּמוֹ** *shedding man's blood, i.e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; Ex 21¹², ψ 75⁴, Pr 17¹⁴, Jb 41¹⁸; so especially if כֹּל *every* precedes the participle, Gn 4¹⁵, 1 S 3¹¹ (2 K 21¹²), 2 S 5⁸ (*whosoever smiteth*), 1 Ch 11⁶. The apodosis is very often introduced by ׀ (*vāw apodosis*), e.g. Ex 12¹⁵ (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35³⁰; 1 S 2¹³ **וְכֵן** *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c.*; 2 S 14¹⁰ (participle with article); 22⁴¹ (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 15⁴¹); 2 S 23^{3 f}, Pr 23²⁴ *Keeth.*; 29⁵.—As in the instances discussed under *u*, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וְהָא, cf. 1 S 10¹¹, 11¹¹, 2 S 2²³ **וְהָא כֹּל-הָבָא** *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c.* [or by וְהָא, frequentative, Ju 19³⁰].—On the other hand, וְהַנִּשְׁפָּרֵת Dn 8²² is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הִלָּךְ cf. § 113 u.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like *x*) the infinitival constructions according to § 114 r) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without ׀, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

¹ The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e.g. **וְהָא כְּבִרְוֹ**). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when...* As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

² At the same time the preceding עוֹר *still* shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 t, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14¹⁷ שָׁם תִּהְיוּ בְּמִדְבָּר וְעָרֵי הָרָם that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrow the cities thereof¹; 43⁷, Ez 22⁸, ψ 130^{13 π}, Pr 2¹⁷; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gn 49¹¹; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 5²⁸, 46⁸, Pr 7⁸, Jb 12^{17, 10 π}, 24²¹; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e. g. 1 S 2⁸, Is 5⁸, Pr 2¹⁴, 19²⁰; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27³³, 35⁸, 1 S 2⁸, Jer 13¹⁰ (after several participles); ψ 18³³, 136^{10 f}.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

§ 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

- α 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.² In the absence of case-endings,³ this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֵת (את), before suffixes also אֵת, אֹת)⁴ prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

¹ On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114 r.

² The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that חָפֵץ (to have pleasure, usually with ב) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּכָה (generally with עַל-אֵל, or לְ), but also to bewail with an accusative; יָשַׁב (usually with ב), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under u).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שָׁב redire, Is 52⁸, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בּוֹא אֵל in prose).

³ On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in a, cf. § 90 c.

⁴ אֵת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אֹת (with a tone-long ā, אֵת only in Jb 41²⁶), אֹת or אֹת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form āth was obscured in Hebrew to āth, shortened to āh before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֵת, whence finally the secondary form אֹת with the tone), Phœnician אִית i. e. probably *inyāth* (for the Phœnician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed t, Arabic, before suffixes, *‘inyā*, Aram. יֵת, יֹת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹת, Syriac *‘āth*, Arabic *‘āyat*, a sign, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse, autos*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, ‘The particle אֵת in Hebrew,’ *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4¹ *and she bare* אֶת־חַיָּה *Cain*; 6¹⁰, 1¹ *God created* אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ *the heaven and the earth* (but 2⁴ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל); 1²⁵ *and God made* אֶת־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ *the beast of the earth*; 2²⁴.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it b never occurs in Ex 15²⁻¹⁸, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 g) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֶת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed *before* the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.¹ Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֶת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under c can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in ZAW. 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּל־אִשְׁרֵי־צִוְּתִי יְהוָה Gn 6²³ in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֶת־יְהוָה c כָּל־אִשְׁרֵי־צִוְּתִי יְהוָה in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives are determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כָּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1²¹⁻³⁰, 8²¹, Dt 2³⁴, 2 K 25⁹. כָּל־אֶת־כָּל is used absolutely in Gn 9⁸, cf. 39²³; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת־מִי *quem*? e. g. Is 6⁸, 37²⁸, &c., but never אֶת־מָה *quid*? So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *cum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16⁸, or *id quod*, Gn 9²⁴, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24¹⁰, where אֲשֶׁר אֶת is equivalent to the *circumstance*, *that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֶת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26⁵, Jos 24^{14, 15}, Is 41¹⁷ (to distinguish the object from the subject); 5c⁴ (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13^{20, 43¹⁰}, Pr 13²¹ (where the צִדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13²⁵

of אֶת on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν, αὐτῶν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὸν ἡλυσθηῖσα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18²⁴ in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

¹ Thus, in Dt 33, אֶת occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֶת in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read וְאִם for וְאִתּ); also Ec 7⁷ may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

- d On the other hand אִם occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24⁶ כָּנָה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4¹¹ אִישׁ צָדִיק refers to Ishbo-sheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6¹⁶ עֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21²⁸ (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אִתּ is used in order to avoid the combination שׁוּר אִישׁ (as in Nu 21⁹ to avoid the cacophony אִישׁ הַנֶּחֱשֶׁה הַנֶּחֱשֶׁה?); in Lv 7⁸ and 20¹⁰ the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16¹⁵ מִיָּהֶם אֶת־אֶחָד probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9³ אֶת־אֶחָד מִהַעֲבָדִים may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21³⁰ we should read אֶת־שִׁבְעֵי הַבָּקָשָׁת with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2¹ translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, אֶת־בִּתְּלִי the daughter of Levi; in Ex 28⁹ read הַשֹּׁהֶם with the Samaritan; in Lv 20¹⁴ אֶת־אִשָּׁה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת־אִמָּה; in 1 S 26²⁰ read נִפְשִׁי with the LXX for אֶחָד; in 2 S 5²⁴ read הַנְּעָרָה as in 1 Ch 14¹⁵; in 2 S 15¹⁶ the אֶת־ is incorrectly inserted from 20⁸, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18¹⁸ read הַנְּעָרָה, or omit both אֶת־ and אִשָּׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12³¹ omit אֶת־; in 2 K 23²⁰ probably אֶת־עַצְמוֹתֵם is to be read; in 2 K 25⁹ the text is corrupt. In Ez 16³² אֶת־זָרִים might refer to the strangers in question; but see Smend on the passage.

- e 3. The pronominal object must be represented by אִתּ with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22³³ אֶתְּכָה הִרְגֵנִי I had slain thee and saved her alive; Gn 7¹, Lv 22²⁸, 1 S 8⁷, Is 43²², 57¹¹, Jer 4^{17, 22}, 7¹⁹; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with ו follows, e.g. 2 S 15²³ וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ and he will show me it; Ex 17³ לְהַמִּית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בָּנַי to kill us and our children; Nu 16³², 1 S 5¹¹, 2 S 14¹⁶ (but cf. also Dt 11⁶, 15¹⁶, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5¹⁰); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41³⁹, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4¹⁵ לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת־אֹתוֹ lest one should smite him, &c., where לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת might also mean lest he should smite.

- f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (שָׁמַעַ) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9²², &c., וַיֹּדַע and he told (it); also after נָתַן to give, Gn 18⁷, 24⁴¹, &c., לָקַח to take, הָבִיא to bring, שָׁם to lay, Gn 9²³, &c., מָצָא to find, Gn 31³³, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12¹⁹, 24⁵¹ לָקַח.—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37¹⁷ שָׁמַעְתִּי אֲמָרִים¹ I heard them saying; perhaps, however, we should read שָׁמַעְתִּים with the Samaritan.

- g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

¹ According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 f) we should translate, *I heard men who said, &c.*

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. כָּרַח 1 S 20¹⁶, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַח כְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָמַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, ψ 103⁹, &c.; so also שָׁמַר Jer 3⁵ (beside נָמַר); נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא קוֹל *to lift up the voice*, Is 37⁷; נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא עוֹן *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gn 18^{24, 25}, Is 2⁹; שָׁלַח *to put forth* (sc. יָד *the hand*) equivalent to *to reach after something*, 2 S 6⁶, ψ 18¹⁷.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11¹⁰ וַיִּשְׁמַע מוֹשֶׁה וַיִּבְכֶּה and *Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7¹ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים צְדִיקִים וַיִּבְרָא *thee have I seen righteous*. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e.g. Gn 1⁴ and God saw the light, that it was good; Gn 6², 12¹⁴, 13¹⁰, 49¹⁵, Ex 2², ψ 25¹⁸, Pr 23³¹, Jb 22¹², Ec 2²⁴, 8¹⁷; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex 32²², 2 S 3²⁵, 17⁸ (with two objects); 1 K 5¹⁷.

7. In certain instances אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantial meaning of the אֵת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna¹ (see above, § 3 a) אֵתוֹ and אֵתָהּ are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֵת is not *h* the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֵת *with*, cf. § 103 a), e.g. Is 57¹⁵, 1 S 17³⁴ וַיִּתְּנוּהוּ *and that, with a bear*; אֵת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22¹⁷ and Neh 9³², see below, z. In Ez 43¹⁷ קִבִּיב אֵת־ about governs like a verb, being followed by אֵת־.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in *l* the accusative (Ez 14²², Zc 8¹⁷; but Hag 2^{5a}, to מוֹצְרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3²⁶ (the verbal idea contained in וּמִשְׁמֹרֶת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos 17¹¹ לִי וְיָהוִי implies *it was given up or they gave him*; 1 S 26¹⁶ see where is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 S 11²⁵ אֶל־יָרֵעַ בְּעֵינַיִךְ is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*²; Jer 36³³ and he had the brazier before him; in Ec 4⁸ a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֵת אֲשֶׁר. On Jos 22¹⁷, Neh 9³², see below, aa.—Apostrophe occurs in Dt 11² for *not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7⁷, where either שְׁמֵעֲתֶם or תִּשְׁמָעוּ is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages³ there still remain the *m*

¹ Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

² So also in 1 S 20¹² the Qal (יִיטֵב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

³ Thus 1 S 26¹⁰, where וְיָהוִי is to be read for וְיָהוִי; 1 K 11²⁵, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6⁵ the אֵת is probably

following examples, in which אָת in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3⁴⁶, 5¹⁰, 35⁶, Ju 20^{44,46}, Ez 17²¹, 20¹⁶, 35¹⁰, 44⁸, Neh 9^{13,34}, Dn 9¹³, 2 Ch 31¹⁷.—In Ez 47¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (cf. also 43⁷) it is simplest to emend אָת for אָתָּה, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have ταῦτα only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אָת; consequently in all these passages אָת must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as ecce (LXX 43⁷ ἐώρακας), and 47^{17a}. as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

n 8. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic¹ and very commonly in Aramaic.² Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אָבֵל La 4⁵, אָמַף Nu 10²⁵, וְזָקָה ψ 145¹⁴ (but cf. 146⁸), צָרַר Nu 25¹⁸, הַשְׁנִיִּיא and שָׁמַח Jb 12²³; before the participle Is 11⁹.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5² (cf. also Dn 11³¹); also *after* אָהַב Lv 19^{18,24}; הֶאֱרִיךְ ψ 129³; הִבְדִּיל Ezr 8²⁴, 2 Ch 25¹⁰; הִבִּין Jb 9¹¹; בָּרַךְ 1 Ch 29²⁰ (immediately before with an accusative); הִנֵּלָה 1 Ch 5²⁶; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6²¹, 1 Ch 22¹⁹, 2 Ch 17¹³; הִחִיָּה Gn 45⁷, where, however, read פָּלִיטָה with the LXX for לפליטה and take לָכֵם as a *dativus commodi*; הִלָּל 1 Ch 16³⁶, 2 Ch 5¹³; הִרְגַּ 2 S 3³⁰, ψ 135¹¹ (verse 10 with accusative), 136^{14a}; הִבְשֵׁ (to bind up) Is 61¹ (Ez 34⁴ before the verb); יָדַע ψ 69⁶; פָּבַד ψ 86⁹; לָקַח Jer 40³, 2 Ch 23¹; הִמְלִיף and מָשַׁח 1 Ch 29²²; נָהַל 2 Ch 28¹⁵; שָׁמַח ψ 145¹⁴; עֹזַב 1 Ch 16²⁷; הִעֲלָה Ez 26³; פָּתַח ψ 116¹⁶; דָּרַךְ Jb 19²⁸; הִצְדִּיק Is 53¹¹; שָׁכַר 2 Ch 24¹² (previously accusatives); שִׁים 1 S 22⁷ (but probably וּבְלִכְּם is to be read); הִשִּׁיב (in the connexion לְ הִשִּׁיב) 2 Ch 10⁶ (but verse 9 and 1 K 12⁹ with an accusative); שָׁחַת Nu 31¹⁵, 1 S 23¹⁰; שִׁית ψ 73¹⁸; שָׁלַח Ezr 8¹⁶, 2 Ch 12¹, 17⁷; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29¹⁸, 2 Ch 5¹¹.

o 9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14¹⁷ הִסְרִיתָ לֹא-פָתַח בֵּיתָהּ *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. Cf. ψ 74¹⁵ and on this *constructio praeagnans* in general, see § 119 ff.

p 2. With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i.e. the addition of an object in the form

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נָפַל. In Jer 23³⁸ instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אָתָּם הַפְּרִיָּא *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10²² מְרִאֵיהֶם וְאֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37¹⁸ read with Hitzig אָל־אֶת; in Hag 2¹⁷ for אֶחָדֶם read with the LXX שְׁבָכֶם [or אֵינְכֶם; for the אָל cf. 2 K 6¹¹, Jer 15¹, Ez 36⁹].

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

² With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 151 f. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.

of a noun derived from the same stem,¹ e.g. ψ 14⁵ פָּתְרוּ פֶּחַר they feared a fear (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15²⁷; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1⁸ הָטָא הַמָּאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם Jerusalem hath sinned a sin; with a double accusative (see below, cc), e.g. 1 K 1¹² אֵינִינְךָ נָא עֲצֶה let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel; 4 S 1⁶.²

Rem. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*³ Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27⁸⁴ וַיַּעַץ צַעֲקָה גְּדוֹלָה וַיִּמָּאָר וּמָרָה he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry; cf. the Greek νοσείν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην (Matt. 21⁰); magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22⁶, 2 S 12¹⁶, Is 24²², 35², 42¹⁷, Ez 25¹⁵, 26¹⁶, 27³⁵, Mic 4³, Ze 1², Pr 21²⁶; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27³⁸, Ex 32³¹, Ju 15⁸, 2 S 13³⁶, 1 K 14⁴⁰ (cf. Jon 4⁶, 1 Ch 29⁹); Is 21⁷, 45¹⁷, Jon 1¹⁰, Ze 1¹⁴, 8^{2a}, Dn 11³; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12¹⁷, 2 S 13¹⁸; cf. also Is 14⁶, Jon 4¹.—An internal object without an attribute *before* the verb: Is 24¹⁶, Jer 46⁶, Hb 3⁹, Jb 27¹²; with an attribute *before* the verb: Jer 14¹⁷, Ze 1¹⁶ (cf. also Gn 30⁸, Jer 22¹⁸, 30¹⁴, ψ 139²²). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Ze 8².

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include ⁷ cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 11¹, 9¹⁴, 11³, 37⁷, Ez 18³, ψ 144⁶, probably also Mi 2⁴, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30³⁷, Nu 25¹¹, 2 K 4¹², 13¹⁴, Is 45¹⁷, La 3⁵⁸, ⁴ and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22¹⁶; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2¹⁶, Is 8¹², 62⁵, Ze 3⁷; cf. also Ex 3⁹. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any s external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under p, which also,

¹ On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 w.

² Cf. βουλάς βουλευέν, Iliad x. 147.

³ The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qur'an usually explain such cases by adding *and what*...! see § 125 b.

⁴ Also in ψ 13⁴ *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (cf. Jer 51³⁰), as צָדִיקוֹת Is 33¹⁵ for צָדִיקוֹת הַיָּרֵךְ. On the similar use of הוֹלֵךְ תָּמִים in ψ 15², see § 118 n.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל־גְּדוֹל and I cried a loud voice, i.e. with a loud voice, Ez 11¹³, 2 S 15²³ (after the proper object, Dt 5¹⁹, 1 K 8⁵⁵); ψ 109² they have spoken unto me לִשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר a tongue of deceit, i.e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10⁴ he becometh poor כַּף־מִיָּה עֹשֶׂה dealing a slack hand, i.e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klänge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i.e. to skate), and our *to write a good hand*, *to play ball*, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שִׁפְתֵי רִנְנוֹתַי יְהַלְלֵנִי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips, ψ 63⁶; cf. ψ 12³, where a *casus instrumenti* with *ב* follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see *a*, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e.g. רִיב *to strive*, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is 1¹⁷, &c.; elsewhere with *ל* of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל absolutely *to be able*, with an accusative *to prevail over* any one; הִפִּיץ *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with *ב*), with an accusative *to wish for some one or something*; שָׁכַב *cubare*, then in the sense of *concumbere*, originally joined with עִם *cum*, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere (feminam)*, &c. So in 2 S 13¹⁴, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֶת is intended, e.g. אֶת־אִתָּה for אִתָּה; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

v Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.¹ In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e.g. perhaps לָבַשׁ *to be clothed* along with לָבַשׁ *to put on* (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, *y*.

¹ Thus e.g. עָנָה *to reply* to (ἀπεκρίσθαι τινα), *to answer any one*; צִוָּה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קָנָה (also with *ל*) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בָּשֹׂר *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נָאָף and נָאָף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַד *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to become surety for* . . . and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident *when even reflexive conjugations* (*Niph'al, Hithpa'al, &c.*) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נָבֵא to prophesy, Jer 25¹⁸; נָסַב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19²⁸; נָלַחַם to fight, ψ 109⁸ (where, however, the Qal יִלְחַמְנִי should be read; cf. ψ 35¹); also הִתְנַיֵּל to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6¹⁰; הִתְנַחֵל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14²; הִתְנַנֵּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37¹⁸; הִתְנַצֵּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33⁶; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; to consider something, Jb 37¹⁴; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32³. In Gn 34⁹ after הַתּוֹחַתֵּנִי make ye marriages, read אֲתֵנִי instead of אֲתֵנִי. Cf. § 54f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of *a verb* (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. זָעָה לְאֵנִי הָיָה צִמְתִּי אֵלַי did ye fast at all unto me, even to me? as though to say, have ye be-fasted me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31¹⁸ נָרַנִּי אָב he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27⁴, 65⁵, Jer 31³, and in Aramaic Dn 5⁶; but אָרַן הַגִּבּוֹר בְּתִמְנֵי Jos 15¹⁹ is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see ff. In I S 2²⁵ read וּפָלַל; in Is 44²¹, instead of the Niph'al, read וְהִשְׁלֵי; in Ez 29⁸ either עֲשִׂיתִי is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יֵאָדֶר) with Smend; in ψ 42⁵ אֲדַדֶּה or אֲדַדֶּם; in ψ 55²⁸ (where König takes יִהְיֶה as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume a substantive יָהּ (= fate?).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to *v* above, are regarded as *transitive*, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, הָשַׁטַּם to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מְשַׁבְּצִים enclosed in gold, Ex 28²⁰). Also in poetic expressions such as ψ 65¹⁴ לְבָשׁוּ קְרִיִּים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf. ψ 109²⁰; 104² (עֶמְקָה); 65^{14b} (עֶמְקָה), &c.¹

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלָא, to be full of something, Ex 8¹⁷; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אֶת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6¹³; with a personal object, Ex 15⁹ my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1¹⁵ your hands מָלְאוּ are full of blood, cf. Is 22²; so also the Niph. מִלְּאָה to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6¹¹, Ex 17 (where the object is connected by אֶת); Is 27¹, 64, Pr 3¹⁰; נִרְעַע to be fructified with, Nu 5²⁸; שָׁרְיָן to swarm with, Gn 120²¹ Ex 7²⁸; שָׁבַע (שָׁבַע) to be full of, Is 1¹¹, Jo 2¹⁰, Pr 12¹¹; הִפְרִיחַ to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21⁷; הִפְרִיחַ to overflow with something, Pr 3¹⁰ (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek προρρεύειν ὕδωρ, ἄκρανα σράζειν), e.g. La 3⁴⁸ מִיַּי הַרְדַּי מִיַּי מִיַּי mine eye runneth

¹ From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30²⁰ יִרְחֲצוּ מֵיִם they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בְּמֵיִם.

down (with) rivers of water; 1¹⁶, Jer 9¹⁷, 13¹⁷, ψ 119¹⁸⁰; so also הָלַךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4¹⁸; נָזַל to gush out with, Jer 9¹⁷; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5⁴, Jo 4^{18a}; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9⁹; נָשַׁטַף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10²²; נָבַד to bud forth, Pr 10³¹; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5²⁸; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5⁵.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5⁵, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלָה שְׁמִיר וְשִׁית but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24³¹, and still more boldly, Is 34¹³.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 18²³; שָׁבַל to be bereaved of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27⁴⁵.—In Jos 22¹⁷ even הִמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us of . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9³².

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4²⁰, ψ 22⁴ after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5¹⁷, Is 33¹⁴ after גָּוַר; ψ 57⁵ after שָׁכַב; ψ 68⁷, Pr 8¹², Is 33¹⁶ with שָׁבַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5⁵, 120⁵ after גָּוַר, Gn 30²⁰ after נָבַל, ψ 68¹⁰ with שָׁבַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. פָּלְגַל Gn 47¹², &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e.g. Ex 33¹⁸ נָא אֶת־בְּבִרְךָ הוֹדִיעַ show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ to cause some one to know something; לָמַד locere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41⁴² וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ אֹהֶן וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ אֹהֶן and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37²³ (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֶת); so with מָלֵא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21¹⁰, 26¹⁵, Ex 28³; אָזַר to gird some one with something, ψ 18³³; עָטַר to crown, ψ 8⁶, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something, ψ 8⁶; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16³²; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19^{32ff}.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָנַךְ Ex 29⁹, צָפַה Ex 26²⁹, &c., טָוַח Ez 13^{10ff}, עָטַר ψ 5¹³; cf. also אָבֵן Jos 7²⁵, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (זָרַע Jud 9⁴⁵, Is 17¹⁰, 30²³), planting (Is 5²), anointing (ψ 45⁵) with anything.

ff (β) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15¹⁹ where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, נָבַר Gn 30²⁰; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22²³; בֵּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49²⁵, Dt 15¹⁴; to give graciously, חָנַן Gn 33⁵; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e.g. Gn 27³⁷, ψ 51¹⁴ (סָמָה); Ju 19⁵ (סָעַר); to do something to one, גָּמַל Gn 50^{15,17}, 1 S 24¹⁸; cf. also קָרַם to come to meet any one with something, ψ 21⁴, שָׁלַם to repay some one with something (with two accusatives, ψ 35¹², Pr 13²¹), and for the accusative of the person cf. εἶ, καθώς πᾶρτεν τὴν. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as they hunt every man his brother with a net, Mi 7²; to shoot at one with arrows, ψ 64⁸ (though this is against the accents); Pr 13²⁴ seeks him early (with) discipline, i.e. chastises him betimes, &c.

(γ) Expressions of asking some one for something, desiring something from *gg* some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14²⁶, ψ 137⁹); answering any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6⁵, &c.; cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב דָּבָר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12⁹, &c., also in the sense of announcing; sometimes also הִגִּיד to declare something to some one, Jb 26⁴, &c., for הָגִיד לְ; צָוָה to enjoin a person something, Ex 34³², Dt 1¹⁸, 32⁴⁶, Jer 7²⁸.

(δ) Expressions which mean to make, to form, to build something out of some-*hh* thing; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e.g. Gn 2⁷ וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאָדָמָה and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7¹⁵; further Ex 38³ בָּלִיָּעִי עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת all the vessels thereof made he of brass (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *hh*); cf. Ex 25^{18,28}, 26^{1,14 f.29}, 27¹, 36⁸, 1 K 7²⁷; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25²⁰, 29², Dt 27⁶ אֲבָנִים שֶׁלִּמֹּת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ of unheaven stones shall thou build the altar of the Lord.

(e) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, *ii* along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gn 27⁹ אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִכְעִים I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat; cf. Gn 6^{14,16}, Ex 26^{1b}, 30²⁵, 32⁴, Is 44¹⁵, Ho 8⁴, 1 K 18³⁰ וַיִּבְנֶה וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ and he built the stones (into) an altar; cf. 10¹². So also אָפַק, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex 12³⁸, Lv 24⁵; שָׂם (prop. to set up for something, cf. Gn 27³⁷, 28¹⁸, ψ 39⁹, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31⁴⁵) to change into something, Jos 8²⁸, Is 50², 51¹⁰, Mi 1⁷, 4¹³; with two accusatives of the person (to appoint, promote any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3⁷; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17⁵, and שִׁית 1 K 11³⁴; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ to, § 119 t; also שִׁית to make a thing so and so (Is 5⁶, 26¹; with a personal object, ψ 21⁷, 19⁸); הִחְשִׁיד to make dark, Am 5⁸. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28² וַיִּקְרָעָה שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אֶבֶן יָצְגוּ בְחֹשֶׁה a stone they smelt into brass; 1 K 11³⁰ וַיִּקְרָעָה וַיִּקְרָעָה אֶת-הַבְּגָדִים וַיִּקְרָעָה וַיִּקְרָעָה אֶת-הַבְּגָדִים and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is 37²⁶, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁמִית to lay waste.

¹ Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21¹⁸ כִּי תִשְׁלַחְמוּ שִׁבְכָם for thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i.e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me; similarly ψ 184¹ (2 S 22⁴¹, Ex 23²⁷) אֵיבֵי נִתְּמָה לִי עֶרְף; thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; cf. Jer 18¹⁷.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Ec 7²⁵; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gn 7¹; חָשַׁב *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is 53⁴, elsewhere always construed with לְ or אֶ), cf. *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *kk*; thus it is possible, e.g. in 1 K 18³², by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִן־הָאֲבָנִים as the nearer object and אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27⁶. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 26²⁵ *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) מִן־הָאֲבָנִים as *heaven stones*, cf. also Gn 1²⁷. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18³² the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27⁶ the case is reversed.

ll (d) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,¹ e.g. פָּצַע *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* חֵמֶץ (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37²¹ *let us not smite him* שֹׁפֵךְ in *the life*, i.e. let us not kill him; Dt 22²⁶, 2 S 3²⁷; also with שָׁחַד Gn 3¹⁵; with רָצַח Jer 2¹⁶; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33¹¹ (with יָרִיב).

§ 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

a 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place, time, measure, cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

b Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֶת) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

¹ Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e.g. ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγε ξρκος ὀδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַלְּךָ) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. cl loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,¹ or (b) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being, dwelling, resting, &c.* (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (c) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?*, &c.

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90 c)² is frequently found in the cases mentioned under f (sometimes also in those under g) or the preposition אֶל, especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or ב, usually, to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): נֵצִיאָה־הָעָם הַזֶּה לָלֶכֶת אֶל תַּרְשִׁישׁ let us go out into the field, 1 S 20¹¹; cf. Gn 27³, 31⁴, f Jb 29⁷; לָלֶכֶת תִּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20²⁶; cf. Gn 10¹¹, 13⁹, 24²⁷, 26²³, 31²¹, Ex 4⁹, 17¹⁰, Ju 1²⁶, 2 K 11¹⁹, Na 1⁸ (?), ψ 134²; with לָקַח Nu 32¹⁴; with בָּתָּן Jos 6²⁴; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5⁸), 1 K 2²⁰, Is 23¹², Jer 2¹⁰, 20⁶, 32⁵; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggre*di, equivalent to בּוֹא עָלַי, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal* aim also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32¹¹, 38¹¹, Pr 10²⁴, 28²², Jb 15²¹, 20²²; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10³⁶ (where שׁוֹב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11²⁹, 1 S 13²⁰ (where, however, אֶל- has probably fallen out after וְשִׂירָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of אֶשֶׁר . . . שָׁמָּה אֶשֶׁר whither, Nu 13²⁷.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12¹⁵.

Examples of (b): Gn 38¹¹ remain a widow בֵּית אֲבִיהָ in thy father's house; cf. Gr Gn 24²³, 1 S 17¹⁵, 2 S 2²², Is 3⁶, Hos 12⁵, Mi 6¹⁰, 2 Ch 33²⁰; פָּתַח הָאֹהֶל in the tent door, Gn 18¹⁻¹⁰, 19¹¹, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2²⁰, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8³², Is 16⁴, 28⁷, 2 Ch 33¹⁰) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with ב (which is not rare even with בֵּית and פָּתַח) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בָּבִי and בָּפִי; cf., moreover, Gn 21⁴, 4¹⁰, Ex 18⁵, Lv 6⁸ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַהּ.

¹ So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. Iliad i. 317 *ἄνθρωπον δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν*: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Romam proficisci*.

² Hence e.g. in 1 S 9²⁰ the Masora requires הִנֵּה instead of the Kth. הִנֵּה.

³ So in Ju 19¹⁸ for אֶת-בֵּיתָי the better reading is 'אֶל-בֵּי'.

Ex 29¹³, &c.); Dt 1²¹⁰, 1 2 S 17²⁶, 1 K 7⁸, Pr 8³, 9¹⁴. On Is 1³⁰ see § 116 i; on יֵשִׁי, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6⁸, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אָרַץ.

- h Examples of (c): Gn 7²⁰ *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31²³, 41⁴⁰ מִפָּנֶיךָ אֶהְיֶה גָּדוֹל מִלָּךְ only in the throne will I be greater than thou; Dt 1¹⁹ *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29⁹. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16¹⁶ (according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפַּר is used); 1 S 6⁴ (with the *accus. preceding*); 6¹⁸, 2 S 21²⁰, Jb 15.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14¹⁶.

- i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time (accus. temporis)*, (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם the day, i.e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i.e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב at evening, לַיְלָה noctu, בֹּקֶר in the morning, early, ψ 5⁴, &c., צַהֲרָיִם at noonday, ψ 91⁶; יוֹם אֶחָד on one and the same day, Gn 27⁴⁵; שָׁנָא in sleep, ψ 127²; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעִירִים (Qerê 'bêṭ) at the beginning of barley harvest, 2 S 21⁹; in stating a date, Gn 11¹⁰, 14¹ in the thirteenth year.

- h (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3¹⁴, &c., כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ all the days of thy life; 7⁴ forty days and forty nights; 7²¹, 14¹, 15¹³, 21³⁴, 29¹⁸, Ex 20⁹ (for six days); 23¹⁵, 31¹⁷; עוֹלָמִיּוֹם for ever, 1 K 8¹⁸; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13⁷ אֶחָד שְׁבַע הַיָּמִים throughout the seven days in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14¹⁷, Dt 9²⁵.

- l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7²⁵ thou shalt not come thither לְרֵאת שְׁמִיר for fear of briers.

- m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in*, *with*, *as*, *in the form or manner of* . . ., *according to*, *in relation to*, *with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

- n (a) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed after the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20² walking עָרֹם וְיָחָף naked and barefoot; cf. verse 3, 8²¹, Gn 15², 33¹⁸ (שָׁלֵם), Ju 8⁴, Mi 1⁸, ψ 107⁵ (but in 15² תָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = he that walketh in uprightness; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30²⁸. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15¹⁸; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37³⁵ (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2¹⁶, Jb 1²¹, Ec 5¹⁴; Lv 20²⁰, Jb 16²⁵, 27¹⁹, 31²⁶

¹ In ψ 21⁹ דֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (on the way), but as an *accus. of respect* (with regard to the way); see below, m.

(unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ru 1²¹ מִלְאָה parallel with the adverb רִיקָם). In Mi 2⁷ the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing *O* a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e.g. Jb 24¹⁰ עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ naked, i.e. in the condition of one naked, *they go about*; cf. verse 7 and 12¹⁷. In Is 20⁴ the singular occurs *after* a plural object, and in Is 47⁶ the *masc.* after the 2nd sing. *fem.* imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Nu 16²⁷, Jer 2²⁷, 43³, ψ 7⁸, Jb 24⁵, P Ct 2⁸, or *before* it, Gn 49¹¹, Is 57¹⁹, Ez 36³⁵, ψ 56², 92¹⁴, Pr 20¹⁴; cf. also the substantival use of the participles נִפְלְאוֹת נִרְאָה in a *fearful manner* (ψ 139¹⁴) and נִפְלְאוֹת in a *wonderful manner*, Jb 37⁵, Dn 8²⁴.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מְתַהַלֵּה Gn 3⁸ (cf. also בָּצָה 1 K 14⁶), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13²⁰, 1 K 7⁷ and Hb 2¹⁰ the explicative *Wāw* (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69⁴ for מַעֲלֵל read מַיְחֵל.—On 1 K 11⁸, 2 K 10⁶, 19², Hag 1⁴, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives¹ in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an *q* external state, e.g. Mi 2³ וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוּמָה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שְׁחוֹת Is 60¹⁴); Lv 6⁹ (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Dt 2⁹, 4¹¹, Ju 5²¹, Is 57², Pr 7¹⁰, Jb 31²⁶, La 1⁹; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15²³ he was diseased אֶת-רִגְלָיו in his feet (2 Ch 16¹² בְּרִגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 l and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e.g. Nu 32¹⁴, Jos 6² פֶּה אֶחָד with one accord, 1 K 22¹³; cf. Ex 24³, Zp 3⁹, 1 S 15³², 2 S 23³, Is 41³ (unless שָׁלוֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31⁷, Ho 12¹⁵, 14⁵, ψ 56³, 58², 75³, Pr 31⁹, Jb 16⁹, La 1⁹; Lv 19¹⁶, &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָבִיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also בְּטָח unawares, Gn 34²⁵, Ez 30⁸; מִישָׁרִים uprightly, ψ 58², 75³ (in both places *before* the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 S 2³³ (if the text be right) יָמוֹתוֹ אַנְשִׁים they shall die as men, i.e. in the prime of life; cf. 1 S 2¹⁸ (נָעַר), Is 65²⁰, and Gn 15¹⁶; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4²⁷, 1 S 13¹⁷, 2 K 5², Jer 31⁸ [in Jer 13¹⁰ שְׁלֹמִים wholly (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֵמָה גְּלוֹת with LXX for שֶׁ הִגְלָתָה]; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15¹³, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is 21⁸ וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22¹⁴, Is 22¹⁸ (כַּדּוּר like a ball); Is 24²², Zc 2⁸, ψ 11¹ (unless הַצִּפּוֹר be vocative); 58^{9b} (unless the force of the preceding בֵּי is carried on, as in ψ 90⁴); ψ 144¹², Jb 24⁵ (פְּרָאִים, *before* the verb); 41⁷ שָׁמַר שָׁמַר shut up together as with a close seal.²

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns *s* which are introduced by the comparative particle בִּי,³ since the בִּי is to

¹ Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

² It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle בִּי, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

³ On the use of בִּי as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive¹ in the sense of *amount, kind (instar)*, standing in the accusative (so that כִּי is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the כִּי . From this, which is the proper meaning of the כִּי , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.² Thus the comparison may refer to—

- t (a) The place, e.g. Is. 5¹⁷ כִּדְבָרָם *after the manner of*, i.e. *as in their pasture*; 23¹⁵ *as (it is said) in the song of the harlot*; 28²¹, 29⁷ כִּדְמֹתֵם *as in a dream*.
 u (b) The time, especially in the combination כִּיּוֹם *after the manner of the day*, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9⁸, Ho 2⁵; כִּיּוֹמֵי *as in the days of...*, Is 51⁹, Ho 2¹⁷, 9⁸, 12¹⁰, Am 9¹¹; cf. moreover, Lv 22¹⁸, Ju 20³⁰, Is 17⁶, Jb 5¹⁴, 29², and the expressions כִּיּוֹם בְּיוֹם *as day by day = as in the former days*, 1 S 18¹⁰; $\text{כַּפֶּעַם בְּפֶעַם}$ *as at other times*, 1 S 3¹⁰, &c.; $\text{כִּשְׁנָה בְּשְׁנָה}$ *as in former years*, 2 K 17⁴; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of כִּי as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18¹⁰ הַיּוֹם *at this time (not about the time)*, when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year; כַּעַת הַזֶּה *to-morrow at this time*; cf. Is 23⁵, and the frequent connexion of כִּי with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12¹⁴, 27⁸⁴, Ex 9²⁹, &c.
 v (c) The person, e.g. Gn 34³¹ *should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*
 w (d) The thing, e.g. Is 10¹⁴, כִּי 33⁷, Jb 28⁵ כִּימוֹ אֵשׁ *as a fire*, i.e. *as it were by fire* (cf. Is 1²⁵ כִּכֵּר *as with lyre*); Jb 29²⁹ כִּימוֹתַי *as for the rain (they waited for me)*; Jb 38¹⁴ *(as in a garment)*; 38³⁰ כִּימֵן *as to stone (the waters are solidified in freezing)*.

x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, כִּי is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14³⁵ *as it were*, i.e. *something like*), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7² *for he was* כִּי אִישׁ אֱמֹת *a faithful man*; cf. 1 S 20⁸ כִּיפֶשַׁע , La 1²⁰ כִּימֹת . Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by כִּי with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus כִּי אִישׁ אֱמֹת in Neh 7² means simply *of the nature of a faithful man*, i.e. *as only a faithful man can be*; cf. Nu 11⁴, Is 1⁷, 13⁶, Ho 4⁴, 5¹⁰, Ob 11, Jb 24¹⁴, 27⁷, La 1²⁰, 2⁴; also כִּימְעַט in such passages as כִּי 105^{12} *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1⁹ *only just, a very small...*

¹ Schwabe (כִּי nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places כִּי as a preposition on the same footing as כִּי and כִּי , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem כִּי as well as with כִּי and כִּי . The above view of כִּי as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On כִּי in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

² It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on r) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1²⁰ כִּיבְרָאשְׁנָה and כִּיבְרָאשְׁנָה , Lv 26⁸⁷ (כִּיבְרָאשְׁנָה) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case כִּין, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אֶל occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e.g. Am 7¹⁵ the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן from behind the flock; 2 K 9¹³ turn thee אֶל-אַחֲרַי to behind me, i.e. turn thee behind me; מֵעֵם, מֵאֵת from being with . . . , as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un.*¹ For further examples, see c.

Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *c* either those *substantives* which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לִפְנֵי before, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן on account of (but e.g. מִלְּפָנַי from before, Gn 4¹⁶, &c., is such a compound); nor *adverbs*, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּץ without, מִתַּחַת in the sense of below,² מַעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply *one* word before the פ was prefixed. We find also מַעַל Is 59¹⁸, 63⁷, ψ 119¹⁴, and 2 Ch 32¹⁰; cf. Driver on 1 S 14¹⁴ (פִּבְחָצִי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

¹ In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize *one* of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch*, he takes his hat from the table, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מַעַל from upon, cf. e.g. Is 6⁶.

² Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת from under, in such examples as Pr 22²⁷, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was originally by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place from beneath which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מַעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e.g. in מִלְּבַד, מִבְּלִעָרִי

above (so also in Gn 27³⁰, 49²⁵; not *from above*). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ *outside as regards* . . . , i.e. *outside of something*, in 1 K 21¹³ even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּחַת *below as regards* . . . , i.e. *under something* (cf. עָרַם מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . . , 1 S 7¹¹), מֵעַל לְ *over something*, &c.; לְבַד *prop. in separation*; לְבַד מִן *in separation from*, i.e. *apart from, besides*. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26⁵ מִתַּחַת מֵימַם *beneath the waters*; Neh 3²³ (מֵעַל).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—

(a) With מִן, in מֵאַחֲרַי, מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) *from behind something*; מֵאֵת *and from with* (see above); מִבֵּינֵי or מִבֵּינֹת *from between something* (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49¹⁰); מִלְפָּנַי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 8³, &c.; מֵעַל *from upon*, i.e. *off from*; מִתַּחַת *away from under* (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

c (b) With אֶל-אֲחֵרֵי *to behind*, אֶל-בֵּינֹת *to between*; אֶל-מִבֵּית *forth between* 2 K 11¹³; אֶל-מִחוּץ *forth without*, i.e. *out in front of*, Nu 5³; אֶל-תַּחַת *down under*.¹—In Jb 5⁵ the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל-מִצְּנִיחַ (he goes thither and takes it) *out of the thorns*, i.e. *he taketh it even out of the thorns*, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.²

g (a) אֶל- (אֵלַי) ³ *towards*, properly an expression of *motion* or at least *direction* towards something (either in the sense of *up to* = עַד, or *into* = אֶל-תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question *whither?* but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question *where?* e.g. Jer 41¹² *they*

without, cf. also such examples as מִפְּנֵי, מִמּוּל, מִלְפָּנֶיךָ (there), &c. Since a מִן is not usually repeated after מִלְפָּנֶיךָ, it appears as if מִלְפָּנֶיךָ by a transposition of the מִן stood for the usual מִן. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְפָּנֶיךָ has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken by itself*, like מִלְמַעְלָה מִמּוּעַל (Syriac *men le'el*) *above* (adv.), as distinguished from מֵעַל לְ or מִלְמַעְלָה (Syriac *le'el men*), *over, upon something*.—Also לָמוֹן *from . . . onward* is not for מִן-לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a, usque ad, usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

¹ Also in 1 S 21⁵ אֶל-תַּחַת by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵין.

² A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

³ Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition *el*,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 ff., and especially A. Noordtjij, *Het hebreusch voorzetsel אל*, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל- and עַל-.

found him אֶל־מַיִם רַבִּים *by the great waters*; cf. Dt 16⁶, 1 K 13²⁰, and a still more remarkable instance in § 50 אֶל־מִקְוֵם שְׁכֵנְךָ אֶל־הַשָּׂמִימָה. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16⁶ but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς, for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.

(b) בְּ Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the *idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one בְּדִבְרֵי פ', בְּעֵצַת פ', or in a comparison, as in Gn 1²⁶ בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדִמְיוֹתֵנוּ in our image, after our likeness; cf. 1²⁷, 5^{1,3}), or finally the idea of relying or depending upon . . ., or even of merely striking or touching something.*

Thus the use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7² יֵשֶׁר בְּאֶדָם אֲנִי there is none upright among men; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7²¹ and all flesh died . . . in (=consisting of) fowl, &c. 8¹⁷, 9¹⁰, Ho 4³. Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as, in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . ., tantquam, the essence of* the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin in, and the French en, e.g. Ex 6⁸ I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as El Shaddai; Jb 23¹³ וְהוּא בְּאֶחָד but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26⁵, 28⁶² בְּמִוְתֵי מַעַם in the condition of being few, cf. 1C²² to the number of seventy; Is 40¹⁰, ψ 39⁷.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18⁴ (ψ 35², 146⁵) בְּעֻזִּי as my help; Dt 26¹⁴ being unclean; Is 28¹⁶ in Sion (i.e. I make Sion a foundation); Ez 20⁴¹ as a sweet savour; Pr 3²⁰, perhaps also Ex 3² in (i.e. as) a flame of fire; Is 66¹⁵ with (i.e. like) fire; ψ 31²², 37²⁰ (102⁴). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54⁹ is especially instructive, since אֲדֹנָי בְּכִמְיָי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the לִמְיָי, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. the Lord is one who upholds my soul; so also ψ 99⁷, 118⁷, Ju 11³⁸ [the plur. as in § 124 g-i].³—Cf. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35².

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, striking, reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at, on, &c.*, and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e.g. *anfassen* = אָחַז בְּ, *anrühren* = גָּעַח בְּ, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* (מִלְכָּה, מִשָּׁל, נָשָׂא, נָתַן, the last prop. to tread on . . .) with בְּ, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something: e.g.

¹ Cf. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. בְּ indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

² e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123⁴. On the Hebrew בְּ *essentiae*, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

³ Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26⁴, ψ 55¹⁹, where בְּ is used before the subject) as well as ψ 65⁶ בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 173, on Is 26⁴.

כָּרָא to call on some one, נִשְׁבַּע *iurare per aliquem*, שָׁאַל to enquire of some one. Again, רָאָה to look upon, שָׁמַע to hearken to (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence רָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21¹⁶ *let me not look upon the death of the child*; 1 S 6¹³ *because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord*.

Closely related to this is the use of בְּ:

- l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a mental act, e.g. בְּ הַאֲמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בְּ בָטַח to have confidence in . . . ; בְּ שָׂמַח to rejoice in or at something, &c.; דִּבֶּר בְּ to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6⁷, 1 S 19^{3 f}, &c.
- m (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies finally the *partitive* use of בְּ, e.g. בְּ אָכַל to share in eating something, Ex 12^{43 ff}, Lv 22¹¹; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13¹⁶, Jb 21²⁶; so also בְּ לָחַם to eat of, and בְּ שָׁתָה¹ to drink of something, Pr 9⁵; בְּ שָׁמַע to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26¹⁴; בְּ מָצְאָה they found remaining of her only . . . , 2 K 9³⁶; בְּ נָשָׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11¹⁷, Ez 18²⁰, Jb 7¹³. Cf. also בְּ הָלַק to give a share of something, Jb 39¹⁷; בְּ בָנָה to do building to, Neh 4⁴.
- n (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9⁴ בְּנַפְשׁוֹ with the life thereof; 15¹⁴, 32¹¹ בְּמִקְלִי with my staff. Sometimes בְּ combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e.g. Ju 15¹ Samson visited his wife with a kid, i.e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23⁵, ψ 66¹³, 1 Ch 15^{19 ff}, 16⁹.
- o (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see *n*), is developed, finally, the *instrumental* use of בְּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4¹⁴ בְּמַטֵּה they smite with the rod; Is 10²⁴; ψ 18³⁰ בְּךָ by thee (so also 44⁶, parallel with בְּשִׁמְךָ); Is 10³⁴, Ho 1⁷, 12¹⁴; cf. also בְּ עָבַד to labour by means of some one, i.e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1¹⁴, &c. On בְּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 f.
- p A variety of the בְּ *instrumenti* is בְּ pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23⁹, 29¹⁸ (בְּרָחֶל); 30¹⁶, 33¹⁹, 34¹⁵ (בּוֹאֵת on this condition); 37²⁸; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18²⁸ בְּ for the sake of; 1 S 3¹³.
- q Rem. The use of בְּ *instrumenti* to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44²⁰ and thou coveredst over us בְּצִלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16¹⁰ פָּעְרוּ עָלַי בְּפִיהֶם they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22⁸, Ex 7²⁰ he lifted up בְּמִצְחָה the rod; Lv 16⁴ וְהָנֵר וְהַזָּבֹחַ followed by בְּ; Jos 8¹⁸, La 1¹⁷. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35¹⁶, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16⁹; to wink the eye, Pr 10¹⁰, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6¹⁸; shake the head, ψ 22⁸, and to shake with the head, Jer 18¹⁶, Jb 16⁴.—In all these instances

¹ To be distinguished from בְּ שָׁתָה = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44⁵, Am 6⁶), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5²). Cf. also ἐν ποτήριος (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώματι πίνειν (3 Ezr 3⁶), *venenum in auro bibitur*, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French boire dans une tasse.

the verb (intransitive) construed with **וְ** has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by **וְ** is used rather as a merely adverbial complement.

An instructive example of this is **וְתֵן קוֹל** *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also to *thunder*, while in **וְתֵן בְּקוֹלוֹ** *ψ 46⁷ (68⁸⁴, Jer 12⁸)*, **וְתֵן** has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i.e. mightily).

(c) **לְ**¹ to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of **לְ** as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on **לְ** with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on **לְ** in a purely local sense (e.g. **לְיְמִינָךְ** *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e.g. **לְעֶרֶב** *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of **לְ** properly belong to the government of the verb :

- (1) As a *nota dativi*² to introduce the remoter object; also S
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incomodi*, e.g. Ez 37¹¹) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with **לְ**, as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form.³ By far the most frequent use of this **לְ** is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e.g. **לֵךְ-לֵךְ** *go, get thee away*, Gn 1¹, 22², Dt 2¹³ (also in the feminine, Ct 2^{10.13}); **לֵךְ וְנִטָּה** *turn thee aside*, 2 S 2²¹; **לֵךְ וְסַעַר** *take your journey*, Dt 1⁷; **לֵךְ וְעָבַר** *pass ye over*; **לֵךְ וּבְרַח-לֵךְ** *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27⁴³; **עָלִי-לֵךְ** *get thee up*, Is 40⁹; **לֵךְ וּפְנֵי** *turn you*, Dt 1⁴⁰; **לֵךְ וּשׁוּבוּ** *return ye*, Dt 5²⁷; **לֵךְ קוּמִי** *rise up*, Ct 2¹⁰; **לֵךְ וּשְׁבוּ** *abide ye*, Gn 22⁵; **לֵךְ וְחָדַל** *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35²¹ (in the plural, Is 2²²); **לֵךְ וְהָבֵי** *take you*, Dt 1¹³, Jos 18⁴, Ju 20⁷, 2 S 16²⁰, and so almost regularly **לֵךְ וְהִשְׁמַר** (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and **וְהִשְׁמְרוּ לָכֶם** *take heed to yourselves*; **לֵךְ וְהָיָה** *be thou like*, Ct 2¹⁷ (cf. verse 9), 8¹⁴, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 17³, 1 S 22⁵; after an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Is 36⁹ **לֵךְ וְהִבַּטְתָּ** *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e.g. **לָהּ וְהִנְיָב** *and sat her down*, Gn 21¹⁸, cf. 22⁵, Ex 18²⁷, *ψ 120⁶, 123⁴, Jb 61⁹*; even after a participle, Ho 8⁹.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37¹¹.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second *accusative* may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* with regard to ... (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20¹³; 1 K 10²³, cf.

¹ Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

² Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *a*) and in English to are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by **לְ**, cf. § 117 n.

³ Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36⁹; even before the verb, Jer 5².—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8¹ *write upon it* . . . (the words) מִהֵרָא שָׁלַל וְגו' (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37¹⁶.

ו) (א) מִן, originally (according to § 101 a) *separation*,¹ represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1¹.

טו) (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among* . . ., e. g. Gn 3¹ *subtil as none other of the beasts*, &c.; cf. 3¹⁴, Dt 33²⁴, 1 S 15³³, Ju 5²⁴ (so especially after the idea of choosing out of a larger class, 1 S 2²⁸; cf. Ex 19⁵, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22³ מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶפְרַיִם *without the bow* (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48⁴⁵ מִכֹּחַ *without strength*; Ho 6⁶, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3⁶, ψ 52⁵, Jb 11¹⁵, 19²⁶, 21⁹, also such examples as Nu 15²⁴ *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20³.

טז) Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing* to any one, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15²³ *he hath rejected thee* מִמֶּלְכָּךְ *away from (being) king*, instead of מְלִיכוּת מִי (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15¹³, Is 17¹ מְעִיר *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer 17¹⁶, Jb 28¹¹ *he bindeth the streams* מִמֶּבְּרֵי *that they trickle not*; Gn 16², 23⁶ מִקְבֵּר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead*; Is 24¹⁰.

י) The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of *precluding from anything* is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27¹ *his eyes were dim* בְּרֵאֵת *away from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7⁸ *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מִמֶּנּוּ *that it be not a people* (just as in Is 23¹, Jer 48^{2,42}, ψ 83⁵); Lv 26¹³, Is 5⁶, 49¹⁵, 54⁹, Ezr 2¹² (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, f)²; on מִבְּלֵי and מֵאֵין *without*, cf. § 152 y.

¹ Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibelhebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

² All the partitive uses of מִן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מִן is used in the sense of *some, something*, and even *one*, in such expressions as *and he slew* . . . also מִשְׁנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) of the princes of Israel, 2 Ch 21⁴; מִכֹּלֶּי Lv 4²; 1 K 18⁵; מִדַּם הַבֶּקָר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29¹², &c.; Jb 27⁶ *my heart doth not reproach me* מִיָּמֵי *for any*, i. e. *for one, of my days*; 38¹² מִיָּמֶיךָ *one of thy days*, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1⁶; cf. also 1 S 14⁴⁵, 25²⁸). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אַחַד, אֶחָד is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4² *and shall do* מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה *any one of these things*; 5¹³, Dt 15⁷, Ez 18¹⁰; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 t), 1 S 14⁴⁵ (2 S 14¹¹, 1 K 1⁵²) מִשְׁעֶרֶת רֹאשׁוֹ *not one hair of his head*.—מִן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7²² of *all that was*, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6² (= *whomsoever they chose*).

³ On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from* . . ., cf. below, § 133 a; on מִן as expressing the

(2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מן after ז such ideas as *to take away from, to bereave, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (cf. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\omega$ ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e.g. Is 33¹⁵. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מן *on account of, in consequence of* (cf. *our that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e.g. מִרְבָּב for *multitude*, 1 K 8⁵.

(e) עַל ¹ The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon aa* (ἐπὶ)² and *over* (ὐπὲρ , *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of עַל after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (פָּקַד עַל), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰, 23², and especially 2 S 18¹¹ וְעָלִי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of עַל after ideas *bb* of *covering, protecting, guarding* בָּקַע עַל , גָּנַן עַל ; also the combinations רַחֵם עַל *to have compassion upon . . .*, חָסַם עַל , הָמַל עַל *to spare some one*, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נִלְחַם עַל Ju 9¹⁷ = *to fight for some one*, i.e. in his defence.

(3) Moreover עַל is used after verbs of *standing and going*, to express *cc* a towering *over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e.g. Gn 41¹, &c., *Pharaoh . . . stood עַל-הַיָּאֵר* *by the Nile* (above the water level; cf. ψ 1³), and so especially עָמַד עַל in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Ze 4¹⁴ (cf. Is 6², where מִפְּעַל לְ is used for עַל); הִתְיַצַּב עַל *to present oneself by command before* some one, Jb 1⁶, &c. Cf. also עַל-יָד , עַל-יָדֵי (Jb 1¹⁴) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to dd* something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with עַל in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to overpower him; cf. especially קָם עַל *to rise up over, i.e. against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e.g. ψ 73²⁰ מִתְקִיץ *after awaking* (cf. $\xi\grave{\alpha}$ ἀπὸ τοῦ, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e.g. Gn 38²⁴, Ho 6², and very frequently מִמֶּנָּה *from the end of, i.e. after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of בֵּן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

¹ Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* (עַל), Halle, 1882.

² Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, עַל also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28⁹ (31⁶⁰); 30⁴⁰, 32¹² (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22⁶. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e.g. Jb 10⁷ *although thou knowest, prop. in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, **לָלַחֵם עַל־** to fight against . . . , **עַל־** הָנָה to encamp against . . . , **נִאָּסְפוּ עַל־** to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4¹¹; cf. ψ 2²), &c. ; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. **עַל־** הַשֵּׁב רָעָה to imagine evil against any one, &c.

- ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

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§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*
Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.

1. When a *relative verb* (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without לְ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 *n*, note 2.

(a) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the *b* object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114 *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33¹ בָּהֶתֵּמַר שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler*, i.e. to spoil; Jer 22³⁰ לֹא יִצְלַח . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting*, i.e. so as to sit, &c.; Jon 1⁶ *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i.e. that thou sleepest; ¹ by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3² *now his eyes* הָיָהּ חֹהֵם *had begun being dim*, i.e. to wax dim (unless we read כְּהוֹת = לְכָהוֹת, cf. § 114 *m*); by a substantive, Gn 9²⁰ *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲדָרְמָה).

(b) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the *c* imperfect² (in English usually rendered by *to*, *in order to* or *that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42²¹ יִגְדִּיל . . . יִהְיֶה חֶפֶץ *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Jb 30²⁸, 32²² לֹא יִדְעָתִי אֲכַבֶּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20¹⁹ (where for תָּרַד we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֹד); after an imperfect, ψ 88¹¹, 102¹⁴, Jb 19³, 24¹⁴; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16⁸; after a participle, Is 5^{11a}.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9⁶ *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in La 1¹⁰; after the imperfect, Is 47¹ (י) *thou shalt no longer be called*, &c.; Ho 1⁶ לֹא אֲסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם *I will no longer continue* (and) *have mercy*, i.e. *I will no more have mercy*; Is 52¹, Pr 23³⁵.—Nu 22⁶ *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them*, and (that) *I may drive them out of the land* (אֵיכָל may, however, be a scribal error for נִכָּל, due to the preceding אֵיכָל, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

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2 S 21⁴.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in La 11⁰; but the explanation of אֲנִי as a relative clause is preferable.

d 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in a-c), the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, e) by means of וְ (וּ, וִ).¹ As a rule, here also (see above, a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שָׁבָה, יָסַף,² הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e.g. Gn 26¹⁸ וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר and he returned and digged, i.e. he digged again; 2 K 11¹³; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6¹³; with הוֹסִיף, e.g. Gn 25¹ and Abraham added and took a wife, i.e. again took a wife; Gn 38⁸ and frequently; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Jb 6⁹; in the imperative (cf. § 110 h), Ju 19⁶ הוֹאִל־נָא וְיָלֵן be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (cf. the English he was persuaded and remained, for to remain); 2 S 7²⁹; with מָהֵר Gn 24^{18,20}, &c.; with חָזַר Ct 2³.

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 d), e.g. Dt 31¹² that they וִירָאוּ וְיִלְמְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה may learn, and fear the Lord, i.e. to fear the Lord; Is 1¹⁹, Ho 2¹¹, Est 8⁸, Dn 9^{25b}; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23⁸ (O that I knew how I might find him); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7⁷, Ec 4¹⁷; jussive and imperative, Jb 17¹⁰; cf., finally, Gn 47⁶ וְאִם־יִדְעָתָּה וְיִשְׁכַּחֲמֶם and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i.e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e.g. Gn 42²⁸ then Joseph commanded and they filled³ (prop. that they should fill, and they filled ...; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50²); a further command is then added by means of וְ and the infinitive; Ex 36⁶; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30²⁷ I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c., i.e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (b) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached without the copula⁴ in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 h) the imperatives קִיָּם (קִיָּמָה) קִיָּמִי,

¹ Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

² Of a different kind are the cases in which יָסַף with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11²⁶ they prophesied and added not, sc. to prophesy, i.e. but they did so no more; Dt 5¹⁹, Jb 27¹⁹ (reading יִאֲסִיף וְלֹא).

³ Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

⁴ To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e.g. Ex 15⁹, Jb 29⁸, &c.

&c.) and לָבֵי, לָבֵה, לָבֵי, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e.g. קִיּוּם הִתְנַחֵף *arise, walk*, Gn 13¹⁷, 19¹⁵, 27⁴³; in the plural, Gn 19¹⁴; Ex 19²⁴ לָבֵיךְ *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3⁹; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9¹⁰ לָבֵה יֵלְכֵה *come, let us go*; Gn 31⁴⁴ and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8¹⁵; in the imperfect, Mi 7¹⁹, ψ 7¹³, 59⁷, 71²⁰; in the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; in the cohortative, Gn 30³¹; in the imperative, Jos 5², 1 S 3⁵ *lie down again*; in the perfect, Dt 1⁵, Ho 5¹¹; in the imperative, Jb 6²⁸ הִרְבֵּה = *much*, 1 S 2⁸ הִרְבֵּה תִדְבֹר *lie down again*; in the imperative, ψ 51⁴; הִחֵל, Dt 2²⁴ רָשׁ הִחֵל *begin, possess*; כָּל, La 4¹⁴ בְּלֹא יִגְעוּ *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; כִּמְהֵרָה = *quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106¹³; in the imperative, Gn 19³², Ju 9⁴⁸, Est 6¹⁰.—Other examples are: Ho 9⁹ הֵעֵמִיךְ = *deeply, radically*; Zp 3⁷ הַשְׁבִּימִים = *early* (even in the participle, Ho 6⁴, 13³); Is 29⁴ נִשְׁפָּל = *low*, cf. Jer 13¹⁸; Jos 3¹⁶ כָּמֹם = *wholly*; ψ 112⁹ כִּפּוֹר = *plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more *h* vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e.g. Is 52¹, Ho 1⁶, 9⁹ with Gn 25¹, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הִלֵּךְ Gn 30³¹, Dt 1⁵, 2²⁴, Jos 3¹⁶, 1 S 3⁵) cf. also Neh 3²⁰, 1 Ch 13². For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53¹¹ יִשְׁכַּע יִרְאֶה *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4⁵ כָּרָא מְלֵא *cry, all*, i.e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

§ 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

Blake, 'The internal passive in Semitic,' JAOS. xxii.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *a* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 a, p, u) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e.g. Gn 35¹⁹ וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21³⁴, Is 16¹⁰, Ez 16³⁴ (with a dative added, 2 S 17¹⁶, Is 53⁵, La 5⁵), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,¹ e.g. Gn 27⁴² וַיִּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i.e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21¹¹, 1 K 18¹³.

¹ When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it

b Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4¹⁸ וַיֵּלֶךְ לָחֹנֶה אֶת־עֵינֶיךָ *and unto Enoch was born Irad* (cf. Nu 26⁶⁰, and after an infinitive, Gn 21⁵); Gn 17⁵, 21⁸ (after an infinitive); 29²⁷ (unless וַיִּהְיֶה is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21²⁸, 25²⁸, Lv 6¹³, Nu 7¹⁰ (after an infinitive); 26⁵⁵ (cf. verse 53); Dt 20⁸ (where, however, for יָמֹס the Hiph. יָמַס should be read, according to 1²⁸); Jos 7¹⁵, Is 16¹⁰; with the object preceding, Ex 13⁷, Lv 2⁸, 19²⁰, Nu 16²⁸, Dan 9^{24,1}.—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50²⁰; before Pu'al, Is 14³ (אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבָרָה = *which they have caused to be served by thee*); Jb 22⁹; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46²², where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יִלְדָה לְיִלְדָה; the Samaritan in Gn 35²⁶ and 46²⁷ also reads יִלְדָה, and this (or יִלְדָה) should certainly be read instead of יִלְדָה in 2 S 21²².—After Hoph., Ex 10⁸, 27⁷, Lv 10¹⁸, 16²⁷, Nu 32⁵, 1 K 2²¹, Pr 16³³, Jb 30¹⁵; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40²⁰, Ez 16⁴⁴, 27⁷; before Hoph., Is 17¹, 21², Ho 10⁶, Ze 13³; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13^{55f}.

c 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 cc) retain in the passive construction at least *one* accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה *which I will show thee* (Gn 12¹) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָה (Ex 25⁴⁰) *which thou hast been shown*, i.e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26³⁰ (but in Lv 13⁴⁰ with an accusative of the person); Jb 7³. In ψ 22¹⁶ מִלִּקְוֹתַי מְרַבֵּק הַדְּבִיק governing two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is 1²⁰, הָאֶבֶל הַזֶּה יִיָּאָה בְּחֶרֶב *ye shall be devoured with the sword*, הָרֶב is not an accus. instrumenti, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.²

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117 cc), ψ 80¹¹, כָּפֹי הָרִים צֶלֶה *the mountains were covered with the shadow of it* (the vine); Pr 19²⁸. So also some of the examples in § 116 k of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18¹¹, 1 S 2¹⁸, 17⁵, 1 K 22¹⁰,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a *concealed agent* is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 g) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

¹ In 2 K 18³⁰ יִנְחַן is to be read or אָת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36¹⁸.

² In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, under c, this would become in the passive, *the sword* (nom.) *shall be made to devour you* (acc.). Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i.e. to give him over to it. It would then be simplest to read הָאֶבֶל הַזֶּה.

Ez 9^{2,3}; ¹ with the accusative preceding, Neh 4¹².—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex 17, Is 38¹⁰ (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40²⁰.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 61¹, Ze 14⁴, Jb 28²; with the accusative preceding, Is 24¹², Mi 3¹² (Jer 26¹⁸), Jb 15⁷, 22¹⁶.² Also in Ez 40¹⁷ and 46²⁸, the accusative preceding עֲשֵׂי (in 41¹⁸ following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עֲשֵׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 ii), Gn 17¹¹, 14²⁴, Ju 17 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15³² (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *e* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14²¹; instead, however, of the *Niph.* יִפְלֵא the *Qal* (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72¹⁹, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e.g. Gn 25²¹ יְהוָה לֹא יִעָתֵר לוֹ the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26²³, ψ 73¹⁰ and the blessing בְּרִיךְ הוּא לַיהוָה blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2²⁰; cf. Gn 14¹⁹, Ju 17²⁶, 1 S 15¹³; also in the plural, 1 S 23²¹ (2 S 2⁵, ψ 115¹⁵).—Before the verb, Pr 14²⁰ and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin = *coming from*), e.g. Gn 9¹¹; before the verb, ψ 37²³, Jb 24¹; by בְּ (*instrumenti*) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9⁶ (בְּאָדָם *by man*); Nu 36², Is 14^{3 b} [but ? = *wherewith it was worked* (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21³, König § 106; and see בְּ עָבַר in the Lexicon], Ho 14⁴, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

II. Syntax of the Noun.

§ 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate the

¹ Analogous to הַלְבָּשׁ הַקְּבֵדִים *who was clothed in linen*, Ez 9³, would be הַנִּזְהָר הַנִּזְהָרִים *2 Ch 31¹⁰*; but we must certainly read there נִזְהָרִים with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87³ be so explained, נִכְבְּדוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, נִשְׁלֵחַן 1 K 14⁶ may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with* something, so that, like צִנֵּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

² In reality יָרַח Ex 16^{20,25} (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which תּוֹלְעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 *b* and § 87 *i*) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 *p*), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 *r*. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. *אָח* *brother*, *אָחוּת* *sister*; *עָלָם* *a young man*, *עָלְמָה* *a young woman, maid*; *פָּר* *iuvencus*, *פָּרָה* *iuvencu*; *עֵגֶל* *vitulus*, *עֵגְלָה* *vitula*. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, *p*, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see *b*), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see *h*).

- b* 2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (*a*) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (*b*) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (*c*) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

c Examples of (*a*) are: *אָב* *father*, *אִם* *mother*; *אֵיל* *ram*, *רְחֵל* *ewe*; *חֵישׁ* *he-goat*, *עֵז* *she-goat*; *חֲמֹר* *he-ass*, *אָחוּת* *she-ass*; *אֲרִיָּה* *lion*, *לִיּוֹנֶס* *lioness*. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e. g. *עֶבֶד* *male slave, man-servant*, *אִמָּה* or *נְשִׁפָּחָה* *female slave, maid*; *חָתָן* *bridegroom*, *כַּלָּה* *bride*.

d Of (*b*): *גָּמֶל* *camel*. Plur. *גָּמָלִים* construed as masculine, Gn 24⁶⁸; as feminine, Gn 32¹⁶; *בָּקָר* collect. *oxen*, Ex 21³⁷, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33¹³, Jb 1¹⁴ as feminine. In Jer 2²⁴ the construction of *פָּרָה* *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek *ὁ, ἡ πῆλις* *ὁ, ἡ βοῦς*.

e Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. *ὁ λέων*, *ἡ χελιδὼν*, and the German *der Löwe, der Adler*, &c., but *die Katze, die Taube*, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. *אֶלְקָה* *ox* (ψ 144¹⁴ even referring to cows when pregnant), *דָּב* *bear*, Ho 13⁸ *דּוֹב שְׁכַנְלָה* (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; cf., however, 2 K 2²⁴, Is 11⁷), *אֶבֶר* *wolf*, *כֶּלֶב* *dog*, all masculine; but *אֶרְנָבָת* *hare*, *יוֹנָה* *dove*, *חֲסִידָה* *stork*, *דְּבוֹרָה* *bee*, *נְמָלָה* *ant*, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, *חֲמֹר* *ass*, 2 S 19²⁷ for *אָחוּת*; *אֵיל* *hart*, ψ 42² for *אֵיְלָה*. In Gn 23³² *מֵת* *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; *אֲמֹן* *a master workman*, in Pr 8³⁰ refers to wisdom *חֲכָמָה* feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*¹ spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר נַאִיס, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נַעָרִים נַאִיִּם in Jb 1¹⁹ and Ru 2²¹ in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e.g. אֲתָם Gn 1²⁷ and אֲתָהֶם 32¹) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.²

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,³ *h* although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:⁴

(a) Names of *countries and towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers⁵ and nurses of the inhabitants; e.g. אֲשׁוּר Assyria, אֲדָם Idumaea, צֹר Tyre; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל daughter of Babylon, בַּת צִיּוֹן daughter of Zion, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e.g. Am 5⁵ בֵּית־אֵל, בֵּית־לֵלָה, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded *h* as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוּדָה masc. Is 3⁸, &c., Judaei; but

¹ So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zauf* (conjux) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; '*arūs* for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *ḥāmū*, *bāṭin* (gravidā), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אֵאָן, at least in Nu 11¹² (Is 49²⁸ ?), probably means *nurse* (for אֵאָנָה 2 S 4⁴, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

² The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e.g. *al-abawāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlīb* or the *making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

³ The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful . . . ; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, . . . subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZA W.* 1896, p. 120 f.).

⁴ When, on the other hand, words with a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (שֵׁט קֶשֶׁת), מָן *time* (see the Lexicon), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ה of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

⁵ Cf. *a city and a mother* (אֵם) in Israel, 2 S 20¹⁹. In the same way אֵם (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phoenician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητροπόλις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149²; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23¹⁵, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e.g. Jos 15⁴⁵ ff., &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e.g. Ez 16²³, La 1¹, &c.

Is 7⁶, fem., *Judaea*; אֲדָמָה masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20²⁰; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49¹⁷. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יְהוּדָה La 1³; cf. Gn 41⁸, Ex 10⁷, 12³³, 1 S 17²¹, 2 S 8², 24⁹, Is 7², 21², 42²¹, Jer 50⁴⁰, Jb 1¹⁵. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e.g. Is 50¹, 54¹ ^π, and the use of the expressions בְּבֶל Is 47¹ ^π, בֵּית צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

k (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, עֲוֵלָה *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כֶּכֶר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*.

l In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e.g. אֶרֶץ and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), נָחַל (נֵי) *valley*, גֶּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2¹⁵, unless לְעֵבְרָה, &c., is to be read), הַיְבֵל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,¹ &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18²⁴ (referring to Sodom), Jb 20⁹, and 2 S 17¹² *Kethibh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

m (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יֵתֶד *tent-peg*, בַּד *bucket*, כוֹס *cup*, נֶעֱלַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אֲרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאֲרוֹן), תַּנּוּר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89.)—Also אָזֶן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבָּע *finger* (and so probably בִּתְּחָן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יְמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, יֵרֶךְ *thigh*, בִּתְּחָף *shoulder*, לֶחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנָּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17⁵, &c.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22¹⁶, Pr 26²⁸, &c.), עֵין *eye* (masc. Ze 3⁹, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29²⁷).²

o (d) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also masc., ψ 19⁶, 104¹⁹); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsāt*)

¹ מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

² אָף *nose*, נֶיֶד *sineu*, זָנָב *tail*, חָף *palate*, כִּבֵּד *liver*, לֵב *heart*, רֵחִים *bowels*, מִצְחָה *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֲרֵךְ *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צְנַאֲר *neck*, רֹאשׁ *head*, שֵׁכָם *shoulder*, also רֵחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20¹⁷, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצְמוֹ *bone* is common.

fire (rarely *masc.*); *נֹרָא* brightness, *אֶבֶן* a stone, as a rule also *רוּחַ* wind, spirit; *נֶפֶשׁ* breath, soul; also *אוֹר* light in Jer 13¹⁶, Jb 36³², and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *f* feminine in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine *form*, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts¹ (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same *q* stem, as *נִקְמָה* vengeance, as well as *נָקַם*, *עֲזָרָה* help, as well as *עָזַר*), e.g. *אֱמוּנָה* firmness, faithfulness, *גְּבוּרָה* strength, *גְּדוּלָה* greatness, *מְלֵאָה* fullness, *מְשָׁלָה* dominion, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantively in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e.g. *נְבוֹנָה* stedfastness, ψ 5¹⁰, *טוֹבָה* goodness, *רָעָה* evil, Gn 50²⁰, *נֶקֶחָה* a light thing (i. e. a trifling thing), Jer 6¹⁴; so especially in the plural, e.g. *גְּדֻלּוֹת* great things, ψ 12⁴; *הַנְּחָרוֹת* the ruined places, Ez 36³⁶, along with *הַנְּשֻׁפּוֹת* that which was desolate, *טוֹבוֹת* kindnesses, 2 K 25²⁸, *נְכוֹנוֹת* uprightness, honesty, Is 26¹⁰, *נְעִימוֹת* amoenae, ψ 16¹¹ (but in verse 6 in the same sense *נְעִימִים*), *נְפִלְאוֹת* wonderful things, Ex 34¹⁰ and frequently, *קָשׁוֹת* hard things, roughly, Gn 42^{7,30} (but cf. also *רֵיקִים* vain things, Pr 12¹¹, 28¹⁹). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of *זָאת*, *זֵאת* (as well as *זֶה* and *הַזֶּה*), Ju 14⁴, ψ 118²³, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also *הִנֵּה* equivalent to *illa*, Is 51¹⁰): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7⁷ *וְלֹא תָקִים וְלֹא תָבוֹא* it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass; Ju 14⁴¹, Jer 10⁷; so too the suffixes Gn 15⁶, Ex 10¹¹, Jb 38¹⁸, referring back to a whole statement.²

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract *f* ideas treated above, under *g*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have *קֹהֵלֶת* Ec 1¹, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt that which takes part in or speaks in a religious assembly, hence *LXX* ἐκκλησιαστής, i. e. concionator, preacher; the proper names *סֹפֶרֶת* Ezr 2⁶⁵, Neh 7⁶⁷, *פִּכְרֶת* Ezr 2⁶⁷, Neh 7⁶⁸, and the foreign word *פָּחָה* viceroy; in the plural *בְּנוֹת* prop. cognomina, then like-named, colleagues; *פְּרָעוֹת* princes (if this be the true meaning).³ All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Ec 7²⁷ instead of *אִמְרָה* the words should rather be divided as *אִמְרָה*; cf. 12⁸).

¹ Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

² While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the *feminine* in Hebrew as being used for the *neuter* (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in *neuters*, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be neuter in Latin, &c.) by supplying a feminine substantive.

³ This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e.g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *‘allāma* (great wisdom) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus, magistracy*, for *magistrate*, and our *his Majesty, Excellency, Highness*, &c.

§ Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,¹ generally fem. participles used substantively, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e.g. אֲרֻחָה (fem. of travelling), prop. the travelling (company), i.e. travelling persons (a caravan); גִּלְיָה (fem. of גָּלָה one going into exile) the company of exiles (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשְׁבֵיָהּ (that which inhabits) i.e. the population, Is 12⁶, Mi 11¹¹; אֹיֵבֵיָהּ (prop. that which is hostile) the enemy, Mi 7⁸⁻¹⁰ (cf. Mi 4⁶ the halting, cast off, driven away, i.e. those who halt, &c.); דָּלָה (the abject) the poorest sort; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of cattle, beasts; דָּגָה a shoal of fish, Gn 1²⁶ (but in Jon 2² as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. t, for דָּג a fish, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נֶבֶלָה dead body, Is 26¹⁹, &c. (construed as masculine), for a heap of dead bodies.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת daughter, in בְּבָל, בַּת עַמִּי (equivalent to עַמִּי בְּבָלִי my countrymen, see above, i.

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i.e. to indicate a single example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֲנִי a fleet (1 K 9²⁰), אֲנִיָּה a single ship (Jon 1³); צִיד hunting, game, צִידָה Gn 27⁸ K^{eth}. (צִיד Q^{ere}) a piece of venison; שֵׁעַר hair (coll.), שֵׁעָרָה a single hair (Ju 20¹⁸; in the plural, ψ 40¹³, 69⁵); שִׁיר a poem, frequently collective, שִׁירָה a single song; so probably also תְּאֵנָה a fig (the corresponding masculine תֵּן is collective in Arabic); שִׁשְׁבָּנָה a lily (also שִׁשְׁבָּן); לִבְנָה a brick (Arab. libīna, but libīn collective), &c.

u (e) The feminine is also used for things *without life* (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to *organic* things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. יָרֵךְ side (of the body), thigh, יֵרֶכָה or יֵרֶכָה back part, border (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה forehead, מִצְחָה greaves. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 a.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e.g. Is 3¹ מִשְׁעָנָה וּמִשְׁעָנָה stay and staff, i.e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1^b as a gloss and take staff as = staff-bearer, official; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16⁶, Pr 8¹³. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43⁶, 49²², 60⁴ (sons and daughters); 49²³, Ec 2⁸.

§ 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 a-i, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(a) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 t).

¹ Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, the cavalry (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., the camel corps.

Thus *בָּקָר* *cattle, oxen*¹ (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21³⁷ *בָּקָר חֲמִשָּׁה* five head of cattle), but *שׁוֹר* an ox; *צֹאן* small cattle, i.e. sheep and goats (*μῆλα*), cf. Jb 1³ *שִׁבְעַת אֲלֵפִי צֹאן* seven thousand sheep; but *שׁוֹן* a single head of small cattle (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: *וְיִז* (prop. that which prowls or roams) wild beasts, *בָּרַח* (perhaps prop. tripping) a number of little children; *רִשָּׁא* fresh green herb, i.e. young plants, *רִקֵּן* green, i.e. vegetation in general; *עוֹף* birds, fowl; *רֶכֶב* chariots or cavalcade, *רִמָּה* worms, *רִמָּשׁ* creeping things (of small creatures), *שֹׁרֵץ* swarming things.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *as nomina unitatis*; thus, *אָדָם* (never in plur.) means both *man* (*homo*) and *men* (*homines*); *אִישׁ* a man (*vir*) and *men* (*viri*); *אִשָּׁה* woman and women (Ju 21¹⁶, 1 S 21⁶); *אֲרָבָה* a locust, but usually a swarm of locusts; *נַפֶּשׁ* soul and souls (persons); *כֶּבֶל* staff and staves (Gn 30³⁷); *עֵלֶם* a bird of prey and birds of prey; *עֵלֶף* a leaf and foliage; *עֵשֶׂב* a plant and plants, herbs; *עֵץ* a tree and trees (as it were foliage); *פֵּרִי* fruit and fruits; *שִׁיחַ* a shrub and shrubs; in isolated instances also nouns like *עֶבֶד* man-servant, *שִׁפְחָה* maid-servant, *חֲמֹר* ass, *שׁוֹר* ox (cf. Gn 32⁶).—On the singular (especially of gentilic names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12² *הַסִּיר*, Pr 11¹⁴ *יוֹעֵץ*) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as *יוֹם יוֹם* Gn 39¹⁰, &c., *day by day, every day*; *שָׁנָה שָׁנָה* year by year, Dt 14²²; *אִישׁ אִישׁ* every man, Ex 36⁴; with *כִּ* before each, as *בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר* Ex 16²¹ every morning (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24⁸), for which the distributive *לְ* is also used, *לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר* 1 Ch 9²⁷, and with one plural *לְבֹקֶרִים* ψ 73¹⁴, *לְבֹקֶרִים* Jb 7¹⁸ parallel with *לְרִנָּעִים* every moment. Somewhat different are the instances with *כִּ* before the second word only, e.g. *יוֹם בְּיוֹם* day by day, 1 Ch 12²²; *שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה* year by year, Dt 15²⁰, 1 S 17 (but in verse 3 *בְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה*); *בְּפֶעַם בְּפֶעַם* Nu 24¹, Ju 16²⁰, 20^{30 f.}, 1 S 3¹⁰ as at other times. Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, *אִישׁ וְאִישׁ* ψ 87⁵, or *אִישׁ וְאִישׁ* Est 1⁸; *דּוֹר וְדוֹר* all generations, Dt 32⁷; *יוֹם וְיוֹם* Est 3⁴; cf. Est 8⁹,

¹ The plural form *בָּקָרִים* from *בָּקָר* is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10³⁷ (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even *צֹאֲנֵינוּ* our sheep, is also to be read; Baer, however, has *צֹאֲנֵינוּ*), and 2 Ch 4³. In Am 6¹² read, with Hitzig, *בָּבָקָר יָם*.

Ezr 10¹⁴, 1 Ch 26¹³ and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the 1 copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*³, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of ψ 45¹⁸ only in very late passages) with a pleonastic פֶּלֶל preceding, ψ 145¹³, Est 2¹¹, 9²⁸, 2 Ch 11¹², &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense¹ (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each, &c.*, e. g. Nu 14³⁴ forty days יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה counting for every day a year; cf. Ez 24⁶, Ex 28³⁴ (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד apart, לְבַדּוֹ עָרַר עָרַר every drove by itself, Gn 32¹⁷; cf. Ze 12¹². Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 g), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24⁸, Nu 13², 31⁴) or three (Nu 7¹¹, 17²¹), but even of six (Ex 26³) or seven (Ex 25²³, 26^{10, 21, 25}); in Ex 25³⁵ five words even three times repeated.²

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e. g. 2 K 25¹⁵ which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 27⁷ בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ only along by the high way; cf. Nu 3⁸, 8¹⁶ they are given, given to him, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3¹⁶ גִּבִּים גִּבִּים nothing but trenches; Gn 14¹⁰ בְּאֵרֹת בְּאֵרֹת חֶמֶר all asphalt-pits.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5²² by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones, Ex 8¹⁰ (countless heaps), and Jo 4¹⁴ (countless multitudes); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex 23³⁰ by little and little, very gradually; cf. § 133 k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express of more than one kind; thus Dt 25¹³ (Pr 20¹⁰) וָאֵבֶן וָאֵבֶן a weight and a weight, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition great and small); ψ 12⁸ בְּלִבְךָ וּבְלִבְךָ with two kinds of heart, i. e. with a double-dealing heart; cf. the opposite וּלֵב לֵב 1 Ch 12³³.

§ 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.³

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of local extension), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (abstract plurals, usually rendered in English by forms in -hood, -ness, -ship). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of intensity or of an internal

¹ Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6^{30 f.} συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρᾶσι πρᾶσι (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beethweise*).

² These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16⁶, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1²⁰, it is a mere *ditto-graphy*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

³ Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

multiplication of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis*.

Examples of (a): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* of heaven, Is 33¹⁸, Jb 16¹⁸; elsewhere מְרוֹם; מַיִם *water*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side *turned towards* any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרִים *the back*, Ex 26¹², 33²³, &c., צְוָאֲרִים *neck, nape of the neck*¹; also מְרִאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעְמָקִים *depth*, מְרַחֲקִים (also מְרַחֵק) *distance*, מִשְׁכְּבִים *bed*, Gn 49⁴ (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁכְּנִים ψ 46⁵, and מִשְׁכְּנוֹת 43³, 84², 132⁵, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְיֶה *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4¹⁰). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under d-f. So perhaps יַצְעִים *bed* (ψ 63⁷, Jb 17¹⁸; but Gn 49⁴, ψ 132³, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַצְעִים (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of time in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17¹ לִי קְבָרִים *graves* are (ready) for me, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21³², 2 Ch 16¹⁴; cf. 2 K 22²⁰.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form (*qātūlīm, qittūlīm, &c.*), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions* or *qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single *acts* of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחַיִּים and בְּחַיּוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלִילוֹת *bridal state*; מְגוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14³⁰), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); יְשׁוּבִלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עֲוִיעִים *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry ^c (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify² the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אוֹנִים *might*, Is 40²⁶; אֱמוּנִים (as well as אֱמוּנָה) and אֱמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁר (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), happy; בּוֹשְׁרוֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68⁷; בִּינּוֹת Is 27¹¹ and בִּינּוֹת Is 40¹⁴, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֲצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32²⁸; דְּעִים Jb 37¹⁶ and דְּעוֹת

¹ Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέφνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ τράχηλα, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סְפָרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סֵפֶר) 1 K 21⁸ n, 2 K 10¹, 19¹⁴ (Is 37¹⁴; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39¹, Jer 29²⁵, 32¹⁴ (*after being folded, previously סֵפֶר*).

² Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL*, 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2⁸ (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּטָחוֹת Jb 12⁶ מִבְּטָחִים Is 32¹⁸ (full) *confidence*; בְּרָכוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21⁷; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41⁴; הָיוֹת ψ 5¹⁰ (very) *wickedness*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dn 9²⁵ (greatly) *beloved*; חֲמוֹת ψ 76¹¹, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dn 12² (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26¹⁸, &c.; מִרְאָה Gn 46² (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרִים מִישְׁרִים uprightness; תַּהֲפֻכוֹת perversity; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11³⁶, &c.; מְחֻשְׁבִּים and חֻשְׁבִּים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים nobility; שְׂמֻנִים Is 28¹ *fatness*; צַחְצָחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מְחַמְקִים succetness; בִּזְמֻדִּים preciousness; שְׂשֻׁעִים delight; עֲנָנִים and תַּעֲנִנִים pleasure; רַחֲמִים compassion; מְנוּחוֹת ψ 23² *rest, refreshment*; מְהֻלָּה Am 3⁹ *tumult*. Probably also יְרִידַת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45¹; מְרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13²⁶; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38¹³; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33¹⁵, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16¹¹. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Pr 1²⁰, &c.) can hardly be a plural (= the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 l).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (SBOT. Proverbs, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in יְאִירִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally יְאִיר Is 1¹⁸, 19⁶ (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30¹², ψ 78⁴⁴, but in Is 37²⁵, Ez 29³ the usual explanation, *arms or channels of the Nile*, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהָרוֹת ψ 24² of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137¹ of the *great river*, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18¹ נְהָרֵי בֹשֶׁשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16¹³ מֶלֶכִּים (acc. to P. Haupt = the *great king*) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂאֵי Ez 19¹ the second *yôdh* is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנֻמִּים *embalming*, בְּפָרִים atonement, מְלֻאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שְׁלָחִים dismissal, שְׁלֻמִּים retribution, פְּתָחִים engraving (of a seal, &c.); אֶהָרִים fornication, זִנְנִים whoredom, זִנְיָפִים adultery; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תַּחֲנֻנִּים supplication, נִדְרִים Jb 7⁴ (restless) *tossing to and fro*, עֲלִלוֹת gleaning; perhaps also כְּנִינֹת ψ 4¹, 6¹, &c., if it means the *playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלֻמִּים Is 1²³ *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number.¹

g Of (c): the pluralis excellentiae or maiestatis, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics² belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an intensification of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under e, which are mostly found in poetry.

¹ Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralis tantum*.

² The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רִבְּנֵי הַפְּחוֹת plur. *virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them plur. *excellentiae*, *magnitudinis*, or plur. *maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10¹⁹, 11³¹); and the plural used by God in Gn 1²⁶, 11⁷, Is 6⁸ has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6⁸, cf. also Gn 3²²), or according to others, an indication of the *fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1²⁶); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12¹², &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i.e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 *h*), e.g. אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק ψ 7¹⁰, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong ה' the plurals קדושים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12¹, Pr 9¹⁰, 30³ (cf. אֱלֹהִים קדושים Jos 24¹⁹, and the Aram. עֲלִיוֹנִי *the Most High*, Dn 7^{18.22.25}); and probably הַרְפָּאִים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 19^{13.16} only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image *may* be intended¹; in Zc 10² alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5⁷ בָּהֶם *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹנָי, (*lordship*) *lord*, e.g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה *a cruel lord*, Is 19⁴; אֲדָנִי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42³⁰, cf. Gn 32²⁹; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָרְכֶךָ, אֲדָרְכֶנָּה, ψ 45¹², אֲדָרְכֶי, &c., also אֲדָרְכֶנִּי (except 1 S 16¹⁶); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָרְכִי.² So also בָּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e.g. בָּעָלִי Ex 21²⁰, Is 1³, &c.³

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35¹⁰; עֹשֵׂיהָ Is 54⁵; עֹשֵׂי ψ 149²; עֹשֵׂיהָ Is 22¹¹; נֹטְתֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42⁵; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.⁴—נֹגְשֵׁי Is 3¹² might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימֵו *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10¹⁵ (but read probably מְרִימוֹ); שֹׁלְחֵי *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10²⁶, 22²¹ (so Baer, but Ginsburg שֹׁלְחָהּ), 25¹³ (in parallelism with מְרִימֵו). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימֵו), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. *o* below.—For שֹׁמְרֵיךָ ψ 121⁵ (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹנֵי אֵךְ Ec 12¹ (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

¹ Even in Gn 31³⁴, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַהֲשִׁימָם and וַיִּקְרָא, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20¹³, 35⁷, and § 145 *i*.

² On אֲדָרְכִי (for אֲדָרְכִי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 *g*.

³ Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâïel commonly speak of their ruler as *šayikh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

⁴ בָּעָלִי, which in Is 54⁵ is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיהָ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

l Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. אֶשֶׁת *fine dust*, אֶשֶׁת *ashes*, בֵּד *linen*, בָּרִיד *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחָשֶׁת *brass*, חֶלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עֹפָר *dust*, הָאָרֶץ *the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בָּרִיד *linen garments*; כֶּסֶף *silver pieces*, Gn 4^{25, 35}; נְחָשֶׁת (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna* (*timber for building or sticks for burning*); also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים particles of *alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is 1²⁶; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8²⁶, cf. Jb 28⁹ עֲפָרֹת זָהָב *dust of gold*.

m (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חִטִּים *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֶמֶת *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בִּשְׁמִים and בִּשְׁמִים *spelt*; עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעָרִים and שְׁעָרָה *barley*; also בִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, שֵׁשֶׁת (to be inferred from שֵׁשֶׁת) *flax*.

n (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמָיִם requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23²⁴ of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דְּמָיִם as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1¹⁶) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9⁴). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דְּמָיִם also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דְּמָיִם acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22¹⁷, &c.

o In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17⁵ אֶל-שַׁעֲרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Ze 9⁹ בְּיָרְאֶחֱנוֹת (cf. Ct 2⁹); Ex 21²² יִלְדֶּיהָ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4¹⁰ (if one of them fall).—So probably also Gn 8⁴, 1 S 17⁴⁸, Dn 2¹, Neh 3⁸, 6²; but not Gn 19²⁰, since the same document (Gn 13¹²) makes Lot dwell in the cities of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21⁷ בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12⁷ instead of the unusual בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the cities of Gilead (formerly explained here as in one of the cities of Gilead) we should most probably read, with Moore (SBOT, Judges, p. 52), בְּעָרָיו בְּמִצְפֶּה *in his city, in Mizpeh* (in) Gilead.

p 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—

(a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7^{2, 9}; so also in compounds, e. g. בְּנֵי יַמִּי 1 S 22⁷, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יַמִּי *Benjamite*; but also

q (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,¹ e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל 1 Ch 7⁵;

¹ Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f.; according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי לָחֹת אֲבָנִים and in prison houses, Is 42²²; cf. Ex 34¹, &c., שְׁנֵי לָחֹת אֲבָנִים two tables of stone (but Ex 31¹⁸ לָחֹת אֶבֶן); Nu 13³², Dt 1²⁸, Jos 5², 6⁴, 2 K 14¹⁴, 25²³, Is 51⁹, Jer 41¹⁶, Ezr 3⁸, &c. הָעָרֶצוֹת the people of the country; 2 Ch 26¹⁴; so perhaps אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי אֱלִים sons of God, ψ 29¹, 89⁷ (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*;¹ e.g. בָּיִת אֲבוֹת Ex 6¹⁴, r Nu 1^{2, 4ff.}, &c., as plur. of בָּיִת אָב father's house, family; בָּיִת הַקְּבֻמוֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17²⁹ (also בָּיִת הַקְּבֻמוֹת 23¹⁹); בָּיִת עֲצֻבֵיהֶם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31⁹, Ez 46²⁴; cf. also Ju 7²⁵ the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i.e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers S back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e.g. עֵינָיו os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17¹⁰; יְמִינֵם their right hand, ψ 144⁸ [so in the English RV.], for hands.

§ 125. *Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in one of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the addition of אֲחֵד in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16³³, Ju 9³⁵, 13², 1 S 11¹, 7^{9, 12}, 1 K 13¹¹, 19⁴, 20¹³, 22⁹, 2 K 4¹, 8⁶, 12¹⁰, Ez 8⁸, Dn 8⁸, 10⁶ (in 8¹³ אֲחֵד קִדְוֶשׁ i.e. one, viz. a holy one, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes C occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e.g. Is 31⁸ and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי הַיָּרֵב from a sword, i.e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28² בֵּינָהּ; 2 S 6² שָׁם; Ho 3¹ אִשָּׁהּ such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6¹⁴ גִּוִּי ; ψ בְּרִיָּה ¹⁶ ; Pr 21¹² צָדִיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God ; Jb 8¹⁰ מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15¹⁸ מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 g, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, פְּנֵעוֹ, כָּרֶם do not admit of the article,¹ nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentile* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל, אָדָם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentile names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews*, Gn 40¹⁵ ; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning the Philistines, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4⁷, &c., הַפְּ) ; so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Harre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גְּבֵעַת שְׂאֵל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others ; הָרְקֻמָּה *the height* ; הָעֵי *the heap* ; הַלְבָּנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon* ; הַיָּאֵר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*, cf. Am 8⁸ בֵּיאֹר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt* ; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Miththeil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably *the drinking-place* [יֵרֵד, Arab. *warada*, meaning *orig. to go down to drink*]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article ; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1¹ and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes אֱלֹהִים & θεός (cf. § 126 e) ; also the sing. אֱלֹהִי *God*, עֲלִיּוֹן *the Most High*, and שְׂדֵי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5¹ onwards (previously in 2⁷, &c., הָאָדָם *the first man*) ; שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21¹ (but Ze 3¹, Jb 1⁶, &c., הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary*) ; cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *the tent of revelation* (i. e. *the tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

¹ Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Dt 3¹⁸, Jos 1¹², &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination שְׁבֵט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded not as a proper name but as a gentile name (= *the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29⁷ הַמְּנַשִּׁי שִׁי is used, as in 10⁸ הַלֵוִי שִׁי *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18¹ הַדָּנִי שִׁי *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13⁷ הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like gentile names in ') is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as *שְׁאוֹל* *Hades*, *חֶבֶל עוֹלָם* *world*, *תְּהוֹם* *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1², &c.; but Is 63¹³, *פֶּתַח בְּתוֹמֹת* *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.¹

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipsis whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת* *Yahweh (the God) of hosts*; the fuller form *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת* 2 S 6¹⁰, &c., or *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת* Am 3¹³, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת*; *אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת* in *ψ* 59⁶, 80^{15,20}, 84⁹ is due to the mechanical substitution of *אֱלֹהִים* for *יְהוָה* affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as *אֲרָם בְּשָׁרָיִם* *Uz (the city) of the Chaldees*, Gn 11²⁸; *אֲרָם בְּתִלְחָם* *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; *בֵּית לֵחָם יְהוּדָה* *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*, 2 S 20¹⁴, &c., to distinguish it from *אֲבֵל מַיִם* *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16⁴; *יְרֵמְיָהוּ בֶּן יִרְמְיָהוּ* 1 S 11¹, &c.; *יְרֵמְיָהוּ בֶּן יִרְמְיָהוּ* Nu 22¹, 26^{3,63}, &c.; on Ju 8³² cf. § 128 c; *צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה* *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60¹⁴; but in 1 S 1¹ for *צוּפִים* read *צוּפִי* *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6²) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, *שְׁאוֹל*), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5²⁹) or as predicate (e.g. *זֶה הַיּוֹם* *this is the day*, Ju 4¹⁴; *זֵלֶה הַדְּבָרִים* *these are the words*, Dt 1¹), or as object (e.g. *אֶת־זֹאת* 2 S 13¹⁷), or as genitive (*זֶה מְחִיר* 1 K 21²), or finally when joined to a preposition (*לְזֹאת* Gn 2²³; *בִּזְהָ* 1 S 16⁸, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns *הוּא*, *הִיא*, *הֵם*, *הֵנָּה*, *הִנֵּה* when they *are* used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. *הַזֶּה הַדָּבָר* *that is the thing*, Gn 41²⁸. They

¹ That various other words, such as *אֲנוֹשׁ* *man*, *צִלְמָוֶת* *deep darkness*, *רִן* *prince*, *שָׂרִי* *field*, *תְּהִיָּה* *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as *תְּהִיָּה* *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e.g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הַזֵּאת *these men*; בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4¹. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

§ 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

a 1. The article (הַ, הָ, הֶ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also ὁ, ἡ, τό in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *d*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

b (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19³⁴; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2²³; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Is 37³⁰, Jer 28¹⁶.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e.g. ψ 19¹⁰ *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַנִּחְמָדִים וְגו' *prop. the more to be desired than gold, i.e. they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired*,¹ &c.; cf. Gn 49²¹, Is 40^{22 f.}, 44^{27 f.}, 46⁶, Am 2⁷, 5⁷, ψ 33¹⁵, 49⁷ הַבְּטָחָה (in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); ψ 104³, Jb 6¹⁶, 28⁴, 30³, 41²⁵ and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e.g. Jb 5¹⁰ *who giveth* (הַמֵּתֵן) *rain, &c., and sendeth* (וְשִׁלָּה), &c.

C The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e.g. Dt 32⁴ הַצֵּיִר הַתָּמִיד *i.e. as a fresh statement* (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect in his work* (i.e. *whose work is perfect*); cf. ψ 18³¹.

d 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e.g. Gn 1³ *and God said, Let there be light*: verse 4 *and God saw the light* (וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָאוֹר); 1 K 3²⁴ *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9¹⁵. (In 2 S 12² therefore לָקַח must be read.)

¹ On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in ψ 18³³, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e. g. שְׁלֹמֹה הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών: Gn 35^s *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e. g. הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *the high priest*, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*.

(d) When terms applying to whole classes are restricted (simply by *e* usage) to particular individuals (like ὁ ποιητής, meaning Homer) or things, e. g. שָׂטָן *adversary*, הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan*; הָעֵל *lord*, הַבַּעַל *Baal* as proper name of the god; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים¹ or הָאֵל ὁ θεός, *the one true God* (cf. also ὁ Χριστός in the New Testament); also הַנָּהָר *the river*, i. e. *Euphrates*; הַכֶּכֶּךְ *the circle*, sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gn 19¹⁷, &c.].

(e) Very often with the vocative, e. g. 2 S 14¹ הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ *help, O king*; Zc 3^s הוֹשִׁיעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 S 17⁵⁸, 24⁹, 2 K 9⁵; in the plural, Is 42¹⁸, Jo 1^{2,13}; but cf. also Jos 10¹², Is 1², 49¹³ (שָׂמַיִם and אֲרָץ); 23¹⁶, Ho 13¹⁴, Jo 1⁵, ψ 34¹², Ec 10¹⁷, 11⁹, &c.² The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is 22², since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article *f* is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e. g. 1 S 17⁵⁸ *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is 42¹⁸, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause.

(f) With words denoting classes (see particulars under *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see *q-s*).

(h) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see *u*).

Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned *h* cases; in general it is used in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds;³ it is sometimes omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Cf. e. g. הָאָרֶץ וְהָאָדָם ψ 2²; מַלְאָכָיו *messengers* verse 10; הַמֶּלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ 21²; שָׂמַךְ גִּדּוֹל וְנוֹרָא (contrary to *u, v*) 99³. In the instances in which the ה of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35 *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e. g. בְּשָׂמַיִם ψ 2⁴, &c.

¹ On the subsequent change of שָׂטָן, אָדָם, אֱלֹהִים into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125 *f*.

² For further exceptions see Nestle, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 323 *ff*.

³ Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9, and M. Lambert, 'L'article dans la poésie hébr.', *REF.* 37, 263 *ff*.

i (i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29⁷ עַד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33¹³, 40¹⁸, 41²⁶, Is 66³.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2¹¹ הֵיאֵה הַפָּתֵחַ *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42⁶, 45¹², Ex 9²⁷, Dt 3²¹, 8¹⁸, 11⁷, 1 S 4¹⁰, Is 14²⁷, Mal 3² (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10²⁰, where Winer, *Gram. des neuest. Sprachidions*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains *οι λαλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 g), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1⁵ הָרִים וְהַגְּבָעוֹת, 2 Ch 3¹⁷ מִיָּמִין וּמִשְׁמָאל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous, the wicked man*, Ec 3¹⁷; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7²⁶; *הָאֹיֵב* *the enemy*, i.e. *the enemies* (?) ψ 9⁷; *הַיָּוֵד* *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; *הַחֲלָיִין* *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*; *הַמֵּאַפֵּף* *the rearguard*; *הַפִּשְׁחִית* *the spoiler*, 1 S 13¹⁷;¹ so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17¹⁰ *as the courage of הַלְּאִיָּה* *the lion*. Especially also with gentilic names, e.g. *the Canaanite*, Gn 13⁷ (cf. 15^{19f.}); so in English *the Russian, the Turk*, &c., in Attic writers *ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος*, &c.

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire*, &c.), e.g. Gn 13² *and Abram was very rich בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַמֶּלֶךְ in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jos 11⁹ *and he burnt their chariots בָּאֵשׁ with fire*; cf. Gn 6¹⁴, 41⁴² (unless this means, *the chain necessarily belonging to the official dress*); Ex 2³, 31⁴ (35³²), Is 1²², &c. and *בַּשֶּׁן* *with oil*² very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29²,

¹ But in Ex 12²³ הַמֹּרֶס is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to g, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמֹּרֶס even in Ex 12²³ impersonally = *destruction*.

² In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בַּ, בְּ, לְ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33²⁴, 2 S 1²¹, Is 1⁶, ψ 23⁵, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הַאֲפֶה Ex 16³⁰, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֶּת Ez 45¹¹; הַעֵמֶר Ex 16²²; בְּחֶבֶל 2 S 8².

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25⁵ (בְּצִרְקָה); Gn 19¹¹ and they smote the men . . . בַּפְּנֵינִים with blindness; Am 4⁹, &c.; but in הַחֶשֶׁךְ Is 60² the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעֶרְפֶּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1¹⁸ בְּשֹׁלֶג as snow, בְּצֹמֶר as wool; red בְּחֹלֶעַת like crimson; Is 34⁴ and the heavens shall be rolled together בְּפִפֶּר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11¹², Ju 8¹⁸, 16⁹ as פְּתִיל־הַנֶּעֱרַת a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26²⁰, 1 K 14¹⁵, Is 10¹⁴, 24²⁰, 27¹⁰, 29⁸, 53⁶, Na 3¹⁵, ψ 33⁷, 49¹⁵; cf. also such examples as Gn 19²⁸, Ju 14⁶, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42³⁰, 1 K 10²⁷, Jo 2^{4.7}, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Jer 23⁹, ψ 17¹²), e.g. Is 16² מְשֻׁלַּח קֶן מְשֻׁלַּח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10¹⁴ בְּקֶן); 14¹⁹, 29⁹ כְּמִן עֵבֶר (but ψ 1⁴ בְּמִין); Jer 2³⁰, Pr 27⁸, Jb 29²⁵, 30¹⁴.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in קִנְבוֹר Jb 16¹⁴ and seven other places (קִנְבוֹר only in Is 42¹³), כָּאֵב Jb 31¹⁸, כְּבֹרֶב Jb 38⁸, 40⁷.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew¹ is the employment of the article to denote *q* a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5¹⁹ as if a man did flee from a lion (הַלֵּאָוִי, i.e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) met him, &c., cf. 3¹², 1 K 20³⁶ (John 10¹²); also Gn 8¹⁷, 14¹³ הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24²⁸, 33²¹; cf. 2 S 15¹³); Gn 16^{1.11}, 18⁷ the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17¹⁷ (but הַנֶּעֱרַח Nu 11²⁷ is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19³⁰, unless בְּמַעְרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקוֹם Gn 28¹¹, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42²³, 46², 50²⁰, Ex 2¹⁵, 3², 4²⁰, 21²⁰ (2 S 23²¹), Lv 23⁴², 24¹⁰ (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵל without the article); Nu 17¹¹, 21^{6.9}, 25⁶, Dt 19⁵, Jos 2¹⁵, Ju 4¹⁸, 8²⁵, 13¹⁰, 16¹⁹, 19²⁰, 20¹⁶, 1 S 17³⁴, 19¹³, 21¹⁰, 2 S 17¹⁷, 1 K 6⁸, 13¹⁴ (? most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under *n* and *o*.

¹ Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 f, e.g. Dn 2¹⁴, 3², &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19⁸, Is 7¹⁴ (הַעֲלֵמָה), i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say a *maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 14, 6⁸, 19¹³]; Jb 9³¹.

- ^S So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5²⁸, Jer 32¹⁰), i. e. not in the book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17¹⁴, 1 S 10²⁵, Jb 19²³. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase יְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 14, 14¹, 2 K 4⁸, 11¹⁸, Jb 16¹³. In Gn 39¹¹ even כְּהִיּוֹם הַזֶּה.

- ^t The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הָעָרָב, הַיּוֹנָה Gn 8⁷, הַצֶּרֶעָה Ex 23²⁸.

- ^u 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10¹² הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great city*; Dt 3²⁴ יָדָךְ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 a, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25²⁵ אִישׁ הַבָּלְעֵל *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36¹⁸, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11⁷ מַעֲשֵׂה הַגָּבִל *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36⁹ עֲבָדָי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants*.

- ^v When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10¹⁷ הָאֵל הַגָּבִל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3³, Dt 1¹⁹, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective.¹

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- ^w (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,² e. g. Gn 1⁵¹ (cf. 2⁹, Ex 20¹⁰, &c.) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day namely*

¹ The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עֶפְרוֹךְ הָהָה הַגְּדוֹל 2 Ch 1¹⁰ the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הָהָה.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in this instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1⁵¹, Holzinger, *Einh. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. בְּנֵי־הַסֵּנָה הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יוֹם שֵׁנִי *a second day*, Gn 1⁸; Ex 12¹⁵ מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן *from the first day onward* (not before Dn 10¹² and Neh 8¹⁸ is מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is *always* found after בְּ, hence בְּיוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was בְּיוֹם, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6⁵⁵ the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38¹⁴, Ez 9², &c., Ze 14¹⁰, and courts in 1 K 7^{8,12}, &c., Ez 40²⁸; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2²³, Ju 21¹⁹, 1 S 25¹⁰, Jer 27², 46¹⁶ הָרֶבֶץ הַיּוֹנָה *the sword which oppresses (?)*; Ez 14²², Ze 11² Kēth. (*the impenetrable forest?*) Pr 26¹⁸, ψ 119²¹.

Of the other examples, Gn 21²⁹ (where, however, the Samaritan reads אֶל הַכְּבָשׂוֹת, 41²⁶ (but cf. verse 4), Nu 11²⁵, Ju 16²⁷, 1 S 17¹⁷ may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1²¹, 28^{9,10}, &c., the substantive is already determined by בְּלִי, and in 1 S 14²⁹ (דְּבַשׁ) by מָעֵט.—In 1 S 12²³, 2 S 12⁴, Is 7²⁰ (where, however, the Samaritan might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בְּתֵעָרָה and Neh 9³⁵, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16²³ (unless רִחַן אֶלְהִים is to be read twice), Ze 4⁷ (where however הָרֶרֶךְ אֶת־ is probably meant), ψ 104¹⁸ (where a ה precedes הָרִים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before אֶל, וְ, & (2) and ה may be due to a regard for euphony (see z below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6¹⁸ (read הָאֶבֶן הַזֶּה, 17¹² הָהֵא is a later addition), 19²² (cf. the LXX), Jer 17², 32¹⁴, 40² Kēth., Ez 2³ (read גִּלִּי or omit גִּלִּים with Cornill), Mi 7¹¹, ψ 62⁴, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20¹³, Jer 6²⁰, Ct 7¹⁰ acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, no. x) הַטּוֹב is the genitive of a substantive, *aromatic oil, sweet cane* (in Jer 6²⁰ read וְיִקְנָה), *like spiced wine*. In Is 39² read בְּשִׁמְךָ הַטּוֹב and in ψ 133² הַטּוֹב בְּשִׁמְךָ.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined by either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Mēša' inscription, l. 3, *הַבְּמָת זֹאת this high place*); as with הוּא Gn 19³⁸ (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30¹⁶, 32²³, 1 S 19¹⁰; with הֵיאָה Gn 38²¹; with הִי ψ 12⁸ (according to the Masora הִיא is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 S 2²⁸, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading הָיוּ בְּלִיעָם became בְּלִיעָם אֵלֶּה, and אֵלֶּה was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 20²⁰, Ju 6¹⁴, 1 K 10⁸, 2 K 1² and 8^{8f}, where חָלִי, as in Jer 10¹⁹, has arisen by contraction from חָלִיִּי, or we should simply read חָלִי (in all these passages with וְהָ); Gn 24⁸ (with וְזֹאת); Ex 10¹, 1 K 22²³, Jer 31²¹ (with אֵלֶּה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,¹ as צִירֶן רֶבֶה Jos 11⁸, 19²⁸, חַמַּת רֶבֶה Am 6². Other examples are Jos 16^{3,5}, 18¹⁵, 1 K 9¹⁷ (but in 1 Ch 24²⁴, 2 Ch 8⁵ with the article). In Gn 7¹¹, &c., אֶתְחֹם רֶבֶה is also a case of this kind, אֶתְחֹם being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אֶל עֲלִיּוֹן *the most high*

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים הַיִּ the living God. In Ju 1¹⁵ גִּלְתָּ עֲלֵיהֶם and ג' תַּהֲרִיתָ are strange; Jos 15¹⁹ has עֲלֵיהֶם ג' and תַּהֲרִיתָ ג'.

- z Of the remaining examples Is 11⁹ explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לֵים. In Ez 34¹², Hag. 1⁴ (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = כְּמִינֵם), ψ 143¹⁰, Ct 6¹² (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37², 42¹⁹, 43¹⁴, ψ 18¹⁸, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16¹ before ע, Nu 14³⁷ before ר, 28⁴, Ez 10⁹ before א, 21¹⁹ before ה).¹ In 1 S 13¹⁷ (אֶחָד) and 2 K 25¹⁶ (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65² the לֵא prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26¹⁵ בְּרָצִים and בְּרָצִים are to be read, as in Jer 2²¹ בָּנִין for הַבָּנִין, in 22²⁰ אֶרֶץ for הָאֶרֶץ; in 2 S 6⁸ omit חֲרָשָׁה, and in Ez 39²⁷ omit רָבִים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8¹³ and 11³¹.
- aa 2. When, as in Mi 7¹² יוֹם הַהוּא in that day?, the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3¹², the demonstrative even precedes (הַיְּמִינִי הָהוּא = הַיְּמִינִי הַהוּא), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9¹² לַחֲמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הָ (= this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֶאֱמַר is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, this is our bread, &c. So also in Ex 32¹ מֹשֶׁה (= that [iste] Moses, &c.), and in ψ 48¹⁵ אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הָ. On ψ 68⁸ and Is 23¹³ cf. § 136 d.

§ 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, Grundriss, i. 475.

- a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. יְהוָה דְּבַר הַיְּהוָה the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17¹, a soldier); אִנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

¹ The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, see above, under y. Also in Is 23⁷ (is this your joyous...?) the article is omitted before עֲלֵיהֶם probably only for euphony.

Nu 31⁴⁰, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28⁹ (but e.g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29¹³; דְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29¹²).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e.g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e.g. Gn 3² עֵץ־הַנָּחַל מִפְּרִי *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10¹² four, and in 21¹⁷ even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i.e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e.g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole (prop. the entirety of the) earth*, all men;¹ Ex 18²², Nu 15¹³, Jer 4²³, and cases like Nu 4^{23,47}, 21⁸ where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e.g. כָּל־עֵץ *every (kind of) tree*, Gn 2⁹; cf. 4²², 24¹⁰, 1 Ch 29²; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19¹³; כָּל־יּוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7¹².

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 h) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e.g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28⁸.

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e.g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i.e. *every (not every kind of) living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i.e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7¹⁵ before a relative clause, and in Is 40⁶); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(c) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e.g. Is 1⁵ *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 5¹¹, 2 K 23⁵, Ez 29⁷ *all (i.e. the whole of) their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36³.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e.g. Is 9⁸ הָעָם כָּלּוּ *the people, all of it*, i.e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2⁹), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e.g. Gn 16¹²),² see the *Lexicon*, pp. 481^b, 482^b.

2. Gentile names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a *nomen regens* and *genitive*), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

¹ כָּל־הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15², *all men*, כָּל־בְּנֵי Ex 12²² *sons*, כָּל־בָּתִּי *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

² In Ezr 10¹⁷ instead of אֲנָשִׁים בְּכָל read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּיָמֵי (see § 86 h) a Benjaminite; בְּיָהֱמִינִי Ju 3¹⁵, &c., the Benjaminite; בֵּית הַלְחֵמִי the Bethlehemit, 1 S 16¹, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27¹² Q^{re} בְּיָמֵי וְיָמֵי; לְבֵן הַשֵּׁמִי the Beth-shemite, 1 S 6¹¹; אֲבֵי הָעֶזְרִי the Abiezrite, Ju 6¹¹, &c., cf. 1 K 16²⁴).

c 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16⁷, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21²³, where in the original context there must have been some reason for the seven ewe lambs of the flock; 2 S 12³⁰ the spoil found in the city; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10⁹ הַיְּהוָה a feast of the Lord (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7²⁵, and frequently יְהוָה הַנְּעִיבָת an abomination unto the Lord; cf. also Gn 46³⁴, Dt 22¹⁹ a virgin of Israel; 1 S 4¹² a man of Benjamin; Pr 25¹, Ct 2¹, 3⁹; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14²⁴), 1 S 20²⁰ three arrows; 2 S 23¹¹ חֲלֶמֶת הַשָּׂדֶה a plot of the ground (but see Gn 33¹⁰, Jos 24³²); Ju 13⁶, Jer 13⁴, 41¹⁸, Ct 11¹³ f., 5¹³, 7⁸, 8². On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121¹, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of 'the pilgrimage-songs' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20²⁴ בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם in all the place, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, in every place, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20¹³ also בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means in the whole place) is remarkable, since elsewhere every place is always (8 times) בְּכָל־מָקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under c, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a proper name, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21¹⁴ אֲרָנוֹן הַנַּחֲלִים the valleys, namely the valleys of Arnon; 2 K 23¹⁷ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the altar, namely the altar of Bethel (i.e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ; הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל the God of Beth-el¹ (equivalent to 'הָאֵל אֵל ב', Gn 31¹³ (the LXX read בְּמָקוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַיְּהוָה who appeared to thee in the holy place); הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר the king of Assyria, Is 36¹⁶ (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18³¹), cf. Jos 13⁵, 2 K 25¹¹, Jer 38⁶, Ez 47¹⁵; in the vocative, Jer 48⁸², La 2¹³. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אֲמֹן Gn 24⁶⁷ is no doubt

¹ According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲלוֹן Ez 47¹⁵ (for which, however, in 48¹ there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲלוֹן) by the way to Helthlon; and in fact, Ez 47¹⁵ may without difficulty be explained in this way; so נִשֵּׁשׁ Ex 39²⁷ as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also *יִשְׂרָאֵל* Jos 8^{33b} (cf. LXX), 2 S 20²², 2 K 7¹⁹, *הַמִּלְכָּה* 1 S 26²² after *הַחֲנִית* (simplified by the Masora to *חֲנִית* *Qere*); *עֲלִית אָהוּ* 2 K 23¹², *אֲשֶׁר* Is 36⁸ (cf. 2 K 18²³), *הַקֶּדֶשׁ* Ez 46¹³ (unless the article with *לִשְׁבוֹת* is to be omitted), also *הַתְּמִיד* Dn 8¹³, and *הַבְּכִיָּא* 2 Ch 15⁵.

In Ex 9¹⁸ read with the Samaritan *לְמִיִּם*; in 2 S 19²⁵ *לָכֶת* might possibly be taken in apposition to *לִמֶּן הַיּוֹם*; in 2 K 10¹ restore *אֶת־בְּנֵי*, with the LXX and Lucian, before *אֶחָדָם*; in 2 K 25¹⁹ omit the article, as in Jer 5²⁵, before *כֶּסֶּף*.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23¹⁷ *the sepulchre is the* *g* *sepulchre of the man of God* (but most probably *קִבְרֵהוּ* has dropped out after *הַקֶּבֶר* and *ψ* 123⁴ (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by *לְ*).—In Jos 3¹⁴ *הַבְּרִית* (verse 17 *בְּרִית יְהוָה*) has been added to the original *הָאָרֶן* by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4⁵, &c., where the LXX still had simply *יְהוָה*); in Ju 16¹⁴ the Masora evidently combines two different readings *הַיִּתָּר* and *יִתְרֵהוּ*; and similarly in Jer 25²⁶ (where *הָאָרֶץ* was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings *הַמִּמְלָכוֹת* and *מִמְלָכוֹת הָאֵל* are combined.—In Jos 8¹¹, 1 K 14²⁴, Jer 31⁴⁰, Ez 45¹⁸ the article, being usual after *כֹּל־*, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8¹⁶ after *עַד־*; in 2 K 9⁴ the second *הַנֶּעַר* (instead of *נָעַר*) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7⁷ *מִדְּוָמָה* belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8²⁰ the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15²⁷ the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed *h* by a definition of the material in apposition (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e.g. Ze 4¹⁰ *הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל* *the weight, the lead, i.e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39¹⁷, 2 K 16¹⁴ *הַנְּחֹשֶׁת*, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while *הַמִּסְגְּרוֹת הַמִּכְנוֹת* in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, *מִסְגְּרוֹת הַמִּכְנוֹת* and *הַמִּסְגְּרוֹת מִהַמִּכְנוֹת*. In Jer 32¹² also *הַפִּקְנָה* (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to *הַקֶּפֶר*.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a verbal (i.e. accusative) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e.g. *הַפֹּחֵחַ* Is 9¹², *the one smiling him*; in Dt 8¹⁵, 13⁹ also *הֵ* is a verbal suffix, but hardly the *י* in *הַעֲשֵׂהוּ* Job 40¹⁹, nor the *הַ* in *הַיִּלְדָּה* Dn 11⁶; § 116 g. For *הַעֲרֹבֶךָ* Lev 27²³, read *עֲרֹבֶךָ* as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples *בְּבִרְתָּה* Is 24² (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with *בְּ*) *לְמַעַנָּהּ* Pr 16⁴, and *בְּעָרֵינוּ* (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10¹⁴, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in *הָאֶהָלִי* Jos 21²¹, *הַחֲצִיִּי* Jos 8³³ (previously *חֲצִיִּי*), *הַהֲרֹאֲתִיָּה* 2 K 15¹⁰ (dittography of the *הַ*), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the *ו* of *הַדְּבָרִי* Mi 2¹² is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e.g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד); cf. 1 K 28¹. The language even prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*² genitives depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14¹⁹, Nu 20⁵, 31³⁴ [1 Ch 13¹], 1 S 23⁷, 2 S 19⁶, Is 22⁵, ψ 5⁷, 8³),³ and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e.g. Gn 24³ אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8¹ the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (cf. § 127 a [*d*]); e.g. Gn 47⁹ יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתִי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12²⁴, where there are three genitives, Is 10¹² four, and 21¹⁷ five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 d).

b Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 a), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 f-h. Compare, moreover:

c (a) Genitives after the absolute state, e.g. Is 28¹ נְיֵא־שְׂמִינִים חִלּוּמֵי יֵין *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that נְיֵא־שְׂמִינִים forms one single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

¹ Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31¹⁸ (מְבַחֵר וְטוֹבֵלֵבָנוֹן); Pr 16¹¹.—In Is 11² *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, וְיִרְאַת יְהוָה may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also סֶפֶר Dn 1⁴.

² In ψ 114¹ a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

³ In almost all these instances the two (or three) genitives form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth, sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמִי then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15¹⁸ מִשְׁנֶה would be expected; in Jos 3¹¹ הַבְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32¹³ (מְשֻׁשׁ), and ψ 63²² (שִׁעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6²⁵ ff. the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8³² (cf. 6²⁴) בְּעַפְרָה should come either after וַיִּכְבֵּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָעֵי אֲבִי as a gloss (from 6²⁴); in Is 63¹¹ מִשְׁנֶה is probably a gloss on יַמִּירְעוּלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4² לְאִישׁ־בִּשְׁתָּה according to the LXX, has dropped out before בָּן; in Ez 6¹¹ רְעוֹת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21⁹ the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מִקְשֵׁי for מִבְּקָשֵׁי); in 1 Ch 9¹³ the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מִלְאֲכָתָה (cf. 12²⁵).—Elsewhere (Dt 3⁵, 1 K 4¹³, 2 Ch 8⁵) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i.e. *with high walls, gates, and bars*. In Jer 8⁶ וִירוּשָׁלַם is either in apposition to הָעָם הַזֶּה or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27^{2,3,5}, where הַזֶּכֶד after עֶרְבֶךָ might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5^{15,25} the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6³ מְדֻ בֶּרֶת his garment, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מְדֻ ?); Lv 26⁴², where וְעַל וְגֵרִי בְרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב could at most be explained as an ellipse for וְעַל בְּרִית וְגֵרִי בְרִיתִי, cf. § 125 h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אֲבִרָה; so Valetton, ZAW. xii. 3); equally strange is בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33²⁰, &c. On the other hand, אֵלֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם Nu 12⁶ could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably בְּרִיתִי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45⁷ בְּסִמְאָה אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read בְּאֱלֹהִים *like God's throne*]: cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52²⁰ two readings are probably combined, לְהַחֲיָתָם without any addition, and לְהַחֲיָתָם כָּל־הַבָּלִים. In Nu 25¹² שְׁלֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On דְּרָבָה וְזָמָה Ez 16²⁷, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כָּל־ (the whole; cf. § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1⁹, Jb 27³ (עוֹר), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14³ (חַיִּים). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of כָּל־ (עוֹר, &c.), and כָּל־ is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e.g. 2 S 1⁹ *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i.e. *my whole life*; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין non-existence is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by *f* no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen*

¹ Halévy, J. A. xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֶרְבֶךָ.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the *nomen regens*, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus* or *appositionis*,¹ see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e.g. בית־המֶלֶךְ the king's house; דָּבָר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e.g. Ob¹⁰ מִתְחַמֵּם אֶחָיד for the violence done to thy brother² (but in Ez 12¹⁹ מִתְחַמֵּם is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20² אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ the terror of a king; Gn 18²⁰ זַעַמַת סֹדֶם the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23⁵ נִשְׁמַע צָר the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4⁴; Am 8¹⁰ יָחִיד אֶבֶל the mourning for an only son; Dt 20¹⁴ נִשְׁלַל אֵיבֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3¹⁴. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים הַדֶּרֶךְ the way of (i.e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3²⁴; cf. Pr 7²⁷, Jb 38²⁰; הַיָּם הַדֶּרֶךְ the way of (by) the sea, Is 8²³; וּבְחַיִּים אֲנִי הָאֱלֹהִים the sacrifices of (i.e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51¹⁹; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i.e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2⁴³; דְּבָרֵי לְמוֹאֵל the words of (i.e. addressed to) L., Pr 31¹.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e.g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5²⁹; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*, *genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (d) Of the name, e.g. נָהָר פָּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5².
- l** (e) Of the genus, e.g. Pr 15²⁰ (21²⁰) בְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16¹², Is 1⁴, 29¹⁹, Ho 1³², Mi 5⁴, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e.g. אֶחָדָת קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i.e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23⁴, &c.; תְּאֵנִי הַבְּבֵרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24²; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i.e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132³.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e.g. מִנֵּי מִסְפָּר people of number, i.e. few in number, Gn 34²⁰, Dt 26⁵; cf. also Ez 47³⁻⁵ wַתֵּי הָאֲבָלִים waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i.e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם בְּרַפִּים.
- o** (h) Of the material³ of which something consists, e.g. כֶּלִי חָרָשׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5¹⁷; כֶּלִי כֶסֶף vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); אֲרוֹן אֶרֶז an ark of wood, נֶשֶׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל a rod of iron, ψ 2⁹; cf. Gn 3²¹, 6¹⁴, Ju 7¹³, &c.

¹ The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

² Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium*, Pompeii, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. εὐνοία τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 1 Cor. 1¹⁸.

³ In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אֶרֶץ made of cedar, a denominative from אֶרֶז, and נְחוֹשֶׁת brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāfāl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

(i) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e.g. Gn 17^s אֶחָד עוֹלָם *an everlasting p*ossession; Pr 17^s a precious stone; cf. Nu 28^o, Is 13^s, 28^s, ψ 23², 31^s, Pr 51⁹, 14⁵, Jb 41¹⁹, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קָדוֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e.g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדוֹשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex 29²⁹), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and בָּנֵי *people*, and with שֵׁם *the name of a person*); the only exceptions are מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex 29³¹, &c.; מַיִם קְדוֹשִׁים *holy water*, Nu 51⁷; קְדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh 810^f, and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Dt 2315. So also the use of צְדִיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4^s; elsewhere the periphrasis with צְדִיקָה or צִדְקָה is always used, e.g. מִזְנֵי צִדְקָה *just balances*, Lv 1936.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the *Q* purpose for which something is intended, e.g. צֹאן מִבְּרֶכָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 4425; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֵמָנִי *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53⁵; cf. 5117 (*the cup which causes staggering*), ψ 11613; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e.g. 1 S 1620 הֵן וְנָאֵר *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשֶׂרָה is to be read for הָמָר); cf. Gn 2114, Pr 720, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the *R* construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מִבְּרֶכָה *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23^o מִבְּרֶכָה קְבָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i.e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 154, Is 227, 3724; other examples are, Is 116 *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for *your evil doings*; Is 174, 3724 (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 13922, Jb 1526.—This is the more common construction with the substantive כָּל *entirety*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little*, for *few*, 1 S 1723, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see *p* above) by means *S* of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בָּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including מְחֵי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex 410 (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָּיִם Jb 112^f *a man of lips*, i.e. *a boaster*); אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, ψ 14012; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Pr 245; אִישׁ חֶמֶד *a wrathful man*, Pr 1513; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 S 167, ψ 57; cf. further, 1 S 1613, 1 K 220, Is 533, Pr 196, 2621, 291, Ezr 818; also אִשָּׁת מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 2716; in the plural, e.g. Gn 64 אֲנָשֵׁי הַשָּׁם *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 476, Is 4111, Jb 34810 (אֲנָשֵׁי לֵבָב *men of understanding*); with מְחֵי, e.g. Is 513 (מְחֵי רָעֵב *famished men*; but read probably מְחֵי רָעֵב *weak with hunger*); ψ 264, Jb 1111, 2216.

(b) Of בָּעַל, &c.: בָּעַל שֵׁעַר *hairy*, 2 K 18; בָּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 3719; cf. Na 12, Pr 117, 189 (*a destroyer*), 2224, 232 (*disposed to eat, greedy*), 248; feminine

בְּעֵלְת־אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28⁷; cf. Na 3⁴; in the plural, e.g. בְּעֵלֵי חַצִּים *archers*, Gn 49²³, בְּרִית בְּעֵלֵי *confederates*, Gn 14¹³; בְּעֵלֵי שְׂבִינָעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6¹⁸.

- U (c) Of בֶּן־, &c.: בֶּן־חֵיל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 1⁶²; בֶּן־חַיִּים *heir*, Gn 15²; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12⁵, &c.; בֶּן־מֵאֵת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21⁵; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 2c³¹ (Luther, 2 S 12⁵ *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25² בֶּן־הַכּוֹת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e.g. בַּת־בְּלָעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 1¹⁶; frequently also בְּלָעַל *אִישׁ בְּלָעַל*, and even simply בְּלָעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *sceltestissimus*, 2 S 23⁶, Jb 34¹⁶. Plural masculine, e.g. בְּנֵי כָּמָרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17²⁵. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e.g. Is 5¹ בֶּן־יֶמֶן *a fat, i.e. a fruitful (hill)*; Jon 4¹⁰ בֶּן־לַיְלָה *i.e. grown in a night*; Jb 41²⁰ *son of the bow (i.e. an arrow)*; so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5⁷; La 3¹²; בָּנוֹת Ec 12⁴ *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים or הַבְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים Gn 6²⁴, Jb 1⁶, 21, 38⁷ (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלִים ψ 29¹, 89⁷) properly means *not sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים; בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים 1 K 20⁸⁵ (singular in Am 7¹⁴) *persons belonging to the guild of prophets*; בְּנֵי הַדּוֹקָקִים Neh 3⁸ *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3²¹ where בְּנֵי הַצֹּרְפִים is to be read. Similarly שְׂנֵי־שָׁנִים Gn 5c²³ are most probably *not great-grandsons but grandsons*, i.e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגִּרְשֹׁנִיִּים Nu 4^{27 f.} *Gershonites*, בְּנֵי הַקְּהֹתִים 2 Ch 2c¹⁰, &c., בְּנֵי קָדִים *dwellers in the East*.

- 70 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28⁴ צִיצִת נֹבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נֹבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. further, Is 22²⁴, Jer 22¹⁷ (פ), 52¹³, ψ 73¹⁰, 74¹⁵ (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78⁴⁹; also the use of רָע as a substantive, e.g. in Pr 21¹⁴ 6²⁴ (רָעָה), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδύλας, Luke 16⁸, and the French *un homme de bien*.¹—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an epexegetical genitive; cf. דָּמִי חֲנָם *blood shed without cause*, 1 K 2³¹; Pr 24²⁸, 26²; Ez 30¹⁰ (יָקָם).

- x 3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e.g. חָלָה אֶת־רִגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15²³), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

¹ On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36² (2 K 18¹⁷), Zc 14⁴, Ec 8¹⁰, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is 36² and גִּיא Zc 14⁴ must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 f and k) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e.g. Ex 3^s, &c., אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e.g. הִלָּל־יָרֵב *slain with the sword*, Is 22²; or of the *cause*, Ct 2^s *sick of love*; or of the *scope* of the attribute,¹ e.g. Gn 39^s יָפֵחַ-חֵצֶר *fair of form*; cf. Gn 41^s, Ex 34^s, Is 1^s, Jer 32¹⁰, Na 1^s, ψ 119¹, Jb 37¹⁶; or of the *manner*, e.g. ψ 59^s אִנִּי בְּיָמַי *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *y* the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e.g. ψ 24^s נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 S 9^s, Is 6^s, Jb 17⁹; Is 19¹⁰ אֲנִי-נֹפֶשׁ *grieved in soul*; 1 S 1¹⁰, Jb 32²⁰. Also such examples as Am 2¹⁶, Pr 19¹, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14^s, see § 116 k.

§ 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a *nomen rectum* dependent upon a *nomen a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 r, expresses, besides other ideas, also that of *belonging to*,² or by the addition of a relative clause (לְאִשְׁרֵי לְ, see h below).

1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 S 14¹⁸ הַצִּיָּבִים לְשָׁאוּל *the watchmen of Saul*; ψ 37¹⁶, 2 Ch 23¹⁸ (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a *nomen regens* being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e.g. 1 S 16¹⁸ בֶּן לֵישִׁי *a son of Jesse* (בֶּן-יִשְׁשִׁי would be, according to § 127 a, *the son of Jesse*); cf. Gn 14¹⁸, 36¹², 41¹², Nu 16²² (27¹⁶), 1 S 17⁸, 2 S 19²¹, ψ 122². Hence, regularly לְדָוִד מְסֻרָה (ψ 3¹, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד *of David* is used alone elliptically in ψ 11¹, 14¹, &c. Such a case as לְדָוִד מְסֻרָה (ψ 24¹, &c.) is not to

¹ Cf. the Latin *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*, &c.

² Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e.g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardt's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لَ, and the other by مَنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e.g. *la fille à Mr. N.* laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de* . . . of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but **מְמוֹר** is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before **לְדוֹר** (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2³ חֶלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבָעֹז the portion of field belonging to Boaz (עֹז שָׂדֶה בְּעֹז would be the portion of the field of Boaz); 2 K 5⁹ at the house-door of Elisha. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14¹⁰ עַל-סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel; 15²³, &c.; cf. also Jos 19⁵¹.

e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18²⁰, where שִׁבְכָתְךָ on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15¹⁶ π., &c., שִׁבְכַת-יָרֵעַ; Ju 3²³ the Jordan fords of Moab (יַרְדֵּן) as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state; Ex 20⁵ upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; עוֹלֵי-פָעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עוֹלֵי-שָׁלָשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאַהֲבֵי זֵלֵאֲפִים.

f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8¹⁴ יוֹם וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם בְּשִׁבְעָה לְחָדָשׁ on the seven and twentieth day of the month; cf. 7¹¹, 16³ and frequently, or as in Hag 1¹ בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָשׁ in the second year of Darius; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under *b*) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3¹⁸ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי on the third day of my giving birth (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּאֶחָד לְחָדָשׁ on the first (day) of the month, Gn 8⁶ and frequently.

g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3² and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocation with **לְ** is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); cf. 2 S 3^{3,5}, 1 K 14¹³, Am 5⁹ (unless לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on **מְמוֹר** under *c* above.

h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of **לְ** is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29⁹ הָצֹאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ her father's sheep (prop. the sheep which belonged to her father); Gn 47⁴ and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40⁶ the butler and the baker who (belonged) to the king of Egypt (וְאִפְהָ מֶלֶךְ) would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples under *d* above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4³); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1¹ שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמוֹה the Song of songs, of Solomon; 1 S 21⁸, 2 S 2⁸, 1 Ch 11¹⁰; cf. also Gn 41^{43,1}.

¹ In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שָׁלָל = לְ, אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1⁶, 3⁷ שֶׁלִּי שֶׁלְמוֹה) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְּ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 a, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,¹ particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before $\text{בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בְּקָצִיר}$ *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9², 2 S 1²¹, ψ 136^{8f}; in participles, Is 5¹¹, 9¹, 19⁸, ψ 84⁷, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. $\text{בְּלִדְהוּסִי בּוֹ}$ ψ 2¹²; cf. Na 1⁷, Jer 8¹⁶ (ψ 24¹); ψ 64⁹ (unless רָאָה should be read); 98⁷.²—Before לְ , Ho 9⁶ (but read probably $\text{בְּסִדְמִי בְּחִמְדִּי}$); ψ 58⁵ (before לָמוֹ); Pr 24⁹, Jb 18², La 2¹⁸ (before לָהֶן); 1 Ch 6⁵⁵, 23²⁸; in participles, Ez 38¹¹, Jb 24⁵; before לְ with an infinitive, Is 56¹⁰, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gn 24²¹, Is 30¹⁸, 64³;³—before אֶל־ , Is 14¹⁹, Ez 21¹⁷;—before אִתְּ (*with*), Is 8⁶;—before כִּן , Gn 3²², Is 28⁹ (a participle); Jer 23²³, Ez 13², Ho 7⁵;—before עַל־ , Ju 5¹⁰;—before בְּלִי , Is 14⁶;—before the *nota accus.* אֵת , Jer 33²²;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27¹³, Jer 1¹⁵.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26¹⁰; but הַקִּמַּת Is 33⁶, וַיֵּלֶת 35², וְשִׁבְרָהּ 51²¹ may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (1) וְהָיָה .

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֵשֶׁר ; *c* so especially in the combination מְקוֹם אֵשֶׁר , Gn 39²⁰, 40³, *the place where* (prop. *of that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 g; or בְּמִקוֹם אֵשֶׁר Lv 4^{24, 33}, 2 S 15²¹, 1 K 21¹⁹, Jer 22¹², Ez 21³⁵, Ho 2¹. We should expect $\text{הַמְּקוֹם אֵשֶׁר, בְּמִקוֹם אֵשֶׁר}$, as in Gn 35¹³, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but אֵשֶׁר is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute.

¹ Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

² In Ju 8¹¹ the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ , in order to determine the whole combination $\text{שְׂבָתֵי בְּהֵהָלִים}$ *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 f-i on similar grammatical solecisms.

³ These are to be distinguished from the cases where לְ follows a construct state, which in conjunction with כִּן (and the following לְ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have מִבֵּיתִי לְ Ex 26³³ (for which in Ez 12⁷ merely לְ (בֵּיתִי) meaning simply *within*; לְ מִימִין (2 K 23¹³, Ez 10³) *on the right hand* (i.e. south) *of*; לְ מִצְפּוֹן (Jos 8^{11, 13}, &c., Ju 2⁹) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15²¹ and כִּן לְפָנַי Neh 13⁴.

Cf. also אַ מִיּוֹם followed by a *perfect* in 1 S 29⁸, and אַ מִיּוֹם Lv 13⁴⁶, Nu 9^{18, 1}

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e.g. Ex 4¹³ בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלֶחַ prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23³ מַה יֵּרָאֵי דָבָר the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i.e. whatever he shall; Is 29¹ הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה the *city where David encamped*; Jer 48³⁶, ψ 16³ (if the text be right), 65⁵ (Pr 8³²), ψ 81⁶, Jb 18²¹ the *place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴ (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand*.² In Gn 39⁴ (בְּלִישְׁלוֹ) the בֶּל־ takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9⁴, still more boldly, a subst. with לִ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, Lv 25¹⁵, 1 S 5⁹; ψ 102³ (before a noun-clause), Ex 6²⁸, Nu 3¹, Dt 4¹⁵, 2 S 22¹, ψ 18¹, 59¹⁷, 138³ (in every case before a following perfect), ψ 56¹⁰ (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer 36²; בְּלִימֵי Lv 14⁴⁶, 1 S 25¹⁵, Jb 29³ בְּיָמֵי *as in the days when . . .*³; cf. בְּיָמֹת and שָׁנוֹת before a perfect, ψ 90¹⁵; בְּעֵת before a perfect, Jer 6¹⁵ (cf. 49⁸, 50³¹); before an imperfect, Jb 6¹⁷; תְּחִלָּה before a perfect, Ho 1².

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בֶּת-צִיּוֹן the *virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37²²; cf. 23¹², Jer 14¹⁷; also 1 S 28⁷ אִשָּׁת בַּעֲלַת-אֹיֵב a *woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21¹¹.—Gn 14¹⁰, Ju 19²² (but read probably אֲנִישִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13¹⁴, Ju 20¹³, 1 K 21¹⁰); 2 K 10⁶, 17¹³ Q^{er}; Jer 46⁹, ψ 35¹⁶ (P), 78⁹, Jb 20^{17b} (unless נִהְיֵי or נִהְיֵי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspensio*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e.g. Is 37²², &c.; Jb 20^{17a}. Elsewhere (Dt 33¹⁹, ψ 68³⁴) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.⁴

¹ In Dt 23⁵ the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר עַל-דֶּבַר אֲשֶׁר *by reason of the fact that, i.e. because*; so also in 1 S 3¹⁸.

² Probably Gn 22¹⁴ is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30¹⁸, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יִכְפֹּר בְּעַד כָּל-לִבָּבוֹ הַכֵּין the *good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God*. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

³ Cf. Na 2⁹ הִיא מִיָּמִי, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

⁴ So also Is 28¹⁶ a corner stone of the *preciousness* (יְקָרָה is a substantive not an adjective) of a *fixed foundation*, i.e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20¹⁹ the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119¹²³ read בְּלִפְקוּדָיִךְ.

(6) The numeral אחת *one* for אחד in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e.g. Gn 3²², 48²², 1 S 9³, 2 S 17²², Is 27¹², Zc 11⁷.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages¹) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e.g. אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה *a woman b* (who was) *a widow*, 1 K 7¹⁴; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel* (that is) *a virgin*, Dt 22^{23,23}, Ju 4⁴, 19¹, 21¹², 1 S 30¹⁷, 1 K 1²; cf. Gn 13⁸, 21²⁰ (where, however, נָשָׂא is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24⁵ (1 S 11¹⁵), 2 S 15¹⁶, 1 K 3¹⁶, 5²³ (but probably בָּבֶל should be read instead of פָּבֶל); Is 3²⁴ (unless נָשָׂא is to be read), Jer 20¹. Perhaps also כֹּהֵן רֹאשׁ *the priest* (who is) *the chief man*, 2 K 25¹⁸, &c.; others take כֹּהֵן as constr. st.—In 2 S 10⁷ read $\text{כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר}$ with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19⁹ for $\text{כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר}$, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e.g. Jb 20²⁹ c (27¹³) $\text{זֶה חֵלֶק אֲדָמָה רָשָׁע}$ *this is the portion of a man*, (who is) *a wicked man* (but רָשָׁע might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6¹².—Lv 6¹³, 16⁴ (where, however, כֶּלֶב is probably a gloss); Pr 22²¹ אֱמָתִי אֱמָתִי *words* (which are) *truth*; (immediately after אֱמָתִי אֱמָתִי cf. 1 S 2¹³, Mi 1¹¹ (where, however, בְּשִׁית is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיָּה); Zc 1¹³ (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45⁵ (f), 68¹⁷ (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60⁵ $\text{יַיִן תִּרְעַלֶּהָ}$ *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering²; 1 K 22²⁷, 2 Ch 18²⁶ לִמְחִי מָוֶם (in

¹ On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

² Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22²⁷ *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80⁶ and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *lek*. More-

Is 30²⁰ parallel with צָרָה (צָרָה) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5³ בָּקָר רָעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6⁷ *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִפְּסָע. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18⁶ (unless בְּנִדְתָּהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4¹ read רָעִי אֲבִי, as in 5¹, 7¹².

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28²⁶) or *thing* (form) and *material*,¹ or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Ch 15¹⁹ בְּמִצְלֵי תְּהִי שֵׁת with *cymbals* which were *brass*, i.e. of *brass*; cf. Ex 26²⁵, Dn 11⁸, 1 Ch 28^{15,18} (?); Ex 28¹⁷ *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39¹⁰ has סָהָה סֵלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 Ch 4¹³, Lv 6³ (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7^{16,18}, Gn 18⁶, Ex 16²³, Lv 5¹¹, Ru 2¹⁷, 1 K 16²⁴, 2 K 5²³ כֶּסֶף בְּכָרִים *two talents of silver*;² cf. 5¹⁷, Ex 39¹⁷, Ez 22¹⁸ (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30^{23f}.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition יָמִים אֶחָדִים *a month of days*, i.e. a month's time=for a whole month, Gn 29¹⁴, Nu 11^{20,21}, cf. Dt 21¹³, 2 K 15¹³, and שְׁנַתַּיִם יָמִים *two years' time*, i.e. two full years, Gn 41¹, 2 S 13²³, 14²⁸, Jer 28^{3,11}, Dn 10^{2f}.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias sc. filii*, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e.g. Nu 9²⁰ מִסְפָּר יָמִים *days*, (a small) *number*, i.e. only a few days; מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף *money, repetition*, i.e. twice as much money, Gn 43¹² (unless כֶּסֶף be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרַגְלָיִם *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47⁴ (also מֵי מְתַנִּים *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e.g. נְאֻשִׁים אֶנְעִי *men, a few*, i.e. some few men; 1 K 5⁹ תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding, much-making*, i.e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיֵּהָיו, as in 2 S 8³ with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבֵּה עֵינִי *spiced wine*, Ct 8², and עֵינִי פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11¹² (in which passages עֵינִי and עֵינִי must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the עֵינִי in ψ 60⁶ to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere עֵינִי).

¹ Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

² On the anomalous form כֶּסֶף בְּכָרִים (instead of כֶּסֶף בְּכָרִים; cf. כֶּסֶף בְּכָרִים immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. בְּהַרְרֵט שְׁעִיר *in their mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14⁶; הָאָרֶץ כְּנָעַן *the land Canaan* (כְּנָעַן probably only a later gloss), Nu 34²; cf. Ezr 9¹, 1 Ch 5⁹ (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 c.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition *g* come first, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד as in 2 S 13³⁹, 1 K 2¹⁷, 12², 2 K 8²⁹, 9¹⁵, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1^{1,15} [cf. the Aramaic order מַלְכָּא דְרִינִישׁ, and often in Chron.]).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45⁴, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֶת, אֶת־) or a preposition precedes the first *h* substantive, it may be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4², 22², 24⁴, 47²⁹, Is 66²¹; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18¹, Jer 33¹⁸, 1 S 2¹⁴). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12¹³ בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*¹

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding *i* adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13¹⁶ בְּהֵרֶת לְבָנָה אֲדָמָה *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9⁴ *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22³⁰, Dt 2²⁰, 1 S 7⁹, 2 K 3⁴ *an hundred thousand rams, the wool, i.e. the wool of the rams*; Jer 25¹⁵ *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but הַחֶמֶר is probably a gloss); Is 42²⁵ *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*;² but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7¹¹; with regard to the vocative, cf. l § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2⁶ *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הִיא *mm* be a later gloss); Ex 35⁵, Lv 13^{57b}, 1 K 19²¹ (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21¹³, 2 K 16¹⁵ *Keth.*, Jer 9¹⁴, 31², Ez 3²¹, Ec 2²¹ (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).³

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10⁸ בָּבֶאֱלֹהִים הָאֵלֶּים *when he went in, the man*; 42¹⁴; *nn* cf. Pr 13⁴ (?), Ez 3¹²; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4¹⁰ הָאֶחָד לֹא הָאֶחָד *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32³³, Jos 1² לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21⁷, Jer 51⁵⁰,

¹ In 1 K 11⁸ participles after לְכַלְכְּשֵׁי, as in 2 K 10⁶ after הָעִיר, are used in 19² after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1⁴ after בְּהִתְיָכֶם, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 p.

² But מֵיִם Gn 6¹⁷ (cf. 7⁶) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מִבּוֹל.

³ For וַיִּשְׁנֶה 1 S 21¹⁴ either וַיִּשְׁנֶה is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also יִלְכְּדוּ Pr 5²² has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42⁵ (?), Dn 11¹¹, 1 Ch 4⁴², 2 Ch 26¹⁴.—Cf. finally, Ct 3⁷, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שָׁלֵךְ, as in Ez 9¹, where the genitive is expressed by לֵךְ.²

- o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e.g. Is 29²³ *when he (or rather) his children see, &c.* (but יִלְדָיו is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83¹²; in Jb 29³ read בְּהִלָּל (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בְּהִלָּ.

- p 5. Cases of apposition in a *wider sense* are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 a and m. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

- q (a) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף a *double amount in money*, Gn 43¹⁵; cf. Jer 17¹⁸; 1 S 17⁵ *five thousand shekels in brass*, but this might also be taken (as in d) *shekels which were brass*; certainly such cases as Jb 15¹⁰ *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e.g. מְאֹד טוֹב *very good*, Gn 1³¹ (cf. also Ec 7¹⁵ מְרִיבָה צְדִיק *righteous over much*), and the very frequent מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה prop. a *much-making exceedingly*, i.e. *exceedingly great*, Gn 15¹, 41⁴⁹, also Pr 23²⁰ חַנּוּם חַנּוּם *wounds without cause*,³ perhaps also Gn 34²⁵ (בְּמִחָ).

- r (b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16²⁷ מְדַרְבְּרָה וְזִמָּה of *thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain it (as in c) of *thy conduct*, which is *lewdness*); cf. Ez 24¹³, 2 S 22³⁸ מְעוֹנֵי הַיָּל my *fortress in strength*, i.e. *my strong fortress* (cf., however, ψ 18³³); Hb 3⁸, ψ 71⁷. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 n) is strange, it is much more so in חֹב חִבְלָתוֹ Ez 18⁷, i.e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezr 2⁶² בְּתִקְבָּם הַמִּתִּיחִשִּׁים, i.e. *their register*, namely of *those that were reckoned by genealogy* (but perhaps הַמִּתִּי is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתִקְבָּם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 d) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26⁴²), and in Jer 33²⁰ with הַיּוֹם.⁴

¹ But in Is 17⁶ we should certainly divide the words differently and read הַפְּרִיזָה, in Jer 48⁴⁴ read אֶלֶה for אֶלֶיָּה, and in Pr 14¹⁹ הַשְּׂמִיחָה; in Gn 21⁹ חַיָּה נָפֶשׁ is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41²⁵ אֶל־לְחֹת הַהִיבֵל a gloss on אֶל־יָהּ.

² Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e.g. Ez 10⁶) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 e and § 88.

³ In ψ 69⁵ חַנּוּם (like שֹׁקֵר in a *false way*, falsely, ψ 35¹⁹ and 38²⁰) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 q.

⁴ But in Nu 25¹² שְׁלֹמֹם may also be explained, according to c, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33⁴ (מִן־שָׁמַיִם), perhaps לְקַהֲלָת מִן־ is to be read), 33²⁷ (מִן־עֵנָה), Ju 7⁸ (צִדְהָ), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31¹¹ עֵץ פְּלִלִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֵץ פְּלִלִים and עֵץ פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80^{8,15} is due to the fact that in ψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יְהוָה; on אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59⁶, 80^{5,20}, and 84⁹ יְהוָה has been reinstated in the text before צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים.¹

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e.g. Gn 3⁶ and she gave also לְאִשָּׁה עִמָּהּ unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9¹⁶ (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

§ 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.²

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e.g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל *a great man*, אִשָּׁה יָפָה *a beautiful woman*. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e.g. Est 8¹⁵ כִּתוֹבָה גְּדוֹלָה וְהָבִירָה *a great crown of gold*.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

¹ Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded צְבָאוֹת already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

² On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 o, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 g. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e.g. אֲבִיר *the strong one*, i.e. *God*; אֲבִיר *the strong one*, i.e. *the bull* (in Jer 8¹⁵, &c., *the horse*); קָלִי *swift* = *the runner* (of the horse, Is 30¹⁶); לְבָנָה *alba*, i.e. *luna*; פְּרִיָּה *(fructifera)* *a fruitful tree*, Is 17⁶ (so פֶּרֶת Gn 49²⁹); רֹבֵץ *a croucher*, i.e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gn 4⁷. Cf. also רָגִן (*gravis, augustus*) and נָשִׂיא (*etatus?*), i.e. *a prince*. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = *the sea*; merum for vinum, &c.

b Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10⁸⁰ עֲנִיָּה עֲנִיתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23¹², 53¹¹ (a righteous man, my servant; but in 28²¹ נָרַךְ and נִכְרִי are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3^{6,10}, ψ 18⁴ *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 92¹² (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16¹⁶, Neh 9²⁸ (in ψ 145⁷ רַב is a *subst. regens*, in 89⁵¹ the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

c 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15¹⁶ (unless גָּדֹל should be read); 1 S 16⁷ (the height of his stature); in the plural, 1 S 17⁴⁰ חֲלָקִי אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i.e. *smooth stones*; Is 35⁹, Ez 7²⁴, ψ 46⁵, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e.g. Is 29¹⁸ אֲדָמָה אֲבִיּוֹנִי *the poor among men*, i.e. *poor men*; Jer 49²⁰, Zc 11⁷; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).

d 3. When two adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e.g. 1 K 19¹¹ רִיחַ נְדִילָה *and fragrant* (but read נְדִילָה); 1 S 15⁹ (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20⁹, ψ 63². A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e.g. Neh 9¹⁸ חֲסִידִים וְמִצּוֹת מִוִּכִּים; Jer 34⁹, Zc 8⁶.

When three attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *etw copulative*, cf. Zc 1⁸.

e 4. After feminines plural ending in יִם (§ 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under *a*) takes the ending וֹת, e.g. Is 10¹⁴ עֲזֹבוֹת בְּיָצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32¹⁶. For a strange exception see Jer 29¹⁷ (differently in 24²).

f 5. With regard to number it is to be remarked that—

(a) Substantives in the dual are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the plural, e.g. ψ 18²⁸ (Pr 6¹⁷) עֵינָיו רָמוֹת *haughty eyes*; Is 35², Jb 4⁸, cf. § 88 a.

g (b) Collective ideas are not infrequently joined with the plural of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e.g. שָׂאֵן *sheep* [with fem. plur.], Gn 30⁴⁸, 1 S 25¹⁸; עָם = *men*, 1 S 13¹⁵, Is 9¹; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2¹⁴; גִּלְלוֹת = *the exiles*, Jer 28⁴; cf. also שְׁנֵי נָפֶשׁ *two souls*, Gn 46²⁷.¹ Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.

h (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e.g. ψ 7¹⁰ צַדִּיק אֱלֹהִים *righteous God*; 2 K 19^{4,16} (= Is 37^{4,17}); Is 19⁴; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים ² Dt 5²³, 1 S 17^{26,36}, Jer 10¹⁰, 23³⁶, perhaps also

¹ But it is impossible to take חַיִּים in Ez 46⁶ as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28¹¹, where two young bullocks are required.

² Cf. 1 S 28¹³, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19^{18,16}, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20³ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos 24¹⁹ אֱלֹהִים קְדָשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-k). On the other hand, 1 S 4⁸ is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

§ 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or *a* superlative of the adjective.¹ In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9² גִּבּוֹר מִכָּל-הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14¹⁸ מֵאֲרִי עוֹ מֵאֲרִי וְגַם עוֹ מֵאֲרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ez 28³, Am 6². Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29¹⁹ *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex 14¹², ψ 118⁸⁷.²

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is *b* represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10²⁸ וַיִּגְבֹּה מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people*; Na 3⁸, Jb 7⁶. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 v-z) the idea

תְּרִפִּים household god (but not so in Gn 31³⁴), as in ψ 46⁴ to the plural of amplification מֵיִם *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78¹⁵ is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהוֹמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

¹ There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *dativae*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֲתָמֵל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֲבִיר *daring, cruel*, אֲבִיר *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֲיִרָן (contracted from 'ailan) *constantly flowing, perennialis*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

² In Ju 11²⁵ the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . . ?*

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.¹ This is evident in such cases as *בָּחַר מֶן* to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e.g. Jb 7¹⁵, cf. Dt 14² (also *מֶן . . . יִתְרוֹן* the excellence of . . . over . . ., Ec 2¹³); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37⁸ *וַיִּשְׂאֵל אֱהָב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו* now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29³⁰, 1 S 28²⁰, Ho 6^{6,2}.

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of *מֶן* after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is too little or too much in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e.g. Is 7¹³ *הַמְעַט מִכֶּם* is it a small thing (i.e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15¹¹; after an intransitive verb, e.g. Gn 32¹¹ *I am too insignificant* (*קָטַנְתִּי*) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions *בָּבֵר מֶן* to be too heavy for one, Ex 18¹⁸, Nu 11¹⁴, ψ 38⁵; *קָשָׁה מֶן* to be too hard for one, Dt 17⁷; *מְעַט מֶן* to be too few for something, Ex 12⁴; *גָּבֵר מֶן* to be too strong for one, ψ 65⁴; *עֲצָם מֶן* to be too mighty for one, Gn 26¹⁶; *רָוֵם מֶן* to be too high for one, ψ 61⁵; *צָר מֶן* to be too narrow for one, Is 49¹³; *קָצֵר מֶן* to be too short for something, Is 50², and very frequently *נִפְלֵא מֶן* to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18¹⁴, Dt 17⁸, 30¹¹, Jer 37¹⁷, Pr 30¹⁸; in ψ 139⁶ *פְּלִיאָה* in the same sense is followed by *מֶן*.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by *מֶן* with an infinitive, e.g. 1 K 8⁶⁴ *the brazen altar . . . was too little to receive* (to be able to receive) *the burnt offering*, cf. Gn 4¹³, 36⁷ *too great for them to dwell together*; after verbs, e.g. Ex 12⁴, Is 28²⁰, ψ 40⁶. Finally, cf. *רַב לָכֶם מֶן*, followed by the infinitive, *it is enough* (prop. too much) for you to . . ., meaning *ye have . . . long enough*, 1 K 12²⁸; cf. Ex 9²⁸ and Ez 44⁶ (*מֶן* followed by a substantive).³

- d In all these instances *מֶן* expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression *לֹא־יִבְצֵר מֵהֶם כָּל־וְאוֹ* nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11⁶, Jb 42³.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which *מֶן* logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the *מֶן* (see the analogous examples in § 119 f), be supplied from the context, e.g. Is 10¹⁰ *וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִיְרוּשָׁלַיִם* whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;⁴ Mi 7⁴ *worse than a thorn hedge*; ψ 62¹⁰ *lighter than a breath*; Jb 11¹⁷ *clearer than the noonday*; Ec 4¹⁷ *better than*, &c.

¹ Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *agregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πάντων*, 18, 431.

² On the other hand, the phrase *צָדַק מֵיָן* expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38²⁶ *צָדִיקָה מִמֶּנִּי* means, *she is in the right as against me*; cf. ψ 139¹², Jb 4¹⁷, 32².—In Pr 17¹² *rather* (to meet with so and so) *than . . .* is expressed by *יָאֵל־* before the second member.

³ Cf. also 2 K 4⁸, where the idea of *doing something too little* is paraphrased by the High. *הַמְעַט* = *do not too little*, sc. *לִישָׂאֵל* in borrowing empty vessels.

⁴ With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4⁸, *מֵעַתָּה* greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1¹⁶, 19^{31,34}, 27¹⁵, 29^{16,18,26}.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; ¹ e.g. 1 S 9²¹ הַצֶּעֱרָה *the least*; 16¹¹ הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i.e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17¹⁴ *David was the youngest*, and *the three great*, i.e. elder, &c.; Gn 42¹³, 44², Ct 1⁸.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e.g. Gn 9²⁴ בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14¹⁵; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21¹⁷ קָטָן בְּנֵי הַקָּטָן *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30²⁴ *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7⁴ טוֹבָם *their good one*, i.e. the best of them; Jon 3⁵ מִקְדוֹלָם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6¹³, 31³⁴.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e.g. Dt 33¹⁹ *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5²⁰ *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14³⁰, 19¹¹, 23^{8,11}, 29¹³, Jer 49²⁰, Ez 28⁷, Zc 11⁷, ψ 45¹³, Jb 30⁶ (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41²²; probably also ψ 35¹⁶. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantively (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e.g. Is 22²⁴ כָּל בְּכֵי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7¹⁰ see § 126 x.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the *i* construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e.g. Ex 26³⁸ קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Ct 1¹) *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9²⁵ (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3³², Dt 10¹⁷ (ψ 136^{2,3}) ²; 1 K 8²⁷, Is 34¹⁰ (cf. Gal 1⁵, Rev 22⁵); Jer 2¹⁹, Ez 16⁷, 26⁷ (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadnezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6¹⁵, Rev 17¹⁴, 19¹⁶, and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95³); Ec 1¹². Similarly in Jer 6²⁸ two participles are combined, and in Ho 10¹⁵ two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i.e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31¹⁶, &c.) or of the same meaning (e.g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֲפֵלֶה *a thick darkness*, Ex 10²²).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e.g. Ec 7²⁴ עֲמוֹק עֲמוֹק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2³, Pr 20¹⁴; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6³.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7¹⁹, Nu 14⁷ מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 1⁷, &c.); Ez 42¹⁵.—On the other hand, in Dt 28⁴³ the repetition expresses

¹ Cf. also עֲלֵיוֹן *the one above*, i.e. *the Most High*.

² *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bel belā* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2²⁷ (see § 123 e) and 16²⁰ (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23³⁰ *כָּעֵת קָעַטְתָּ לְעֵת קָעַטְתָּ* *little by little, very gradually*.¹

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as *לָרֶר רָר* (Ex 3¹⁵) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17¹⁰, Jer 6¹⁴, 8¹¹ (*perfect peace*); Ez 21³² *שָׁלֹשׁ* three times);² 35⁷, Na 1²; cf. also Ho 2^{21f}, and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33¹⁰. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22⁵, Ez 6¹⁴ (33^{28f}, 35⁸); 32¹⁵, Na 2¹¹, Zp 1¹⁵ (Jb 30³, 38²⁷).

§ 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.,' *AJSL*. xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,³ may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either —
- (a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים* *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; *שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים* *the two men*; or
- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e. g. *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *a triad*, viz. sons, i. e. three sons; *שְׁנֵים אָנָשִׁים* *two men*; or
- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. *בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ*. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32¹⁵, Nu 7¹⁷, 28¹⁹. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.⁴

¹ Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6⁹, Is 29⁵, 30¹³; of different stems in Is 5²⁶ and Jo 4⁴. In Nu 12² the particles *וְאֵל* *וְאֵל* appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

² Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18³³, Jer 7⁴ and 22²⁹, and the double exclamation in Jer 4¹⁹ and La 1¹⁰ (?).

³ Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

⁴ From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55–66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1–12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28¹⁰ the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read *וְאֵת-שְׁמוֹת הָעֵשֶׂת*; for the omission of the article before *שֵׁשׁ*, cf. § 126 w.

Rem. In Lv 24²² מִשְׁפָּט follows the construct state מִשְׁפָּט, but here as in *d* Nu 15¹⁶ מִשְׁפָּט should be read. In Gn 42¹⁹ אֶחָד is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren*; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Nu 31²⁸ אֶחָד precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*).—For מֵאָה-שָׁנָה (Gn 17¹⁷, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gn 17¹⁷, 23¹) מֵאָה שָׁנָה (Gn 5³, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i.e. *they two*, Gn 2²⁵, &c. (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵיהֶם אֲנִי I S 20⁴²), cf. § 97 i.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the *e* plural,¹ with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16²² (where שְׁנֵי הָעֶמְקִים = *the double of an omer*), 2 K 22¹, Ez 45¹, cf. 2 K 8¹⁷ and 25¹⁷ *Keil*. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, בֵּר, שָׁנָה, נֶפֶשׁ—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, עָרִים (but cf. also Ju 11³³), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e.g. עֶשְׂרִים אַמּוֹת *twenty cubits*, 2 Ch 3³; with the exception of 2 S 24²⁴, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under *g*.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, *f* with יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שִׁבְטָא *tribe*, מִצְבֵּה *pillar* (Ex 24⁴), sometimes with אַמְּבָה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old*, *ten pound*), e.g. Dt 1² אַחֲרַי עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1²³, Jos 4², &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7⁸⁷, 1 Ch 4²⁷, 25⁵.

2. After מֵאָה (מֵאָת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e.g. always *g* אֶלֶף (מֵאָת אֶלֶף), מֵאָת, (מֵאָתִים) and אֶלֶף (אֶלֶףִים) the substantives אִישׁ, אַמְּבָה, רֶגֶל, יוֹם, נֶפֶשׁ are regularly used in the singular, generally also שָׁנָה, בֵּר, שָׁנָה (with the exception of Jos 7²¹, 2 S 14²⁶, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33¹⁰, 24⁶⁰ (אֶלֶף רֶגֶבָה), Est 1¹, Ju 21¹², Dt 7⁹, 1 K 5¹⁵, 2 Ch 9¹⁵.—Examples of the plural after מֵאָה are Gn 26¹², 1 S 18²⁵, 2 S 16¹, 1 K 18⁴; after מֵאָת Ex 38²⁷; after מֵאָתִים Ju 15⁴, 2 S 8⁴, 1 K 10¹⁷,

¹ On examples such as Gn 46²⁷ (שְׁנֵי נֶפֶשׁ *two souls*), cf. § 132 *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42¹⁷; after מֵאֲחֵים 1 S 25¹⁸, 1 K 7²⁰; after אֶלְיָהוּ 1 S 25², 1 K 3⁴, 5⁶, 2 K 3⁴, ψ 90⁴; after אֲלֵפִים 1 S 17⁵, Jb 42¹²; after אֶלְפֵי Mi 67; after אֲלֵפִים Is 36⁸.—In Dn 12¹¹ the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

h 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5²⁰ שְׁנֵים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years* (שָׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנֵים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה Dt 2¹⁴), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9²⁶, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 K 6¹, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23¹, 25^{7, 17} thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12⁴ חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים *five years and seventy*; Gn 23¹ שְׁנֵים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5⁶ ^{fr}.

i Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13-24 *after* the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without י, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25¹⁰ ^f, Nu 16⁸⁵, Jos 4⁴, 2 S 23¹⁸) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2¹¹ שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14⁹ *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 Ch 11²⁰ ^f, and the determinate tens in Gn 18^{29, 31} ^f. A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19⁹ (but cf. also Gn 9¹⁹, 22²⁸, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Ch 25¹⁰, 27¹⁵) or before עָשָׂר (Jos 4⁴); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3⁴⁶.

l In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15¹⁴ אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הָעֵקֶב, where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18²⁸, Jos 6^{8, 22}, 1 S 17¹⁴, 1 K 11⁸¹, and the passages discussed above in § 126 *z*, Gn 21²⁹, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. 1 K 7^{27, 48} ^f. עָשָׂר וְעֶשְׂרֶה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25¹⁶ after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28⁴, 1 S 13¹⁷ ^f, Jer 24³, Ez 10⁹, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת 1 S 1² for הָאַחַת ^f.

Such cases as שְׁבַע הַיָּמִים Ju 14¹⁷ (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 *b*; 1 Ch 9²⁵ perhaps from § 126 *q*; in Is 30²⁰ probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 5²⁰ and 25³³ the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e.g. Gn 20¹⁶ אֶלֶף שֶׁקֶל אֲדָמָה a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before וְהָבָה Gn 24²², 1 K 10¹⁶, Is 7²³, cf. ψ 119⁷². Moreover, Ru 3¹⁵ שֵׁשׁ שְׂעָרִים six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10⁴ שְׁתֵּי-לָחֶם two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17¹⁷ עֶשְׂרֵה לָחֶם 2 S 16¹, where before מֶדֶן a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26², &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40^{5,21}, 47⁸, Ze 5², 1 Ch 11²³, 2 Ch 4²⁴) by the addition of בָּאַמָּה prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27¹¹ the Samaritan and LXX read בָּאַמָּה after אֹרֶךְ, and in 27¹⁵ אַמָּה after עֵשָׂה.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *o* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7¹¹ בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם on the seventeenth day; Dt 1³ בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה in the fortieth year; cf. Gn 14⁵, 2 K 25²⁷, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K 6¹; such a cardinal occurs without אֵל (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 *k*) in Gn 14⁴ (the Samaritan, however, has וּבְשָׁלֹשׁ); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under *k*), 1 K 19¹⁰.¹—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16¹⁰ בְּשִׁנַּת עָשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעִים in the twenty and seventh year, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12¹⁸, Nu 33³⁸, Dt 15⁹. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7¹¹, 2 K 13¹⁰; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25¹⁰.²

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *p* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁתַּיִם 1 K 15²⁶; בְּשִׁנַּת שָׁלֹשׁ 2 K 18¹, &c., cf. Dt 15⁹. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בְּרֵאשִׁית, &c., up to בְּעָשְׂרִי), but not the days of the month, e.g. בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ Gn 8⁶, &c., בְּאַרְבָּעָה בְּחֹמֶשׁ לַחֹדֶשׁ Ez 1¹, &c., בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ 2 K 25⁸, בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Lv 23³² (always, however, בְּעָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ on the tenth day of the month). On the

¹ Somewhat different from this is Ex 19¹⁵ *be ready* יָמִים לְשָׁלוֹשׁת יָמִים prop. *after three days*, i.e. on the third day (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10⁶ the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30¹³ שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים חָלִיתִי הָיִים שְׁלֹשָׁה כִּי חָלִיתִי הָיִים because three days ago I fell sick, prop. *to-day three (days)*.

² All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25¹⁰, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i.e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שְׁנַת שְׁנֵת or בְּשִׁנַּת in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128 *k*.

omission of יום in all these cases see under n; only in late passages is יום added, e.g. 2 Ch 29¹⁷ בַּיּוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה עָרָב; Ezr 3⁶ לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17⁶ בְּשָׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25¹ (in Jer 52⁴ בְּשָׁנָה), Jer 28¹ *Keth.*, 32¹ *Keth.*, 46², 51⁴⁰, Ezr 7⁸; בְּשָׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on o) to be explained according to § 128 k. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28¹, 32¹ requires in the קִרְיָהּ בְּשָׁנָה for בשנת.

q 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e.g. Gn 7^{9,15} שְׁנַיִם וְשְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21²⁰ שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e.g. Jos 3¹² אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטוֹ *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13², 34¹⁸ (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh 11¹, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 d; or a periphrasis with אֶחָד is used, Nu 17¹⁸, Dt 1²³, cf. Is 6² לְאַחַד אַחֲרֵי שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *twice* repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָרָרִים, § 123 c), e.g. לְמֵאוֹת וּלְאַלְפִּים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

r 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under o) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פָּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40⁵; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26^{21,24}, Pr 24¹⁶; cf. also אֶחָד *once*, 2 K 6¹⁰, Jb 40⁵, for which in Jb 33¹⁴ בְּאַחַת בְּשָׁלְשִׁים (the latter also in 1 S 18²¹); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעֲתַיִם Gn 4¹⁵ (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30²⁶, ψ 127, 79³²; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 S 12⁶; ³ or periphrastically by פָּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפָּעַם *this time*; cf. also בַּפָּעַם, with בּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as אֶחָד פָּעַם *once* (Neh 13²⁰ וּשְׁתַּיִם פָּעַם *once and twice*), שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים (for which in Ex 23¹⁴, Nu 22^{28,32} רְגָלִים) *three times*; cf. Ez 41⁶ *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24³ *an hundred times*; Dt 1¹¹ *a thousand times*; 1 K 22¹⁶ עַד־כַּמֶּה פְּעָמִים *until how many times*, i.e. how often. Cf. also עֲשָׂרָה מֵנוֹיִם *ten times*, Gn 31^{7,14}, and רַבּוֹת עִתִּים *many times*, Neh 9²⁸.—In Gn 43³⁴, *five times* is expressed by חֲמִשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*), ³ and in Ex 16⁵ the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנָה עַל־ (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22¹⁵, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשָׁלִישִׁית *the third time*, 1 S 3⁸; פָּעַם הַמִּישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6⁵; בְּשִׁבְעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18⁴⁴, and בַּפָּעַם הַשִּׁי Jos 6¹⁶.

¹ But בְּאַחַת Nu 10⁴ is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

² Probably also כְּפָלִים Jb 11⁶ (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifest*.

³ But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gn 47²⁴ means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11⁷, Neh 11¹.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17⁶, *two* or at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5⁴. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by ו, Dt 32³⁰, Jer 31¹⁴, Jb 33¹⁴, 40⁵ (without ו, ψ 62¹²); *two* and *three*, Is 17⁶ (Sirac 23¹⁶, 26²⁸, 50²⁵), and without ו, 2 K 9³², Ho 6², Am 4⁸; *three* and *four*, Jer 36²², Am 1⁸⁻¹¹, Pr 30¹⁸, 21²³ (Sirac 26⁶), and without ו, Pr 30¹⁵; *four* and *five*, without ו, Is 17⁶; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5¹⁹, Pr 6¹⁶; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5⁴, Ec 11²; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25⁷).

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 a) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16⁵, 2 S 24¹⁷ אֲנִי i.e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12²⁸, 17¹⁵ (after the verb), Ez 34¹⁵, ψ 2⁶;¹ but 1 S 10¹⁸, 2 S 12⁷, Is 45¹² אֲנִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Ho 5¹⁴, &c.; אֲתָה Gn 15¹⁵, Ju 15¹⁸, 1 S 17⁵⁶ (as in 20⁸, 22¹⁸, Ex 18¹⁹, Dt 5²⁴, Ju 8²¹, after the imperative); 1 K 21⁷; אַתָּה Gn 9⁷, Ex 20¹⁰ (after the verb, Ju 15¹²); fem. Gn 31⁶; הִיא 1 S 22¹⁸; הִיא Gn 3²⁰, Ju 14³; הִיא Jer 5⁵.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i.e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 o). Thus Gn 14²³, ψ 139², and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21²⁴, 47³⁰, Ex 8²⁴, Ju 6¹⁸, 11⁹, 1 S 12²⁰, 2 S 3¹⁸, 21⁶, 1 K 2¹⁸ (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24⁴⁵, Ho 5³, 10¹¹, 12¹¹, ψ 39¹¹, 82⁶, Jb 5³.²

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *b* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5³ perhaps

¹ Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7¹⁴ הוּא אֲרִנִי *the Lord himself*; Est 9¹ הָיָה הַיְּהוּדִים *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and the same*), הוּא is used in Is 41⁴, 43^{10,13}, 46⁴, 48¹² (always הוּא אֲנִי, ψ 102²⁸ אַתָּה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3¹⁹.—The position of הוּא, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 9²², can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5¹²).

² As early as the Mēša inscription (line 21 ff.) אֲנִי frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 S 25²² (?), Ct 5⁵, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1¹⁶, 2^{11,18}, 3¹⁷, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5¹⁶.

- c 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gn 3¹² *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִיא) *gave me*, &c.; 14²⁴ (הֵם); 15⁴, 24⁷, &c.; but הוּא in Is 7¹⁴ after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.¹

- d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

- e Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אֲנִי (אֲנִי), Gn 27³⁴ בִּרְבִּכִּי בִּרְבִּכִּי אֲנִי bless me, even me also (prop. bless me, I also would be blessed); Zc 7⁵; cf. also Ez 6⁸, 34^{11,20} הֲנִי אֲנִי; by אַתָּה (אַתָּה) Pr 22¹⁹ (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronoun precedes in Gn 24²⁷ (אֲנִי); 49⁸ (אַתָּה, not Judah, thou art he whom, but Judah, thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!), and Ec 2¹⁵ אֲנִי.

- f (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 S 19¹, Pr 23¹⁵; by אַתָּה 1 K 21¹⁹ אַתָּה בְּמִצְחֶךָ אַתָּה thy blood, even thine; by הוּא 2 S 17⁵, Jer 27⁷, Mi 7³; by אֲנִי 1 S 20⁴², after שְׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5² (?); by אֲנִי Nu 14³²; by הֵם ψ 38¹¹ (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9⁷.—The separate pronoun precedes in Jb 21⁴ (אֲנִי); Gn 40¹⁶, Is 45¹², 1 Ch 28² (אֲנִי); Zc 9¹¹ (אַתָּה); Jos 23⁹ (אַתָּה); Ez 33¹⁷ (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 49⁴⁸, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חֲלֵךְ (equivalent in sense to חֲלִלִי), we should read יִצְרֵנִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

- g (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25²⁴ בִּי אֲנִי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1²⁶ אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35²¹ אַתָּה לֹא-עָלִיךָ אַתָּה not against thee; 1 S 19²³ עָלָיו אֲנִי upon him also; Dt 5³ אִתָּנוּ אֲנִינוּ but with us, even us; Hag 1⁴ אַתֶּם לְכֶם for you yourselves; Jer 25¹⁴ בְּכֶם אֲנִי הֵמָּה.—The separate pronoun precedes in 1 S 12²⁸ לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 K 1²⁰ עָלֶיךָ . . . אַתָּה; Mi 5¹ מִמֶּךָ . . . אַתָּה, and 2 Ch 28¹⁰ אַתֶּם עִמָּכֶם.

- h The same principle also explains Gn 4²⁶ לְשֵׁת בְּמִצְחֵהּ to Seth, to him also (not לוֹ); cf. 10²¹, and Ex 35³⁴, Nu 4²².

¹ Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e.g. Gn 2¹⁷, 2 S 6²², 2 K 22¹⁸, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* אֵל with suffix, e.g. 1 S 15⁹ (where וְנִמְאָסָת is certainly to be read), Is 8¹³.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אַח) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,¹ as לוֹ *to him*, but also *to himself*, e. g. Ju 3¹⁶ and *Ehud made לוֹ for himself a sword*, cf. Gn 33¹⁷; so also הָלָאֵ *sibi*, Is 3⁹; אֵלָיו *unto him*, and Gn 8⁹ *unto himself*; אִתּוֹ *with him*, and Gn 22³ *with himself*; עִמָּהּ *with her*, and 1 S 12²⁴ *with herself*; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12¹¹, 13¹.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* *h* of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אַח with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Nipht'al* and *Hithpa'el*²); thus, אָתָם *se ipsos*, Ex 5¹⁰, Jer 7¹⁹ in sharp antithesis to הָאֵתִי; Ez 34^{2,8,10}. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49²⁶ on בְּשָׁרָם and דָּמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, *p* and *q*. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 *f*.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 *c*, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),³ which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 *h*) an *objective genitive*, e. g. הַמַּסִּי *the wrong done against me*, Gn 16⁵, Jer 51³⁵; cf. Gn 9², 18²¹, 27¹³ (2 S 16¹³ *Keth.*); Gn 30²³, 39²¹ (cf. Ex 3²¹, &c.); 50⁴, Ex 20²⁰, 21³⁵, Ju 4⁹, 13¹² (מַעַלְלוֹ *the treatment of him*); Is 56⁷, Jer 9⁷, Na 3¹⁹, Pr 1²⁷, 24²³, Jb 20²³, 23¹⁴, 34⁶. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20³ עֲזָרָה יִשְׁלַח *he will send thy help (help for thee)*, i. e. he will send thee help; Gn 30¹⁸, 39²¹, Ex 2⁹, Is 1²⁶ (*and I will restore judges for thee*); Ez 37¹⁵.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e. g. Gn 36⁶ and *Esau took אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בְּנֵי וְאֶת־בָּתָּיו* *his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.*; 35¹⁸, &c. In 2 S 23⁵ the text is hardly correct.

¹ As in Luther's Bible *jm* (*ihm*), *jr* (*ihr*) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

² *Nipht'al* according to § 51 *e* (like *Hithpa'el* according to § 54 *f*) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

³ Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 *h*, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e. g. Ru 2²¹ הַבָּעָרִים לִי אֲשֶׁר הֵם *the young men, which are to me*, i. e. *my young men*; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e. g. 1 S 17⁴⁰. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e. g. Ct 1⁹ בְּרָמְי שְׁלִי *my vineyard, which belongs to me*. Cf. Ct 3⁷, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22² (but see ψ 16²) and ψ 27².

2. 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 o and p), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e.g. *הַר-קָדְשִׁי* prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2⁶, &c.; *עִיר קְדֻשָּׁהּ* *thy holy city*, Dn 9²⁴; *אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף* *his idols of silver*, Is 2²⁰, 30²³, 31⁷;¹ cf. Dt 1⁴¹, Is 9³, 28⁴, 41¹¹, Ez 9^{1f}, ψ 41¹⁰, 150¹, Jb 18⁷ *אֲנֹכִי בְּעָדָי* *his steps of strength*; 38⁶; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13³ ($\text{Zp } 3^{11}$) *עֲלִיּוֹתַי* *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e.g. *בְּיָתָו מִלְחָמָהּ* Dt 1⁴¹ *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41¹²]; Is 56⁷ *בֵּית הַפִּלְתָּי* *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

O Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 k, 144 a, 145 p, t, u) and which probably passed from the colloquial language² into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11⁶, 25¹⁹, Ju 11³⁴;³ in the plural, Gn 31⁹, 32¹⁶, 41²³, Ex 12¹, 21⁷, Nu 27⁷ (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36⁶ (Samaritan *אֲבִיָּהֶם*, but also *בְּעֵינֵיהֶם*); Ju 19²⁴, 21²², 1 S 67.10^b (*בְּגֵיָהֶם*); 9²⁰, Is 3¹⁶, Ez 23^{45ff}. (alternating with *הֵן*); Am 4^{1f}. (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 11⁴, 39³ *הַכְּלִיָּהֶם* in parallelism with *לִילִיָּהֶם*; 42¹⁵, Ct 4², 6⁶, Ru 1^{8ff}. (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1⁵, 8⁹. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22²⁰; in the plural, Ju 16³, Pr 6²¹, Jb 11⁵. But Gn 26^{16,13}, 33¹³, Ex 21⁷, 1 S 6^{10a} are to be explained according to § 60 h. On *הֵפְרָה* as feminine, see § 32 n. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122 g.

P 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun *הִיא* Nu 14⁴¹, Jos 10¹³, Ju 14⁴) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15⁹, Nu 23¹⁹, 1 S 11², 1 K 11¹², Is 30⁸, Am 8¹⁰; cf. Gn 24¹⁴ (*בָּהּ* *thereby*), 42²⁶, 47²⁶, Ex 10¹¹ (*אֵתָּה* *that*), Is 47⁷. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e.g. 2 K 3³

¹ On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44² *אֶת-זִבְעֵי קִבְעֵי הַכֶּסֶף* *my cup, the silver cup*.

² According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 a), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., 67 f., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

³ The Masora reckons six instances of *כִּפְּתָנָהּ*, where *כִּפְּתָנָהּ* would be expected (Ju 11³⁴, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25¹⁵ (?), Lv 6⁸, 7¹⁸, 27⁹, Jos 17; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13^{26.11}; 10²⁸, but LXX מַצְבֶּתָה, Jer 36²⁸, Jb 6²⁰ (if the text is correct), 39¹⁵ (but previously תַּחֲמוֹס), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35⁷, Ezr 11⁵. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15¹³, Nu 16³, 1 S 2⁸, Zp 2⁷ [but read הֵימָּה]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33¹⁸, Jb 22²¹ (הֵמָּה *thereby*), Ez 18²⁸, 33¹⁸ (עַל־הֵמָּה *on that account, thereby*).¹ But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Dt 21¹⁰ refers to the collective idea contained in אֲנִי־יָדָי; in Jon 1⁸ עִמָּהּ refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּה. In Jos 2⁴ read וְהַצִּפֹּנִים; in Is 30⁶ (מִהֶם), 38¹⁶, ψ 19⁵ (בִּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun *q* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲדֹנָי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲדֹנָיִם (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי *my lords*, Gn 19²; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15², 18³, ψ 35²³), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to the *Lord*.² On אֲדֹנָי as a *Qrre perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יְחִידָי prop. *in 7'* *his unitedness*, i.e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִי־הָעָם יְחִידָי Ex 19⁸; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־יְחִידָי 1 K 3¹⁸ in reference to two women; Is 41¹, Jb 9³², Neh 6^{2.7}; after the 2nd person, Is 45²⁰, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Brockelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בְּכֶם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22²⁸, Mi 1² (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17¹⁰ (in 1 S 6⁴ read לָכֶם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִעָרְבָה Lv 27²⁸, cf. § 127 i.

¹ In 2 K 7¹⁰ for שְׁעָרֵי (the LXX had שְׁעָרֵי) read שְׁעָרֵי.

² Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A.D. onwards the *master*; so also in Syriac *אֲדֹנָי my lord*, and ultimately as a title the *lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame, Notre Dame, Monsieur, Monseigneur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲדֹנָי as a holy name, and אֲדֹנָי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲדֹנָי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲדֹנָי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲדֹנָי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language *about* God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *beli-ia, my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדֹנָי and אֲדֹנָי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדֹנָי is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדֹנָי.

a The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. הַזֹּאת, plur. הַלְּזֵה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הוּא, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵם, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 *b*), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that הַזֶּה (like *hic*, *hic*) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הוּא (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).¹

b Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32³, Ju 7⁴ of *whom I say unto thee, this (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee, he (הוּא) shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 2³⁸, &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15¹⁸, 26³²) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5³⁰, 7^{18, 20} ff.) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless הַזֶּה and הַלְּזֵה are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הֵנָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַזֶּה הַדְּבָרִי, plur. הַלְּזֵה הַדְּבָרִים, but הֵנָּה הַבְּיָמִים הַהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) הַזֶּה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10²⁷, 21¹⁶, 1 K 22²⁷, Is 6¹⁰, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, הַזֶּה is more common than הַזֶּה, as Is 5²⁵, 43⁹, &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.

c 2. Both הַזֶּה and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38² מִי הוּא כִּי נֹה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17⁵⁵, Is 63¹, Jer 49¹⁰, ψ 24⁸, 25¹², &c.; מַה הוּא *what now?* 1 S 10¹¹; *how now?* Gn 27²⁰; *why now?* Ju 18²⁴; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה-הוּא Gn 3¹³, 12¹⁸, Ex 14⁵, Ju 15¹¹; לָמָּה-הוּא *wherefore now?* Gn 18¹⁸, 25²², 1 S 17²⁸, 2 S 12²⁸, &c.—So also מִי-הוּא Is 50⁹, Jb 4⁷ ff.; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא-הוּא ψ 24¹⁰, Jer 30²¹.

d 3. הַזֶּה is likewise used as an enclitic (see *c* above): (*a*) of place, in such passages as Gn 27²¹ הֲאֵלֶּה הוּא וְגו' *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 20²⁰ *is it thou?* הִנֵּה הוּא *behold, here*, 1 K 19⁵, Is 21⁹; ² cf. also the strengthen-

¹ On הַזֶּה and הוּא standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 *i*. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 *u*.

² On the other hand, it is very questionable whether הַזֶּה in ψ 104²⁵ (הַיָּם), Is 23¹⁸ (הַיָּם), Ju 5⁵, ψ 68⁹ (הַיָּם) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104²⁵ הַיָּם may be in apposition to הַזֶּה; cf. § 126 *aa*, on Ex 32¹, and Ze 5⁷, where אֵשֶׁת אֶחָד is in apposition to זֶה depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ez 40⁴⁷, where הַלְּשָׁכָה is in apposition to הַזֶּה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23¹⁸, Ju 5⁵, 1 K 14¹⁴, and ψ 68⁹ might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43²⁵ (אֵלֶיךָ), 1 S 7²³, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁵ (אֵלֶיךָ), and אֵלֶיךָ הם these are, Gn 25¹⁶, 1 S 4⁸; (b) of time: הָעַתָּה now, 1 K 17²⁴; just now, 2 K 5²²; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e.g. Gn 27²⁶ הָעַתָּה הָיָה twice, now; cf. 31³⁸, 2 S 14², Jb 1¹², 7³, 19³; separated from the numeral in Gn 31⁴¹ הָיָה לִי elliptically for *this*, i.e. this present period, is to me, i.e. makes altogether, twenty years, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

§ 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine α or feminine person (Ct 3⁶), or even to a plural, e.g. מִי אֵלֶיךָ *who are ye?* Jos 9⁸; מִי-אֵלֶיךָ Gn 33⁹, Nu 22⁹ (more minutely, מִי וְיָמִי Ex 10⁸, i.e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e.g. מִי-שֶׁבָּם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9²⁸, 13¹⁷, Gn 33⁸, Mi 1⁶; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 S 7¹⁸.—Another interrogative is אֵיזֶה *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7⁵.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e.g. בַּת מִי *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24²³, 1 S 17^{55, 56, 58}; מִי דִבֶּר *whose word?* Jer 44²³, 1 S 12³; in the accusative, אֶת מִי *quemnam?* 1 S 28¹¹, Is 6⁵; with prepositions, e.g. בְּמִי 1 K 20¹⁴ (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32¹⁸; מִי אֶחָד 1 S 24¹⁵.—Similarly מָה, מַה, מָה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8⁹), or with prepositions, e.g. עַל-מָה *whereupon?* Is 1⁵, Jb 38⁶; *why?* Nu 22³², &c.; עַד-מָה *quousque?* ψ 74^{9, 1}.

Rem. Both מִי and מָה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely C relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e.g. Gn 39⁸ (but read מִי־אֵלֶיךָ with Samar. and LXX), 43²², Ex 32¹.—On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisque, quodcumque* or *quicquam*), e.g. Ex 32²⁶, Ju 7³, 1 S 20⁴, Is 50¹⁰ (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54¹⁵, Pr 9^{4, 16}, 2 Ch 36²³; even נִשְׁמְרֵמִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18¹² (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מִה (whatever it be) Jb 13¹³, 1 S 19³, 2 S 18^{22, 23}; cf. Nu 23³ מִה-יִרְאֵנִי וְדִבֶּר *and whatsoever he sheweth me*. Cf. also מִי־אֵשֶׁר *whosoever* Ex 32³³, 2 S 20¹¹, and מִי־הָאִישׁ *any man who* Dt 20^{5ff},

corrupt. In Ju 5⁵ in fact מִי־יִנִּי is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

¹ A quite different use of מָה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5⁸ *will ye not tell him?* i.e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7¹ = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mā tarā, just see! mā taqūlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מָה is used as a negative in Ct 8⁴.

Ju 10¹⁸. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מִה is the combination מִה־כִּי that which, Ec 1⁹, 3¹⁵ (just like the Syriac ܡܝܗܐ); cf. Est 8¹, and מִה . . . בֶּל Pr 9¹⁸, מִה . . . לֹא Neh 2¹², nothing whatever.—On מִמֶּה quicquam, anything at all (usually with a negative), and as an adverb in any way, 1 S 21³, see the Lexicon.

§ 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

- a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 b) introduced by the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (see § 36).¹ This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,² but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].³ Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e.g. Gn 24⁷ . . . הוּא וְשֵׁלַח . . . יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתִּי the Lord, *iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c.* (= *who took me*); Gn 2² and God finished עֲשֵׂה אֲשֶׁר מְלַאכְתּוֹ his work, *istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

- b Rem. 1. In the above examples אֲשֶׁר in Gn 24⁷ is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2² in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24⁷ the main idea (הוּא), to which אֲשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in

¹ The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of אֲשֶׁר, as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'atar*, *trace*, Aram. אַתַּר *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG*. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, אֲשֶׁר is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original אִשֵּׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 708 ff.) אֲשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from אֲשֵׁ and אֲשֵׁ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as וְה and וְ) are also sometimes used, see below, g and h) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew שָׁ, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אִשֵּׁ (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר are developments.

² E.g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35².

³ This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladī*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַזֶּה, הַהִיא), and from the use of וְה and וְ as relatives.

לָקַחְתִּי, while in Gn 2² it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun¹ takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2²) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1⁷ הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ *the waters, those, under the firmament*, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17¹² הוּא; 7¹² הִיא; 1 K 9²⁰ הִנֵּה; Dt 20¹⁵ הִנֵּה; but cf. also חִי אֲשֶׁר הוּא Gn 9³. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22¹³, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10²⁹ *we are journeying unto the place*, לָכֵן אֲמַר יְהוָה אֲתוֹ אֶתֶּן לָכֵן *that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you*; cf. Nu 14⁴⁰, Ju 8⁴⁵, 1 S 9^{17.25}, 24⁵, 1 K 8²⁹, Jer 32⁴⁵.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, *C* expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, כִּשָּׁם *thence*, e.g. Gn 13³ שָׁם אָהֳלָה אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם *unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. where his tent had been*; cf. Gn 32³ כִּשָּׁם, Ex 21¹³ שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35¹⁴, Nu 20¹³, Is 64¹⁰, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30⁸⁸, Nu 13²⁷, 1 K 12², where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20³¹ *for all the days*, חִי אֲשֶׁר בָּוִיֵּשׁ חִי *those—the son of Jesse is living (in them)*; cf. Gn 45⁶, Dt 1⁴⁶, 9⁷, 1 K 11⁴²; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45⁴ *I am Joseph*, אֲנִי אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם *he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold*; Nu 22³⁰, Is 49²⁵; 41⁸ *thou, Jacob*, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי *he—I have chosen thee*; Jer 32¹⁹, Ec 10^{16f.}; Gn 15⁷ *I am the Lord*, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִי *he—I brought thee out, &c.*, Ex 20² (Dt 5⁶).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but *C* itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as (qualis)*, cf. Ex 14^{13b}, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7¹⁷. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22⁵ תֵּאֵר אֲשֶׁר יֵאָר *iste—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. he whom thou cursest, &c.*; Ex 22⁸; ² אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44¹,

¹ The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49³⁰, 50¹³, Jer 31⁵²) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

² The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר *this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . .*, Jer 14¹, 46¹, 47¹, 49³⁴.

49¹, 1 S 16^{3ff}, Mi 6¹ (אֵת אִשְׁרָיִךְ); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52¹⁵, ψ 69⁵; אִשְׁרָיִךְ as genitive, Ez 23²⁸ *I will deliver thee בְּיַד אִשְׁרָיִךְ into the hand of those—thou hatest (them)*; depending on a preposition, e.g. לְאִשְׁרָיִךְ Gn 44⁴, 2 K 10²²; בְּאִשְׁרָיִךְ Gn 21¹⁷, שָׁם בְּאִשְׁרָיִךְ הוּא in that (place)—he is there, i.e. where he is; cf. Ju 17⁸ and Ru 1¹⁶ אֵל־אִשְׁרָיִךְ whither; ¹ 1 K 18¹² עַל־אִשְׁרָיִךְ whither; מֵאִשְׁרָיִךְ Ex 5¹¹.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition,² e. g. Gn 44^{9f}. **וְאִשֶּׁר יִמָּצֵא אֹתוֹ** ... **וְאִשֶּׁר יִמָּצֵא אֹתוֹ** *he—it (the cup) is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in **וְאִשֶּׁר** cf. § 143 *d*). In such cases **וְאִשֶּׁר** preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31⁸² **עִם אִשֶּׁר אִמְצָא** *with whomsoever thou findest*, where **וְאִשֶּׁר** is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47¹² (and probably also 56⁴) **בְּאִשֶּׁר** is to be explained (with Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 37) by reference to 47¹⁸, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . . , with those—thou hast laboured (with them).*

[With regard to the preceding explanation of **אֵלֶּיךָ**, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, **אֵלֶּיךָ** never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

^g Like the original demonstrative pronoun זֶה, the demonstratives proper הַ, זֶה, הַ (the last commonly),³ and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of הַ, &c., the remarks on זֶה, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) וְהָיָה in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, $\psi 104^{26}$ $\text{לֵוְיָתָן וְהָיָה לְיִצְחָק}$ (there is) *leviathan*, *he—thou hast formed (him)*, i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42²⁴ (וְהָיָה); in the accusative, Is 25⁹, $\psi 74^9$ (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; וְהָיָה is used without it in $\psi 132^{12}$); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23²² $\text{וְהָיָה לְאִמִּי וְהָיָה לְאִמִּי}$ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; $\psi 17^9$ (וְהָיָה).—In $\psi 104^8$ $\text{וְהָיָה לְמָקוֹם וְהָיָה לְמָקוֹם}$ *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130 c), וְהָיָה is in the genitive after the construct state מָקוֹם *to the place of that, thou hadst*

¹ In Ze 12¹⁰ also, instead of the unintelligible **אֵלֵי אֵת אִשָּׁר**, we should probably read **אֵל-אִשָּׁר**, and refer the passage to this class.

² Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31⁶, where מִמָּוֶנִי would be expected after הַעֲמִיקוּ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

⁸ The etymological equivalent יי, י in Aramaic is always a relative.

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48), ψ 78⁶⁴ (חַר הָיָה) and Ex 15¹³ (עָסְרוּ נְאֻלֶּיךָ), 15¹⁶, Is 43²¹, ψ 9¹⁶, 10², 31⁵, 32⁸, 62¹², 142⁴, 143⁸ (all examples of הָיָה).

To introduce independent relative clauses הָיָה is used as a nominative in *h* Jb 19¹⁹; as accusative, Jb 15¹⁷ and הָיָה Hb 11¹, ψ 68²⁰ (after a preposition, הָיָה Ex 13⁸; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(*b*) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun *i* (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26²⁸ כָּל הַקְּדִישׁ שֶׁמֹּאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 1 Ch 29⁸ (where נִמְצָא can only be perfect *Niph'al*); 2 Ch 29³⁰, Ezr 10¹⁴. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10²⁴ הָהֵלְכוּ אִתּוֹ *the chiefs of the men of war who went with him*; Ezr 8²⁵, 10¹⁷, 1 Ch 29¹⁷. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5¹³ (where, however, we should read with the LXX הָרֶבֶר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9²⁴ הָעֵלְיָהּ *the thigh and that which was upon it* (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 14 בְּהֵיכָן equivalent to בְּמִשְׁכַּן הַכֹּהֵן *to the place, that he had prepared*.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9²⁴ (where הָעֵלְיָהּ should probably *h* be read for הָעֵלְיָהּ) the הָיָה is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18²¹, 46²⁷, Jb 21¹ הַבָּאָה; Is 51¹⁰ הַשְׂמָה; Ez 26¹⁷ הַהֲלֵלָה Ru 1²², 2⁶ and 4³ הַשְׂבָּה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21³ הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11⁹, Dn 8¹ הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56³ הַנִּלְוָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26¹⁷ הַהֲלֵלָה for הַמְהַלֵּלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְוָה.

§ 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(*a*) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,¹ and even animals (Gn 15¹⁰), e.g. Gn 10⁵, feminine Ex 3²²; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12¹⁵. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *c* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיֵּד אִישׁ אִחִיו Gn 9⁵, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיֵּד אִחִי אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man*. But although the explanation seems to be

¹ As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44¹¹; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44¹³.

supported by Gn 42²⁵ and Nu 17¹⁷, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9⁵ *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings אִישׁ מִיָּד and מִיָּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15¹⁰ *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17¹⁷ *every one*, sc. *his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41¹², 42²⁵ (according to the context = *every one in his sack*); 42²⁵, where אִישׁוֹ בְּשָׁקוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12⁴, 28²¹, Nu 5¹⁰, 26⁵⁴, 2 K 23³⁵, and especially Zc 7¹⁰.¹

d (b) *Any one, some one*, e.g. Gn 13¹⁰, Ct 8⁷, with a negative *no one*;² so after אֵלֹהִים Ex 16^{10, 20}; before לֹא Gn 23⁶ and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1² (cf. בְּאָחֶזֶר הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16^{7, 11}), נַפֶּשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lv 2¹, 5¹, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (*prop. word, thing*) for *anything*, Gn 18¹⁴, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lv 5², Nu 31²³. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֵלֹהִים Gn 19⁸; after לֹא Ec 8⁵.—Cf. finally, מֵאִחֶזֶר *any one*, Dt 15⁷; *anything*, Ez 18¹⁰ (but in Lv 4², 5¹⁸ מֵאִחֶזֶת) and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18³² *I have no pleasure הַמּוֹת בְּמוֹת הַיּוֹם in the death of him that dieth, i.e. of any man.*

e (c) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one, masc.* (as אִשָּׁה *one, fem.*, in connexion with אָחוּתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעוּתָהּ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*³ (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e.g. Gn 13¹¹ *and they separated themselves אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו the one from the other*; Ex 26³ *five curtains (רֵייעֹת fem.) shall be coupled together אֵל־אֶחָתָהּ one to another.*

f 2. נַפֶּשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,⁴ both in the singular, Pr 19^{8, 16}, 29²⁴, Jb 18⁴ (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37⁹, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18¹² (*prop. in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.⁵

¹ Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9⁵ are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7¹⁰ אִישׁוֹ אֶל־תִּתְּשֵׁבוּ וְרָעַת אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּתְּשֵׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of S¹⁷, בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered ‘and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart’. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

² Cf. also אִישׁ־אִישׁ Gn 39¹¹. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אֵין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 l.

³ Elsewhere וְהָ . . . וְהָ are used in a similar sense, Ex 14²⁰, Is 6³; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14⁶, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47²¹ (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

⁴ On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

⁵ In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*,

3. בְּעֵצָם *bone* (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g*^r *selfsame*, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as בְּפֶשֶׁשׁ to persons, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *in the selfsame day*, Gn 7¹⁸, cf. Jos 10²⁷, Ez 24²; בְּעֵצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְמַהֲרָה *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex 24¹⁰; בְּעֵצָם חֲפֹזוֹ *in the very fullness of his strength* (= *in the midst of his full strength*), Jb 21²³).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of *a few*, *some*;¹ thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gn 24⁵⁵, 4c⁴ (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65²⁰, Dn 8²⁷ (on the other hand, Gn 27⁴⁴, 29²⁰ יָמִים אֲחֵרִים; see § 96 under אֲחֵרִים); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dn 11^{6.8}.

בְּרֶגֶל or בְּפֶה *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, בְּפֶשֶׁשׁ in such cases is never (not even in Is 46² נַפְשָׁם *they themselves*) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

¹ *Some* in reference to persons in Ex 16²⁰ is expressed by אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh 5²⁻⁴ by אִישׁ אֶשֶׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II

THE SENTENCE

I. The Sentence in General.

§ 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יהוה מלכנו *the Lord is our king*, Is 33²²; ואנשי סדם וחרמאים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13¹³; פה להם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115⁵; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. ויאמר אלהים *and God said*, Gn 1³; ויבדל *and he divided*, 1⁷; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (י), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18³¹ האל תמים דרכו *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34⁸ שכם בני ישקה בבתכם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, *a state* or in short, *a being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, a-d, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

§ 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

a

(a) A substantive, e.g. וְנָהָר יָצָא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went out* (was going out) of Eden, Gn 2¹⁰.

(b) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 7⁴ אֲנִי מְטַיֵּר I will cause it to rain; 14¹⁸ וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was priest*; 2²³ וְאַחֲרָיָה *before a feminine predicate, as אֵלֶיךָ before a plural in Ex 32⁴*); מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Ho 14¹⁰.—In 1 Ch 5² וּבְנֵי מִכְנָשׁ *and of him one became a prince*, the subject is contained in מִכְנָשׁ.¹

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

b

(a) A substantive, e.g. Dt 14¹ בָּנִים אַתֶּם וְגו' *ye are children of the Lord your God*; Gn 42¹³. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e.g. Ez 41²² עֵץ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ ... וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ *the altar (was) wood . . . , and the walls thereof (were) wood*, i.e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e.g. Gn 2¹² טוֹב הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעֵפְרוֹן יָשָׁב *now Ephron was sitting*, &c., Gn 23^{10, 2}. Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; cf. e below.

(c) A numeral, e.g. Gn 42¹³ עֲבָדֶיךָ שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂר *the twelve (of us) are thy servants*.

¹ For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

² Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 10¹² (הֵיא), Ex 9²⁷ (אֵלָיו), Gn 24⁶⁵ (כִּי), 1 K 9¹³ (מֶה).¹

(e) An adverb (or esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e.g. שָׁם הַבְּלִיּוּם *there is the bellium*, Gn 2¹²; אֵי הָאֵל *where is Abel?* 4⁹; לְעוֹלָם חֲסִדוֹ *his mercy endureth for ever*, ψ 136¹¹; לְעֶשֶׂר בְּבֵיתוֹ *riches are in his house*, ψ 112³; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ *we are his*, ψ 100³ *Q^{er}*.

c Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,² since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1¹⁰; ψ 25¹⁰ *all the paths of the Lord are רַחֲמִים וְאֵמֶת lovingkindness and truth* (i.e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10¹⁰); Ez 38⁵, ψ 105⁵, 109¹⁰, 23⁵, 88¹⁰, Pr 3¹⁷,³ Jb 22¹², 23², 26¹⁸, Ru 3². Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 o), e.g. ψ 110³ *thy people are יְרֵבֹת altogether willingness*; Ct 5¹⁵, Dn 9²³.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e.g. Jb 6¹² אֲמִי-כֹחַ אֲבָנִים בָּהִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Pr 3¹⁷. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45⁹ *myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments* (i.e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1¹⁵ *thine eyes are doves*, i.e. dove's eyes (but 5¹² אֵינוֹנִים); 4 ψ 23⁵, 109⁴, Jb 8⁹, 12¹², Ct 2¹³. In prose, e.g. Ex 9³¹, Ezr 10¹³ הָעֵת שְׁמַיִם *the season is rain showers*, i.e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34³⁰ וְאֲנִי מִתִּי כִּסְפָּר *and I (with my family) am persons few in number*. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gn 11¹, 12², Ex 17¹², Is 5¹², Jer 2²⁸, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29¹⁵ *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame*, but in prose, Nu 10⁸¹ *and thou shalt be to us לְעֵינֵינוּ*.

¹ Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126 f.

² The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הָיָה (e.g. Gn 1² *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; cf. ψ 35⁶, Pr 8³⁰, Jb 3⁴) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29⁴ *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i.e. powerful.

³ שְׁלֹום here, as in Jb 21⁹, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שְׁלֹום in such passages as Gn 43²⁷, 2 S 20⁶, ψ 120⁷, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

⁴ As a rule, in such comparisons כִּי (which is then to be regarded as *nominate*) stands before the predicate, e.g. Is 63² *wherefore are thy garments בְּנֹת דֹרֶחַן like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press?* (prop. the like of one that treadeth, *instar calcantis*); Jer 50⁶. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw* copulative to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19¹ *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, וָלֵיֻט יֹשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 181.8.16.22, 25²⁶, Ju 13⁹, 1 S 1⁹, 2 S 4⁷, 11⁴ (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18¹²; with a substantival predicate, 18²⁷; with an adverbial predicate, 9²⁸. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas, whilst, although*, e.g. Gn 15², 18²⁷, 26³, 48¹⁴ (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16¹⁵ *how canst thou say, I love thee*, וְלִבִּי אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3²⁹, ψ 28⁹ *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical *f* relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18²¹ הָיָה ה' אֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9¹⁹; Is 31² גַּם־הוּא חָכֵם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42¹¹; on the other hand, Gn 19¹ וָלֵיֻט יֹשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28¹⁵; Gn 7⁴ אֲנִכִּי מִמָּטָר *I am raining, i. e. I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27¹³ *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11³, 20¹³, Ex 12². Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject *g* and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41²⁶ *the seven good kine* שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים הָיָה הֵנָּה *they are seven h* years; Dt 1⁷, 4²⁴; Ec 5¹⁸ הִיא מִתַּת אֱלֹהִים *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3²⁷ הִם אֵלֶּיָּהּ; in a question, Gn 27²⁸. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,¹ e.g. אֲנִכִּי הוּא Is 43²⁵ *I, even I, am he that blotteth out*, &c.; 51¹²; אַתָּה הוּא 2 S 7²⁸, Is 37¹⁶, ψ 44⁵, Neh 9^{6,7}; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14²²; ² in Jer 49¹² הוּא in a verbal-clause strengthens אַתָּה.

¹ On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2²⁸, Ezr 5¹¹, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

² This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of δ αὐτός; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32²⁹ *see now* הוּא אֲנִי אֲנִי *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21¹⁷.

i Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה , in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1² *and the earth was* ($\text{וְהָאֲרֶצַּת רֵיקָנָה}$) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; וְהָיָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3¹. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1⁷, Jb 1¹⁴ (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14³³, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books¹ than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of וְיָשָׁב *existence*, and וְלֹא יָשָׁב *non-existence*, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 c, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24^{42,49}, 43⁴, &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,² or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3¹⁹ $\text{עָפָר אַתָּה$ *dust thou art*; 4⁹, 12¹³ (*my sister*, not *my wife*); 20^{2,12}, 29¹⁴, Is 6^{3b}, Jb 5²⁴, 6¹²; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6^{3a}, 28²¹, Jer 10⁶; with a participle, Gn 30¹, 32¹²; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24⁶⁵; ³ with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4⁹.

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4¹³; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e.g. Gn 18¹⁴, 29¹⁶, &c.; cf. also 26²⁰, 31^{16,48}).

n The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

¹ According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

² For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4⁷) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

³ The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16^{7,a}.

that which is stated about him;’ (b) ‘in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,’ e.g. 2 K 20¹⁰; (c) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16⁴; finally (d) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 2¹¹ אֲשֶׁר-שָׂם; 1^{20f} אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ.

§ 142. The Verbal-clause.

1. By § 140 f there is an essential distinction between verbal-*a* clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7¹⁹, 2 S 19¹²; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3¹³ (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2⁵, &c.¹ In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (viz. when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist—

(a) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106 f (1 S 28³, &c.); also Gn 6⁸ (not *Noah found grace*); 16¹, 18¹⁷, 20⁴, 24², 39¹ (and *Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 41¹⁰, Ju 1⁶, 1 S 9¹⁵, 14²⁷, 25²¹, 1 K 1¹, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2⁶ (see further, § 112 c), since when they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a *state*.

(b) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as *C* the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gn 1², 3¹, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 i, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 r); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13¹² וְגַם אֲבְרָהָם יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְלוֹט יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwell, &c.*

¹ This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32¹³ אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33⁸ הִנֵּנִי *he himself*.

d Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 *c*. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18¹⁸ *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24⁵⁶, 26²⁷, Is 29¹³, Jer 14¹³, ψ 50¹⁷, Jb 21²², and such examples as Gn 4²⁴, 29¹⁷, where by means of $\dot{\text{ל}}$ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under *b* and *c* (1 S 25⁸, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by $\dot{\text{ל}}$, which then corresponds to the Greek $\delta\epsilon$, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 *b*.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of $\dot{\text{ל}}$ and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38²⁵ $\text{וְהָיָה מִצְרַחָהּ וְהָיָה שְׁלֵחָה}$ *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44^{3,4}, Ju 18⁸, 19¹¹, 2 S 20⁸; for other examples, see § 116 *u* (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun-clause*, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, under *a*, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 *l*) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.¹ Thus the order may be:—

(*a*) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30⁴⁰, 37⁴, 1 S 15¹, 2 K 23¹⁹ and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3^{10,14,18}, 6¹⁶, 8¹⁷, 9¹³, Ex 18²³, Ju 14³, 1 S 18¹⁷, 20⁹, 21¹⁰, 2 K 22⁵, Pr 13⁵, &c.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21⁷, Nu 5²³, 1 S 15³³, 2 S 24¹⁶ (but $\text{וְהָיָה$ is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19¹³, ψ 34²², Jb 11¹⁹, &c.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3¹⁷, 11⁸, 13¹⁸, Ho 12¹¹, ψ 6¹⁰, 11⁵, Jb 29²⁵.²

¹ Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 *r*, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

² This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17⁸, 23⁹, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27¹⁰); cf.

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 K 5¹³, Is 5¹⁷, 28¹⁷, ψ 51⁵, Pr 13¹⁶ (read פל).¹

(e) A substantival complement of the verb היה is placed first in Is 18⁵ יְהִי נָצַח and יבכר בגלל יְהִי נָצַח and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e.g. Gn 19², 30¹⁶, 32⁵, Mi 5¹, Est 9¹²; in Gn 29²⁵ בְּרָחֵל with בְּ pretty precedes for the sake of emphasis. Cf., however, in Gn 35¹³ the order *verb—specification of place—subject*.—The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e.g. in Gn 13¹⁵ (26³), 15³; even before the interrogative, Gn 27³⁷ (cf. Jer 22¹⁵ where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 S 20⁸, Jb 34²¹ where a prepositional specification precedes).—Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gn 1¹), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, &c. (but not בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ, nor the simple רֵאשִׁיתָהּ, בְּהַחֲלָה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.; so also certain adverbs of time, such as אָז, עַתָּה, whilst others like עוֹד, חָמִיד regularly follow the verb.

§ 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140 d) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject² (which always precedes, see c) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (a) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e.g. Na 1³ יְהוָה בְּסוּפָהּ יֵרָפֶה the Lord—in the storm is his way; 2 S 23⁶, ψ 18³¹, 104¹⁷, 125², Ec 2¹⁴; cf. also Gn 34²³, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e.g. Is 59²¹ וְאֲנִי וְאַתָּה בְּרִיתִי אֲהֶם and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gn 9⁹, 17⁴, Is 1⁷, 1 Ch 28²;³ with an interrogative noun-clause, Gn 37³⁰, Jb 21⁴, 38¹⁰:—or (β) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e.g. 1 S 20²³ and as touching the matter which, &c. . . behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever; Pr 27².

Gesenius, *Comm. on Is* 42²⁴, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1 b. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lv 19³, 21²¹, Dt 28⁵⁶, 2 S 11¹⁹, Is 49⁶, 2 Ch 28¹⁰, 31⁷, 36¹⁹ (?).

¹ This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e.g. Gn 37¹⁶, 41⁹, 2 S 13⁴, &c., in interrogative sentences, e.g. 2 K 6²², Jer 7¹⁰; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

² In Gn 31⁴⁰ a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי I was) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

³ In 1 Chr 28² (cf. also 22⁷ אֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִם-לִבִּי אֲנִי might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to *I myself had it in my mind*), as e.g. Ez 33¹⁷ whereas their own way is not equal; cf. § 135 f.

b (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,¹ e.g. Gn 9⁶ (cf. § 116 w); 17¹⁵ *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26¹⁵, 28¹³, 34⁸, Ex 30³⁷, 32¹, 1 S 2¹⁰, 2 K 10²⁰, Is 9¹, 11¹⁰, Ez 33², Ho 9¹¹, ψ 11⁴, 46⁵, 65⁴, 74¹⁷, Dn 1¹⁷; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24²⁷; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19¹⁷ *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

c Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*²) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1³ if it were יְהוָה בְּחִסְדָּהּ; cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13¹⁵, 21¹³, 35¹², 47²¹ (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps הַעֲבִירִי); 1 S 25²⁹; a specification of place, Gn 2¹⁷, 2 K 22¹⁸, &c.; a substantive with ל, 1 S 9²⁰, 2 S 6²⁹; cf. the examples in § 135 α.—In Nu 15²⁹ a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer 6¹³, 33²⁴), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4²¹, 12⁴⁴, Nu 23⁸, 1 S 25²⁷, 2 S 14¹⁰, Is 9⁴, 56^{6 f.}), § 112 † and mm; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 v and § 116 w.—In Jb 15¹⁷ *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23¹², ψ 115¹, the imperfect is separated by ל from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4⁸ *as for thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36²⁶, Ec 5⁶, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40⁹, 2 S 15³⁴ וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עֲבָדְךָ *and now (so far as the present is concerned) I will be thy servant*, Nu 12¹², Jer 4¹ (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by ל (*in respect to*; cf. § 119 u) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18¹⁸ (unless the ל here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32¹ (where, however, וְשָׁרִים should most probably be read); Ec 9³, 1 Ch 7¹, 24^{20 ff.}, 2 Ch 7²¹. On the other hand, ψ 16³, 17⁴, 32⁸, 89¹⁹, 110⁹¹, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9⁴, and in לָלֵךְ Gn 9¹⁰, 23¹⁰, Ex 27^{3,10}, Ez 44⁹, &c., ל is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lā*, *surely*; Assyrian *lū*; with לָלֵךְ it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also לֵ—לֵ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17¹⁶, Ezr 1¹¹, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

¹ Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 31, and *Horonain, therein dwelt*, &c.

² But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding absolutely') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun- and verbal-clauses.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of *preformatives*). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וַיִּדְעָתָם Ez 23⁴⁰; וַעֲשִׂיתָם Ru 1⁸; in the imperfect, Jo 2²², Ct 2⁷; in the imperative, Am 4¹, Zc 13⁷ (for other examples, see § 110 k). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 a and b.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 g; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 o, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 d, between subject and predicate, § 145 p, t, u.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially b in the masculine, e.g. וַיָּהִי and *it came to pass*, וְהָיָה and *it shall come to pass*; חָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i.e. *he became angry*, Gn 4⁶, &c.; לוֹ וַיָּצַר lit. *and it became strait to him*, *he was distressed*, Gn 32⁸;¹ also in the feminine, e.g. וַתִּצָּר (Ju 10⁹) וַתִּצָּר לָרוֹד; Ju 11²⁸, Jer 7³¹, Ez 12²⁵, Jb 15³² (unless תִּמְדִּיתוֹ in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1⁶ (רִבְבָה), 29⁶ (תִּפְּסַח). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7⁷, 14²¹, Jer 10⁷, Jb 4⁵, 18¹⁶ (in 2 K 24⁷ כָּל-אִשָּׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19⁵ אִשָּׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17¹¹ וְהָיָה and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אֶנֶר it *becomes light*, 1 S 29¹⁰ (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44³); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also יִחְשֶׁה it *grows dark*, Jer 13¹⁶; but וַחֲשֶׁבֶה Mi 3⁶; תִּעֲפֶה though *there be darkness*, Jb 11¹⁷; תִּמְטֵר it *rains*, Am 4⁷ (where, however, the context requires the reading אֶמְטֵר); פֶּשַׁע it *is tempestuous*.

¹ In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חם *hot*, טוב *good*, well, בַּר *bitter*, צָר *narrow*, רָע *evil* (frequently joined by לוֹ, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18⁷, as adjectives.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*¹) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. אֶתְּ *one* (sc. any *one* who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11⁹, 16¹⁴, 19²², Ex 15²³; וַיִּקְרָא Gn 35^{8,10}, 2 S 2¹⁶, Is 9⁵; וַיֹּאמֶר *one* said, Gn 48¹, 1 S 16⁴; ² other examples are Gn 38²⁸ *one* put out a hand; Nu 23²¹, 1 K 22²⁸, Is 6¹⁰ לֹא רָפָא וְאֶחָד וְיִשְׁלֵם *and one* heals them; 8⁴ (אֶחָד); 46⁷ (וְאֶחָד); Am 6¹², Mi 2⁴, Jb 27²¹; by the 3rd singular feminine (הִיא) Nu 26⁶⁹.

c Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. הֹרֵץ הַדֶּשֶׁת הִיא *the* treader *treads* out, for *one* *treads* out; 28^{4,24} (דֹּלֵת *one* plow *continually*); Dt 17⁶ (Ez 18³²), Dt 22⁸, 2 S 17⁹ (Ez 33⁴), Jer 9²⁹; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun*, a *sayer* says, i. e. *some one* says), e. g. Nu 6⁹, Am 9¹; cf. above, § 116 t, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16⁴.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29² *for* out of that well יִשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) *watered the flocks*; 26¹⁸, 35⁵, 41¹⁴, 49³¹, 1 K 1², Is 38¹⁶, Ho 12⁹, Jb 18¹⁸, 34²⁰, Est 2², Neh 2⁷.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34²⁷. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7³ wearisome nights כְּנִימֵי לַי *have they* allotted to me (equivalent to *were* allotted to me; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4¹⁹, 6², 18¹⁸, 19²⁶, 34²⁰, Ez 32²⁵, ψ 63¹¹, Pr 2²² (in parallelism with a passive); 9¹¹.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7²⁵ לֹא-תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *one* will (or can) not come thither (prop. *thou* wilt . . .); Jer 23³⁷, Pr 19²⁵, 30²⁸ (unless the reading should be תִּתְּנָם). Cf. also עֲדֵי-בָּאֵךְ or simply בָּאֵךְ (Gn 10^{10,30}, 13¹⁰ בְּבָאֵךְ) prop. *until thy coming*, i. e. *until one comes*.

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38²³ *and all thy wives and thy children* מְוַלְּדִים (prop. *are they bringing out*=) *they will bring out, &c.*; cf. Is 32¹², Ez 13⁷, Neh 6¹⁰ (*for some are coming to slay thee*)

¹ In 1 S 9⁹ הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

² Elsewhere in such cases וַיֹּאמֶר usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23²²), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48¹, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48² for the extraordinary וַיִּבְרַךְ the common form וַיִּבְרַךְ is to be read; so in 50²⁶ for וַיִּשְׁקוּ (after a plural) either וַיִּשְׁקוּ or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21²³ וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 t.¹ In 1 K 5¹ the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e. g. Gn 4²⁶ *לָקְרָא אֶת הַחַיִּים* then (*was it begun* =) *he began men to call upon*, &c. (but read *יָהּ הֵחֵל* *he began*).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, ^l is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,² one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.³ They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the thing precedes, *קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה m* *אֶקְרָא* my voice—I cry unto the Lord, i. e. I cry aloud unto the Lord, ψ 3⁵, 27⁷, 142²; *פִּי־יִקְרָא אֶת־יְהוָה* my mouth—I cried, i. e. I cried aloud, ψ 66¹⁷ (cf. 17¹⁰); Is 26⁹ *נַפְשִׁי* with my soul, i. e. fervently, and parallel with it *אֶפְרֹחֵי*; but *נַפְשִׁי* ψ 57⁵ is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. I.

(b) Where the subject denoting the thing follows, *קוֹלָהֶם אֶת־יְהוָה cry—they voice* (i. e. aloud), Is 10³⁰; so also after an imperative, ψ 17¹³ (*תִּרְבֹּדְךָ*) and verse 14 (*יִרְךָ*); 60⁷, 108⁷ (*וַיִּנְיֶךָ*); after a perfect, Hb 3¹⁵ (*סִנְיֶךָ*); after a cohortative, ψ 108² (*אֶפְרֹחֵי*). The subject denoting the thing stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44³ *יְיָ֑ךְ אֶת־יְהוָה*.⁴

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *n* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

¹ That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4²², which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post-bibl. Hebrew, e. g. *Pirge Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

² Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83¹⁹.

³ In Ex 6³ *שָׁמִי* is subordinated to the following passive *נִדְרָעָתִי* (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25^{26.33} *רִי*, *יָרִי* are subjects to the infinitive absolute *הִוָּשַׁע*, according to § 113 *gg*. In ψ 69¹¹ read *וַיִּצְעֲקֶהָ* for *וַיִּבְכֶּהָ*.

⁴ In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 *g*. But although it is true that the subject denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 80², 109³⁰, Jb 19¹⁶, *פִּי* occurs with *בִּי instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40²² (41¹³), 41¹⁴, 43²⁴ (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46²⁹, 2 S 12⁹.

O 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24¹¹ after וַתִּחַם either עֵינַי has dropped out (through confusion with עֵינַי) or we should read with the LXX וַתִּחַם. In 2 S 13³⁹ (וַתִּכַּל דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

P 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language¹ there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49⁴ (?), Is 31⁶ (?), 42²⁰, 52¹⁴, 61⁷, Mal 2¹⁵ (where, however, for וַיִּבְרַח we should undoubtedly read וַתִּבְרַח); ψ 22⁹ [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22¹⁶, 47⁸, 48¹, 54^{1,11}, Jer 22¹⁶, 49^{4,16}, Am 5^{6,7}, Mic 1² (= 1 K 22²³), Mal 3⁹, 2 K 9³¹; and after הוּא Is 5⁸, 29¹⁵, Jer 22¹⁸]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32¹⁵, Is 1²⁹ (but read probably הִמְדִּיתֶם for הִמְדִּיתִם, which has caused the insertion of אֲנִי, 5⁸, Jer 29¹⁹, Jb 16⁷, cf. also Dt 32¹⁷). From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3¹ (in a relative clause). In Jb 13²⁸ the 3rd pers. הוּא is probably employed *deuteronically* for the 1st.

§ 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. וְאֵת בְּרִיתִי זאת *this is my covenant*, Gn 17¹⁰). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.

b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

C (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30³⁸ הַצֹּאן הַבְּאֵן (cf. 30³⁹, 31⁸ and 33¹³); Ju 12²⁷. בָּיִת representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4⁸ גִּוֵּי; 2 K 25⁵ חֵיל *army*; Pr 11²⁶ לֵאִים

¹ In prose, Lv 2⁸; but וַתִּקְרֹא יְהוָה here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26⁷, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10³ כָּל־הָעֵדָה *all the congregation* (cf. 1 K 8⁵); 1 K 1⁴⁰, Is 9⁸, 25³, Am 1⁵ עַם; 1 S 17⁴⁷, Ezr 10¹² קָהָל *assembly*. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20²⁰ וַיָּבֹאוּ אֲרָם *and the Syrians fled*; 1 S 4⁵.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8⁵ צֶאֱן וּבָקָר *sheep and oxen*, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 14¹⁴ הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הַרְשֹׁת *the cattle (cows) were ploughing*; 2 S 3¹ and 1 Ch 10⁶ בָּיִת בָּיִת = *family* (in 1 S 6¹⁸ בֵּית יִשְׁמָשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for *the inhabitants of Bethshemesh*); Ho 11⁷, Ezr 4⁴ עַם; ψ 68¹¹ חֵיהָ *herd* [if correct, figuratively for *people*]; Is 26¹⁹ גְּבוֹלֵה נַפְשֵׁי *dead bodies*; Is 27¹¹ קִצִּיר קִצִּיר *boughs*; 1 S 4¹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (α) with the predicate *d* preceding, Gn 34²⁴ וְכָר; Ju 9⁵⁵, 15¹⁰ אִישׁ; Is 16⁴ רֹמֵם *the treader down*.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8¹⁹ אֲחֵר = *others*; Ez 28⁹ סֵתֶר *a secret*; [ψ 9⁷, and even after וְהָ Jb 19¹⁹.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (α) with *e* the predicate preceding, 1 S 17⁴⁶ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ יֵדְעוּ *that all the earth may know*, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9²⁸, ψ 66¹, 96^{1,3}, &c.; Am 1⁸ שְׁאִרִית *remnant*; (ψ 33⁸ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41⁵⁷, 2 S 15²⁸, 1 K 10²⁴, Gn 48⁸ מוֹלֶדֶת *issue*; 1 S 2²⁸ כָּל־מַרְבִּית *all the increase*; Jb 30¹² פְּרִיחָה *rabble*. In Hag 2⁷ read חֲמֹרֶת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35¹¹, Ex 10²⁴, 14¹⁰, Dt 1³⁹, &c.—For *f* examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially *g* when the predicate precedes; see o below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 12²⁰ וַיִּגְדַּב הָעָם וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ *and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty*; 33⁴.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning *h* (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1^{1,3}, &c. (but see the Rem.), מַלְכִּים *master*, Ex 21⁴ מְעֻלִּים *master, owner*, Ex 21²⁹; cf., moreover, מְלִיכִים with the singular, Jb 16¹⁶ כְּהֵנָּה, Pr 12¹⁰.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12⁹ חָכֵם הָיָה קֹהֵלֶת *the preacher was wise*.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים *God* with the plural of the predicate may *i* be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19², 20¹⁰, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *A* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20¹⁸ (but in conversation with a heathen); 31⁵⁸, 35⁷, cf. also Jos 24¹⁹. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9¹⁸ compared with Ex 32^{4,8}, and 1 Ch 17²¹ compared with 2 S 7²⁸. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20¹⁸ in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate¹ (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 s); thus Jo 1²⁰ בְּחֵמֹת שָׂרָה תַּעֲרֶג *the beasts of the field long*; Jer 12⁴ (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12⁷; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24¹³, Is 34¹³, Jer 4¹⁴, 51²⁰, ψ 18³⁵, 37³¹, 73² *Keth.*, 103⁵ (unless הַמְחִדֵּשׁ is to be read for תַּחֲחִדֵּשׁ), Jb 14¹⁹, 27²⁰; with the predicate following, Gn 49²² (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Dt 21⁷, 1 S 4¹⁵ (וְעֵינָי לְמָה),² 2 S 10⁹, Is 59¹², Jer 2¹³ *Keth.*, 48⁴¹, 49²⁴, Pr 15²², 20¹⁸, Jb 41¹⁰.³

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27²⁹ (Nu 24⁹) אֲרֵרְךָ וְכָבֵדְךָ בְּרוּךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31¹⁴, Lv 17¹⁴ and 19⁸ (in both places the Samaritan has אֲבָל); Is 3¹² unless נִשְׂאוּ is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 k; Pr 3^{18.35} (?), 18²¹ (?), 21^{27b}, 27¹⁶, 28^{1b}, 28¹⁶ *Keth.*

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent⁴ use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21¹⁰, 28⁴⁶, Am 6¹⁰; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2⁸, 30²², Jer 31¹⁴, Ho 4⁸ (but since ו follows, נִפְשׁוּ is undoubtedly a dittography for נִפְשׁוּ), Ze 14¹², ψ 5¹⁰ (where, however, פִּימוֹ is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62⁵, 141¹⁰ (?), Jb 38³², Ec 10¹⁵ [but לִפְנֵי]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2¹⁰ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לִי *which they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5²⁸, 8²⁰, Jb 24⁵, in each case לוֹ; in Gn 2¹⁹ לוֹ refers to the collectives חֵתָה and עֹרָה; cf. further, Jos 24⁷, Is 5²⁸ מַלְאָכָם after צִדִּיקִים (but read probably צִדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1¹¹ עֲבָרִי לָכֶם [cf. Jer 13²⁰ *Keth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

¹ Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρῶτα βαίνει; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i.e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

² On the possibility of explaining forms like לְמָה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44 m; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Jo 1²⁰, ψ 37³¹, 103⁵.

³ In Pr 14¹ an abstract plural חֲכָמוֹת (to be read thus with g¹, &c., instead of חֲכָמֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 l, § 124 e, end.

⁴ In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*REJ.* xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 16⁷.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַי לְאֵה רְפוּת Gn 29¹⁷ and *Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24³, Is 30²⁰, Jer 14⁶, Mi 7¹⁰, ψ 18²⁸, 38¹¹ (on the other hand, in 1 S 4¹⁵ the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4¹¹ *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אוֹזְנַי *ears*, 2 Ch 6⁴⁰; יָדַי *hands*, Is 1¹⁵, Jb 10⁸, 20¹⁰ (in Ex 17¹² even with the plural masculine כַּבְּדֵם; cf. *p*); שְׂפָתַי *lips*, 1 S 1¹³, Jb 27⁴; שְׁדַי *breasts*, Ho 9¹⁴.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting animals or things¹). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite.² Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2¹⁷ וְיֵשֶׁה נְבִיחוֹת הָאָדָם and *bowed down shall be the loftiness of man*; 9¹⁸, 14¹¹, 28¹⁸, 47¹¹; 1 S 25²⁷ (see note 1 below); 1 K 8^{31b}, 22³⁶, 2 K 3²⁶, Jer 51¹⁶, Ec 7⁷; with a following plural masc., Is 13²² וְנָחָה אֲרָיִם and *there shall cry wolves*, &c.; Ju 13¹⁷ *Keth.*, 20⁴⁶, 1 S 1², 4¹⁰, 2 S 24¹⁵, 1 K 13³³, Jer 51⁴⁸, ψ 124⁵, Est 9²³ (see note 1 below); Gn 1¹⁴ וְיִהְיֶה לְאֵרִי מְאֹרֹת let *there be lights*; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32³⁵, 1 K 11^{8a}, Is 8⁸, Jer 13¹⁸, Mi 2⁶, ψ 57²; before collectives and mixed subjects, e.g. Gn 12¹⁶, 13⁵, 30⁴³, 32⁶, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44¹⁸, ψ 73⁷ (where, however, with the LXX וְעָלְמוּ should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the *p* plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21²¹, 1 K 11^{8b}), of animals (Gn 30³⁹ where however צֹאן may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26³⁸, Jer 13¹⁶, Ho 14⁷, ψ 16⁴, Jb 3²⁴, Ct 6⁹), or before a dual (2 S 4¹, Zp 3¹⁶, 2 Ch 15⁷) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *a*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3¹¹ תִּהְיֶה instead of תִּהְיֶי); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5^{23a}, 35⁵,

¹ Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25²⁷ (but וְהָיָה צֶדֶק should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9²³ (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42¹⁵ are to be explained according to § 121 *a*.

² In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau*, &c.

Dt 21⁸ (according to the accents); 22²³, Is 18⁵ וְבִסְרֵי גִפְתִּי יִהְיֶה נֶצֶחַ and *a ripening grape the flower becometh*.

7 (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. ψ 119¹³⁷ יֵשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטָיוּרִי *upright are thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.¹—On the other hand, רָעָה in ψ 119 עֲבָדֶיךָ רָעָה *thy servants are shepherds*, Gn 47³, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רָעָה.

8 Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 14 וְהָיָה . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֶת (see *c* above); Nu 9⁶, Ez 14¹; cf. also Gn 30³⁹ (see *p* above).

t 2. The dislike mentioned in *p* above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 *d*); thus in Is 14⁹ רָנְנוּהָ, and afterwards עֹרֵר (but עֹרֵר is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading הָקֵם for הָקֵם); 33⁹ אָבֵל אֶמְלִלָּהּ *mourneth, languisheth the land*. Cf. Jer 4³⁰, and the examples (§ 47 *k*) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative *i*, Is 57⁸, Jer 3⁵, Ez 22⁴, 23³² (וְהָיָה after *i*); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3¹⁵, cf. § 110 *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 2¹, 5¹, 20⁶, where נָפֶשׁ *person* (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32⁹ read with the Samaritan הָאֶחָד instead of הָאֶחָד; וְהָיָה then follows correctly; 1 S 20²⁰ read with Wellhausen שָׁאֵל, according to 1²³, instead of שָׁאֵל; 1 S 16⁴ read וְיִאֱמָרוּ; Ez 18²⁹ instead of וְהָיָה read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20³⁸ for יָבוֹא,² and in Jb 6²⁰ for בָּכָה; in La 5¹⁰ read נִכְמָר, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 24⁸ read יִלְדָה; in Jer 48¹⁵ also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49¹¹, Ho 14¹, Pr 1¹⁶ (after רָנְנוּ), ψ 11⁴ (after עֲיִינוּ), 63⁴, Pr 5², 102³², 18⁶, 26²³, Jb 15⁶ (all after שִׁפְתֵי), Pr 3² (after מִצְוֹתֵי), ψ 102²⁸, Jb 16²² (after שְׁנוֹת), Dn 11⁴¹ (read וְרָבִית), and perhaps Gn 20¹⁷ are also to be explained (see *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44¹⁹, Pr 26²³ the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31⁸ יְהִי, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.³—In Gn 47 רָבִין

¹ This does not include such cases as Jb 24^{7,10}, where עָרֹם is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

² יָבוֹא probably an error for יָבֵא. The Masora on Lv 11³⁴ reckons fourteen instances of יָבֵא, where we should expect the plural.

³ So also the pronoun הוּא emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 *n*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13¹⁴ הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה . . . *the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance*; in number and gender, Lv 25³³ קֶרֶב; Jer 10³.

is a substantival participle (*a turker, a coucher*). In Gn 47²⁴ יָהִי־יָהִי remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28²², Ex 12⁴⁹, 28^{7.32}, Nu 9¹⁴, 15²⁹, Jer 50⁴⁶, Ec 2⁷ (יָהִי־לִי as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot this possession* also). In Jb 20²⁶ לֹא־נָפַח may (unless נָפַח is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16⁸ and Hb 3¹⁷ the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמֹת (see *k* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87⁸, Pr 2¹⁰, 12²⁵, 29²⁵, Jb 8⁷, 36¹⁸.

§ 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a *nomen regens* (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the *nomen regens*, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.¹ Thus 1 S 2⁴ שֶׁשֶׁת גִּבּוֹרִים חָתָם הַיָּם *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26¹², Lv 13⁹, 1 K 1⁴¹ (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17¹⁶, Is 2¹¹, 21¹⁷, Zc 8¹⁰, Jb 15²⁰, 21²¹, 29¹⁰, 32⁷ רַב שָׁנִים (equivalent to *many years*); 38²¹; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10⁹, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4¹⁰ *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. as *one crying*) . . . ! = *hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.*; Is 13⁴, 66⁶. In Is 52⁸ an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen*!; in Jer 10²³ and Ct 2⁸ an independent noun-clause; in Is 40⁸ קוֹל קָרָא *the voice of one that crieth! i.e. hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6⁹ קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and הִזְהָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

2. When the substantive כָּל (כֻּל־) *entirely* is used in connexion with a *c* genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כָּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5⁸ וַיְהִי כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were, &c.* (in 5²³, 9²⁹ וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads וַיְהִי here also); Ex 15²⁰; with the predicate following, ψ 150⁶, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17¹⁴ (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8²⁵, Is 64¹⁰, Pr 16², Na 3⁷. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12¹⁰ the agreement of the

¹ Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with כָּל־ is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל־מְלָאכָה, כָּל־ לֹא being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *vāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e.g. Gn 8²² *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁכַּח); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e.g. Gn 18¹¹ אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זָקֵנִים *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28³², 1 K 1²¹.

e Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27⁰ שֶׁמֶן וְקִטְרֹת יִשְׂמַח־לֵב *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine שֶׁמֶן (as in Is 51³ with שִׁשְׁוֹן); on the other hand, in Ex 21⁴ (where הָאִשָּׁה וְיִלְדֶיהָ are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9⁴, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.¹

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40¹, Jb 3⁵, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9²³, 11²⁰, 21³², 24⁵⁰, 34²⁰, Ju 14⁵; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e.g. Gn 3⁸, 24³⁵ *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33⁷; before a masculine singular and a plural, e.g. Gn 7⁷ נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8¹⁸ (where feminines plural also follow); 44¹⁴, Ex 15¹, 2 S 5²¹; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12².

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e.g. Gn 31¹⁴ רָחֵל וְלֵיָּצָה *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e.g. Gn 24⁶¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12¹ מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5¹; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e.g. Gn 33⁷ (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75⁴ וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵיהָ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8¹³.—In Jer 44²⁵ for אֲתֵם יִגְשִׁיכֶם read אֲתֵם אֲתֵם with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21³², 24⁶¹, 31¹⁴, 33⁷, &c., and § 145 s.

¹ Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33² *he put . . . Leah and her children after*; אַחֲרֵיהֶם agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or *a* the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.¹ Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 *s* (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 *u*, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*⁵, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11^{22b} restore הָיָה, with the LXX, before לְהַמְלִיכֹו; in 35²¹ add אֲנִי, with the LXX, after הַיּוֹם and read פֶּרֶת for בֵּית; in 2 Ch 19⁶ and 28²¹ the pronoun הוּא is wanted as subject, and in 30³ the predicate יְהִי; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9³³ (Ezr 3³), 1 Ch 15¹³ (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15³, 16^{10,12} (*bis*), 18³.

2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, *en, ecce* may be used either *b* absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28¹⁵ עָמָד אֲנִי עִמָּךְ and, behold! I am with thee; 37⁷, 48²¹, Ex 3¹³, 34¹⁰, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 *o*. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 *p*. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.² If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116 *p* and *q*) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.³ Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the

¹ This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33⁸, where an infinitive with י appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26⁷, where הוּא must again be supplied after אֲשֶׁר־יֵאָדָּר.

² On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

³ That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e.g. מַת in מַת הַנֶּזֶק Gn 20³) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

subject and copula (as Gn 18⁹ הִנֵּה בְּאֶהָלִי *behold she is in the tent*; 42²⁸), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנִי *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הִן Gn 11⁶, Jb 31³⁵), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22⁷ הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood*, &c.; 12¹⁹ *behold thou hast thy wife*! Ex 24⁸; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7¹ וְהָיָה לְקֶשֶׁת וְגו' *and lo, it was the latter growth*, &c. By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9¹⁹, *lo, here am I*!

- c 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7²⁰ *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon*! (verse 18 without הָיָה); 2 S 20¹ and 2 Ch 10¹⁶ (cf. also 1 K 22²⁶) *every man to his tents, O Israel*! (i.e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without אֵשׁ 1 K 12¹⁶; moreover, Is 1²⁸, 13⁴ (on the exclamatory קול equivalent to *hark*! cf. § 146 b); 28¹⁰, 29¹⁶ (הַפְּכֵכְכֶם *O your perversity*! i.e. *how great it is*!); Jer 49¹⁸ (if הַפְּלִצְתֶּךָ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee*!); Jo 4¹⁴, Mal 1¹³ (הִנֵּה מִתְלַחֵה *behold what a weariness*!); Jb 22²⁰; perhaps also Gn 49⁴ פָּחוּ בַּפִּי כַּמַּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4²⁰, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15²³ אֵיזֶה אֵיזֶה *where* sc. is bread?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7¹⁸ (see above); 1 K 12¹⁶ (see above); 2 K 9²⁷ אֲתוֹ גַּם *him also*! explained immediately afterwards by הַבְּהוּ *smite him*! Ho 5⁸ *after thee, Benjamin*! sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5¹⁴); ψ 64, 90¹³, Hb 2⁶ עֲרִמְתִּי *עֲרִמְתִּי*; ψ 74⁹ עֲרִמְתִּי. On וְלֹא *and if not* (unless וְלֹא is to be read), 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אֵי, אוֹי, הוֹי, הֵם; ¹ cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*) or אֶל- or עַל-, e.g. גָּלוּ אוֹי לָנוּ *woe unto us*! 1 S 4⁸, Is 6⁵; cf. also אֵלֶּיךָ הָיָה *alas for the day*! Jo 1¹¹; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after הוֹי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, הוֹי אָחִי *alas, my brother*! 1 K 13³⁰,

¹ We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הֵם Ju 3¹⁹, Am 6¹⁰) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אָחִי and הָאָח).

Jer 22¹⁸; אֵלֶּה הָיוּ הָיוּ הָיוּ *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1⁴, 5^{8,11,18,20,22} (*ah! they that . . .*).—
For עַם cf. Hb 2²⁰, Zp 1⁷, Ze 2¹⁷.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *e* may perhaps occur in יָדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115⁷, for יָדֵיהֶם לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פְּהֵלָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וַפִּילֶשֶׁט Gn 22²⁴, and וַחֲלִי Ec 5¹⁶ are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נְבִיאָהֶם Nu 12⁶; cf. § 128 d above.

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. *Exclamations.*

The originally interrogative מַה is used to introduce exclamations *a* of wonder or indignation=*O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהָ or וְאֵת according to § 136 c.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מַה Jb 31¹) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1¹⁸ by מַה.

Examples:—

מַה (or מַה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27²⁰ (מַה־רָּחֵם); 38²⁹, Nu 24⁵ (*how goodly are . . .*); ψ 21², Ct 7²; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28¹⁷, ψ 8²; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6²⁰ (*how glorious was . . .*); Jer 22²⁸, Jb 26^{2 f}; indignantly, Gn 3¹³ מַה־זֹּאת; 4¹⁰, 20⁹, 31²⁶ *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26⁹, ψ 73¹⁹; in scornful exclamation, Is 14^{4,12}; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה), 2 S 1^{26,27}; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39⁹, 44⁹, ψ 11¹, 137⁴; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2⁴.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1²¹, La 1¹; with the imperfect, La 2¹, 4¹.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7¹⁸ מִי־אֵל כְּמֹדֶךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 d, 151 a.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18²⁰; cf. 33¹¹, Is 7⁹, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 ee.

§ 149. *Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.*

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22¹⁶) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as חֲתִימָהּ,

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ, חַי אֲנִי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2³⁰, 2 S 20²⁰, Jb 27⁵ after חַי־לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם-לֹא properly *if I do it not* equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1^{34 f.}, Is 14²⁴, 22¹⁴, Jer 22⁶, Ez 3⁶, 35⁶, ψ 95¹¹. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם-לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25²², where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לָרֹדֶךָ with the LXX for לֹא-יָבִי לָרֹדֶךָ.

Examples:—

- c (a) The particles אִם and אִם-לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11¹¹ (see note on a) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם-אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14⁴⁵, 2 K 5¹⁸ (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 S 14³⁹ and 29⁶ חַי־י is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 27, 3⁵ (after הִשְׁפַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14²³, 21²³, 26²⁰; spoken by God, Dt 1^{34 f.}, 1 S 3¹⁴, ψ 95¹¹; similarly אִם-לֹא Gn 24^{37 f.}; spoken by God, Is 14²⁴, where אִם-לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 n, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22⁶; in Gn 31⁶² the negative oath introduced by אִם-אֲנִי, אִם-אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34¹⁰ the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם-לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.
- d (b) אִם and אִם-לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3¹⁷ כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה-לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם-יִכְבְּדְךָ מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וּג' *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25²². On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14⁴⁴, 1 K 2²³ (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3³⁵ אִם כִּי; in 1 S 25³⁴ the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20¹³ the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e (c) אִם and אִם-לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5⁸ כִּי־נֹרָא וְלֹא-רָמָה וְלֹא-רָמָה אִם-יִרְאָה *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22¹⁴, Jb 6²⁸ (in the middle of the sentence); after חַי־לֹא חַי־לֹא *absit*, 2 S 20²⁰; אִם-לֹא with the imperf. Is 5⁹, with the perfect, Jb 22²⁰.

¹ Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20³, 25²⁶ *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11¹¹ read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַי־יָהּ). On חַי and חַי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 aa, note.

§ 150. Interrogative Sentences.

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *α* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently¹ the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27²⁴ אָתָּה בְּנִי יַעֲקֹב *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18¹², Ex 33¹⁴ (בְּנִי אֲנִי); 1 S 11¹² יִשְׁאֵל יִמְלֹךְ שָׁאוּל *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22⁷, 2 S 16¹⁷, 18²⁸ לְנֶעַר שְׁלֹמֹה *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16⁴, 1 K 1²⁴, Is 28²⁸, Ho 4¹⁶, Zc 8⁶ (should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?); Pr 5¹⁶. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by *וְ*, e.g. Jn 4¹¹ וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲחָהּ *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8²² *will they not stone us?* Ju 11²³, 14¹⁶, 1 S 20⁹, 24²⁰, 25¹¹, 2 S 11¹¹, 15²⁰, Is 37¹¹, 44^{19b}, Jer 25²⁹, 45⁵, 49¹², Ez 20³¹, Jb 2¹⁰, 10⁹; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with *לֹא* for *הֲלֹא* *nonne?*), 2 K 5²⁶ (but cf. note 1), La 3⁸³.²

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is *δ* omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which *הֲ* or *וְ* occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative *הֲ* (*הֲ*; as to its form, cf. § 100 k-n), *ne? num?* the disjunctive question by *הֲ* (*num? utrum?*) in the first clause, and *אִם*³ (also *אִם־*, less frequently *אִם*) *an?* in the second, e.g. 1 K 22¹⁸ . . . הֲנִלְכֶּה

¹ Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27²⁴ he would read, with the Samaritan, אָתָּה בְּנִי as in verse 21, in 1 S 16⁴ הֲשָׁלֹם, in 2 S 18²⁸ הֲשָׁלֹם as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5²⁶, Ez 11⁸, Jb 40²⁸, 41¹; 1 S 30⁸, 2 K 9¹⁹, Ez 11¹⁸, 17⁹.

² But in 1 S 27¹⁰ instead of *אִם־* (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either *עַל־מִי* *אִם־מִי* with the LXX, or better, *אֵן* (*הֲנִי*) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23⁵ read *הֲלֹא* *הֲלֹא־* with Wellhausen.

³ Quite exceptional is the use of the particle *אִין* *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21⁹ *אִין־יֵשׁ־פֶּה* *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading *הֲיֵשׁ* *הֲיֵשׁ־*; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW*. xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with *מָה* *what?* such as *כַּמָּה* *how many?* *לָמָּה* *why?* (see § 102 k), *מָדָּה* *why?* (§ 99 e), or by *אֵימָה* *where?* *אֵימָה*, *אֵימָה* *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

נָהָלָם אִם shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אֵי where? whither? אֵיָהּ whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43⁷ הֲעוֹר אֲבִיכֶם חַי הָיִישׁ לָכֶם אִם לָמָּה אָחָד 2 S 9¹¹; *is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for הֲיִישׁ* cf. Gn 24²³, 1 S 9¹¹; for הֲכִי *is it that?* Jb 6²²; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ *is there yet?* 2 S 9¹ (but in 2 S 23¹⁹ for הֲכִי read הֲנָא with 1 Ch 11²⁵); for הֲאֵין *is there not?* 1 K 22⁷, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2³ *hast thou considered* (הֲשִׁמַּחְתָּ לְבָבְךָ) *my servant Job?* In other cases הֲ (= *num?*) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14¹⁴ *if a man die, הֲיִחְיֶה* *shall he indeed live again?* Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,² e.g. 2 S 7⁵ הֲאֶתָּה תִּבְנֶה לִּי בַּיִת *shalt thou build me an house?* (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17⁴ לֹא אֶתָּה וְג' *thou shalt not, &c.*); Gn 4⁹ הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אֲנֹכִי *am I my brother's keeper?* cf. 2 K 5⁷, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (*constr.* Jb 34¹⁸, *absol.* Jb 40²; on both, see § 113 *ec*, with the note). —On the other hand, in 1 K 16³¹ for הֲנִקֵּל (after וַיְהִי) read הִנֵּקֵל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3¹¹ *surely thou hast eaten*; Gn 27³⁶ קָרָא הֲכִי *prop. is it so that one names?* &c., i.e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29¹⁵ *verily thou art my brother*; Dt 11³⁰, Ju 4⁶, 1 S 2²⁷ *I did indeed, &c.*; 20³⁷, 1 K 22³ *ye know surely . . .*; Mi 3¹, Jb 20⁴. — In 1 S 23¹⁹ (cf. ψ 53⁴) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9⁷ a concession is expressed by הֲלוֹא *I have, it is true, &c.* Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הִיא כִּתְּוִבָּה Jos 10¹³ or כִּתְּוִבָּהּ הִיא הֲלֹא equivalent to *surely it is, they are written* (the latter in 1 K 11⁴¹, 14²⁹, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כִּתְּוִבָּה 2 S 1¹⁸, and הִנֵּם כִּתְּוִבָּים 1 K 14¹⁹, 2 K 15¹¹, 2 Ch 27⁷, 32³².

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 2²² *turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i.e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.*; cf. 1 S 19¹⁷, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25¹⁶; also Gn 27⁴⁵, Ex 32¹² (Jo 2¹⁷, ψ 79¹⁰, 115²); Ct 1⁷, Ec 5⁵, 7¹⁷, Dn 1¹⁰.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, see the Lexicon.

¹ On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 *t*; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 *n*.

² Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative כִּי in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8⁴ מַה-תַּעֲזִירוּ *why should ye stir up?* i.e. *pray, stir not up*; cf. also Jb 31¹; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אִם** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1²⁷, Is 29¹⁶, Jb 6¹², 39¹³.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אִם—וְ** (*utrum—an?*) *g* or sometimes by **אִם—וְ**¹—וְ, e. g. Jo 1², Jb 21⁴ (even with וְ repeated after **אִם**) in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17¹⁷. In Jb 34¹⁷, 40^{8f}, special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאִם** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְ** or in 2 K 6²⁷, Jb 16³, 38²⁸, 31³⁶ (Mal 1⁸ וְ **אִם**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ אִם**; cf. also Ju 18¹⁹, Ec 2¹⁹.

Double questions with (**אִם**) **אִם—וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; *h* frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37⁸) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4¹⁷ *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אִם) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6^{5f}, 8³, 10^{4f}, 11^{2,7}, 21³, Is 10¹⁵, Jer 5²⁹. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple וְ, e. g. Jb 13⁷, 15^{7f}, 38^{16f.22.32.39}; cf. also *ψ* 8⁵ after **מָה**; Jb 21^{17f} after **בְּמָה**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8¹¹, 22⁴; after **מָה** *ψ* 144³.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions² after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining,³ &c., simple questions of this kind take either וְ *whether*, Gn 8^{8,4} or **אִם** Gn 15⁶, 2 K 1², Ct 7¹³; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5¹; in 1 S 20¹⁰ the indirect question is introduced by **אִם**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אִם—וְ** Nu 13¹⁸ at the end (or **לֹא—אִם—וְ** Gn 24²¹, 27²¹, 37³², Ex 16⁴), and וְ—וְ Nu 13¹⁸, which is followed by **אִם—וְ**; also **אִם—וְ** Ec 2¹⁹. The formula **אִם יוֹדַע מִי** has an affirmative force, *who knows whether...* *not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4¹⁴.

In Jon 1^{7,8} the relative pronouns **מִי** and **מִיֶּנִּי** owing to the following *h* **לְמִי** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) וְ and הֲאִם (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to *l* give vividness to the question; so also **אִם** (for which **אִם** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27²³ **הֲאִם אֵלֶּיךָ הִנֵּה** *who then is he?* Ju 9³⁸, Is 19¹², Jb 17¹⁵; **אִם** *אֵלֶּיךָ*

¹ **אִם** occurs in Pr 27²⁴ after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְאִם**. Not less irregular is **הֲלֹא** instead of **לֹא אִם** in the second clause of Ju 14¹⁵, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23¹¹ the second וְ introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17²⁸ and in the third clause of Jb 6¹³, **הֲאִם** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **הֲלֹא**, since **אִם** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

² It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English). Cf. also § 137 c.

³ In Gn 43⁸ the וְ after **לְהַגִּיד** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

⁴ Also in Ec 3²¹ we should read **הֲעֵלָה** and **הֲיִדְרַת** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, **אִם** may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33¹⁶, Is 22¹; also Ho 13¹⁰, since either **הֲאִם** is a dialectical form of **אִם**, or **הֲאִם** should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27³⁷.¹

- m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5⁴ after **מִדָּעָה** *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i.e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50²; after **וְ** Nu 32⁶, Jer 8⁴, also Nu 16²² (read **וְהָאִם**); after **לָמָּה** Jos 22²⁰; after **לָמָּה** Is 58³, 2 Ch 32⁴; after **אֲלֵכֶּם** Is 40²⁵.² But **וְ** Jb 4² and **וְלָמָּה** 4²¹ are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

- n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24⁵⁸, 27²⁴, 29⁵, Ju 13¹¹), Gn 29⁶, 37³²^f, 1 S 23¹¹, 26¹⁷, 1 K 21¹⁰, Jer 37¹⁷. (On **וְכֵן** *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10¹⁵, see § 159 *dd*.) As a negative answer the simple **לֹא** is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19³, 1 K 3²², &c.; cf. § 152 *c*; and in Ju 4²⁰ the simple **לֹא** equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

§ 151. Desiderative Sentences.

- a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 *n*), cohortative (§ 108, especially with **נָךְ** § 108 *c*), jussive (§ 109; with **נָךְ** § 109 *b*), imperative (§ 110 *a*), perfect consecutive (§ 112 *aa*) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 *r*, note, and § 141 *g*) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:³ especially sentences with **וְ** followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e.g. 2 S 15⁴ **וְיַשְׁפֹּט שְׁפָטִי** *who maketh me judge?* i.e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20¹⁰, 2 S 23¹⁵. On the other hand, **וְ** with the perfect (Gn 21⁷, Nu 23¹⁰, 1 S 26⁹, Is 53¹, &c.) or participle (**וְ** 59³, Pr 24²², &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i.e. a denial, cf. § 150 *d*. Especially frequent is the use of **וְיִתֵּן** (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under *b*).—In Mal 1¹⁰ the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

¹ On the other hand, in Jb 9²⁴ and 24²⁵ **אִם** is not prefixed to the **וְ**, but appended to the conditional sentence.

² Cf. the analogous sentences after **וְכֵן** *because*, Is 65¹², Jer 35¹⁷; after causal **וְכֵן** 1 S 26²³; after **וְ** Is 12¹; likewise after **וְ** § 153 at the end; after **וְכֵן** Dt 8¹²⁻¹⁴, 25³, Jos 6¹⁸, 2 S 12²⁸.

³ The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e.g. in Nu 11⁴ *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i.e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

וְיִקְרָא בְכֶם וְיִשְׁמַר דְּלִמְתִּי would that one were among you and would shut the doors, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9²⁹ *מִי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי* who gives this people into my hand? equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55⁷. In these examples, however, *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, *מִי־יִתֵּן* having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28⁶⁷ *וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה* would that it were even! . . . morning! Ju 9²⁹, ψ 14⁷ (53⁷), 55⁷; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11⁵; with two accusatives, Nu 11²⁰, Jer 8²³; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16⁸, 2 S 19¹ *מִי־יִתֵּן* *תִּחַיֶּה* would that I had died for thee (for *אֲנִי* cf. § 135 f); of a participle, Jb 31³⁵; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29² (with a following *כִּי*; but *מִי־יִתֵּן* Is 27⁴ and Jer 9¹ with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to *מִי־יִתֵּן* *לִי*, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 ff).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning *מִי־יִתֵּן* is used with an adjective in Jb 14⁴ *כִּי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה* could a clean thing but come out of an unclean! i. e. how can a clean thing come, &c.; similarly in Jb 31³¹ *כִּי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה* who can find one that hath not been satisfied!

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23³ (cf. § 120 e); with a perfect consecutive, C Dt 5²⁶ *וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה* O that they had such an heart!

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6⁸, 13⁵, 14¹³; in Jb 19¹³ the imperfect is *לֹא* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. *a* above, on Mal. 1¹⁰).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 f.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles *אִם* (ψ 81⁹, 95⁷, e 139¹⁹, Pr 24¹¹, 1 Ch 4¹⁰; always with a following imperfect) and *לֵי* (for which in ψ 119⁵ we have *אִם־לֵי*, 2 K 5³ *אִם־לֵי*, from *אִם* *ah*! and *לֵי*=*לֵי*; both with a following imperfect) *si*, *o si*! *utinam*.¹ *לֵי* is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17¹⁸, Jb 6²; by the jussive, Gn 30³⁴ (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 p), Nu 14² *לֵי* *מָתוּ* would that we had died; 20³ and Jos 7⁷ (both times *וְלֵי*); on the other hand, Is 48¹⁸ and 63¹⁹ (both times *לֵי*) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On *לֵי* with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23¹⁸ cf. § 110 e. On the perfect after *אִם* *בִּי* Gn 40¹⁴, 2 K 5²⁰, cf. § 106 n, note 2.

¹ Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22²⁹ *אִם־יִשְׁמַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה* *אִם־יִשְׁמַר* a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!

§ 152. Negative Sentences.

a 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6²¹, where instead of the *Keth.* לוּ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, לֹא=μή (Jb 24²⁵ as a substantive), יֵשׁ (it is) *not*; בְּרָם *not yet*, אֵפֶס *not*, אֲפָסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בַּל, בְּלִי, בְּלִי, בְּלִי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and יֵשׁ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לֹא (besides its use as negating *single words*¹), while יֵשׁ is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

b The conjunctions וְלֹא and לֹא־כִי *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לֹא־יֵשׁ), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for לֹא־יֵשׁ *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with בַּל, בְּלִי (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order בַּל . . . לֹא, e.g. Gn 3¹ הֵן עֵץ הָאֵל לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִפְּרִי הָעֵץ *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9¹¹, Ex 10¹⁵, 20¹⁰, Lv 7²⁸, Dt 8⁹, Jer 13⁷, 32¹⁷ לֹא . . . כֹּל־דְּבָרָא *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32²⁷; Pr 12²¹, 30³⁰

¹ Especially in compounds, e.g. לֹא־אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32²¹; לֹא־אֱלֹהִים verse 17, cf. Jer 5⁷, 2 Ch 13⁹; לֹא־עַם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32²¹; לֹא דְבָרָא *a nothing*, Am 6¹³; לֹא עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10¹⁵; לֹא־אִישׁ lit. *not-man*, *superhuman* (of God), Is 31⁸; לֹא־צַדִּיק *unrighteousness*, Jer 22¹³, cf. Ez 22²⁹; לֹא־סֶדֶר *disorder*, Jb 10²²; לֹא־חֶמֶם *not-violence*, 16¹⁷; after לִי Jb 26²¹ (לֹא־יָחַד) *helplessness*, לֹא חֶמְהָ *insipientia*; cf. also Is 55² לֹא־שָׂבַעְתָּ *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44¹³, Jb 8¹¹, 15³², 1 Ch 12³³.—In Nu 20⁵ a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 33²⁸; with an adjective, לֹא חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32⁶, Ho 13¹³; לֹא־חָסִיד *impious*, ψ 43¹; לֹא־עָזָא and לֹא־עָזָא *not strong*, Pr 30²⁵¹; לֹא־רָחֵם *unsuitably*, 2 K 7⁹; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65², Ez 20²⁵, &c.; לֹא טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30¹⁷; with a particle, e.g. Jer 2² (unseen); 6⁸, Ez 4¹⁴, 22²⁴, Zp 2¹, 3⁵; the Masora, however, requires נִחְמָה in Is 54¹¹, נִעְזָבָה in 62¹², נִשְׁכָּחָה in Jer 6⁸, רָחֵמָה in Ho 1⁶, i.e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause=*she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54¹¹, Ho 1⁶, and especially 2²⁵) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

לֹא . . . מִפְּנֵי-לֹא and turneth *not away for any*; 2 Ch 32¹⁵; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12¹⁶ לֹא-יֵעָשֶׂה בְּלִי-מְלָאכָה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12⁴³, 15²⁶, 22²¹, Lv 16¹⁷, Jb 33¹³, Dn 11⁹⁷. The meaning is different when בָּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e.g. Nu 23¹³ בָּלֹא לֹא הָרָאָה *thou shalt not see them all, but only a part*.

Analogous to בָּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23⁶, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-בָּל *nothing at all*, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *C* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 19² (לֹא according to the context for נִסְדֹּר &c.); 23¹¹, 42¹⁰, Hag 2¹², Jb 23⁶, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19² (see above); Jos 5¹⁴, 1 K 3²².

2. The negation of *noun-clauses* by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation אִין by אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e.g. Ez 36³²), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3³⁴ לֹא-אֶסְדֹּרוֹת יָדֶיךָ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74⁹, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶתְנִי, and Jb 12³. As a rule, *noun-clauses* with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20¹², Nu 35²³ (Dt 4⁴², 19⁴); 1 S 15²⁰, 2 S 21², Jer 4²², ψ 22⁷, Jb 28¹⁴, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e.g. Ex 4¹⁰ לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֲנִי *I am not a man of words*; Am 5¹⁸.—*Noun-clauses* with a substantival subject, Gn 29⁷, Nu 23¹⁹, Is 22², 44¹⁹, Hag 1², ψ 22³, Jb 9³², 18¹⁷, 21⁹, 22¹⁶, 36²⁶ (with ׀ of the apodosis); 41²; in Jb 9³³ even יֵשׁ לֹא *non est* is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18³ לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20²⁶ (where a preceding *noun-clause* is negated by בְּלִי) read לֹא טָהוֹר with the LXX, for לֹא טָהוֹר. On אִין לֹא for אִין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *C* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22⁷, Ec 10¹⁰ before the object and verb; Nu 16²⁰ before the subject and verb; Dt 8⁹, 2 S 3³⁴, ψ 49¹⁸, 103¹⁰, Jb 13¹⁶, 34²⁸ before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32⁵ לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִי are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(b) אֵל is used like μή and *ne* to express a *subjective and conditional negation*, *f* and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 *cand e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אֵל with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6²⁷, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. אֵל (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12²⁸ אֵל-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אֵל-מָוֶת. The instances in which אֵל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like μή for μή γέννηται), e.g. Ru 1¹⁸ אֵל בָּנֵי נָא, *my daughters*, and Gn 19¹⁸, 33¹⁰ (אֵל-נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13²⁵ such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1²¹, Is 62², ψ 83² יְהִי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2¹³, Am 5¹⁴, Pr 8¹⁰ the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17¹² from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2. לֹא , like אֵין , regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64³, Jer 10²⁴, 15¹⁵, ψ 6², 38² before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.¹

i (c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שָׁנִים for שָׁנִים § 97 d) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of יֵשׁ existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31²⁹ with Neh 5⁵. As יֵשׁ (*he, she, it is, was, &c.*) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אֵין , אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state אֵין , with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37³ (2 K 19⁹) $\text{וְכַח אֵין לָלֶכֶת}$ and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2⁵ אֵין was not present; Ex 17⁷ אֵין אִם or is he not? after יֵשׁ is he...? (cf. Nu 13²⁰); Lv 26³⁷, Nu 20⁵, Ju 4²⁰ (אֵין no). In 1 S 9⁴ and 10¹⁴ אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18¹⁰, Is 41¹⁷, 45²¹, 59¹¹, Mi 7², Pr 13⁴, 25¹⁴, Jb 3⁹ וְאֵין and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3¹³.—Cf. finally אֵין אִם if it be not so, Gn 30¹, Ex 32²², Ju 9¹⁵, 2 K 2¹⁰.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Jb 35¹⁵ before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

l (2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26¹² $\text{וְאֵין יָרַע וְאֵין יָדָע וְאֵין מָצִיל}$ and there was not one seeing, &c., i.e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5²⁰ וְאֵין מְצִיל and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i.e. without any one's delivering it; ψ 7³, &c.; Lv 26⁶ &c. וְאֵין מְחַרֵּד without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 e. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39²³, Nu 14⁴² $\text{אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם}$ the Lord is not among you; Gn 37²⁹ $\text{אֵין יוֹסֵף בְּבֹר}$ Joseph was not in the pit.

m (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין , according to § 100 o, e.g. אֵינִי I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵינְךָ , fem. אֵינֶה thou art not, &c.; אֵינֶנּוּ , fem. אֵינֶנָּה he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42¹³ he is (5²⁴ he was) no longer alive; אֵינָם they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see l) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5¹⁰ אֵינִי נָתַן I will not give; 81⁷, Dt 1⁸².

n Rem. In Neh 4¹⁷ אֵין אֵינִי for אֵינִי is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין אֲנַחְנָה .—In Hag 2¹⁷ אֵין אַתְּכֶם the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

¹ In Jer 51⁸ the pointing אֵל occurs twice instead of אֵל , and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אֵל .

to follow with the sign of the accusative;¹ but most probably we should read with the LXX אַחֲרֵם for אַחֲרֵם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not*, *O was not*, &c.) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1⁶, לוֹ Lv 11^{10,12}, לָהּ Gn 11³⁰, גַּם ψ 14³, שָׁם Ju 18¹⁰, Ex 12³⁰; but cf. also ψ 5¹⁰, 6⁶, 32², and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22², 1 K 5⁹, Ru 4⁴.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40⁸ and 41¹⁵ וַפְתָּר אֵין אֹתוֹ *and an interpreter there is not of it*; Gn 47¹³, Ju 14⁶, 1 S 21², Is 1³⁰, Jer 30¹³, Hb 2¹⁹, Pr 5¹⁷ (וַאֲיֵין) = *neve sint*; cf. *k* above, on Jb 3⁹); 30²⁷.—In Gn 19³¹, Ex 5¹⁶ אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. r. Like כֹּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . כֹּל (see *b* above) so also אֵין כֹּל *p* expresses an absolute negation, e.g. Ec 1⁹ אֵין כֹּל-חֲדָשׁ *there is no new thing*, &c.; 2 S 12³, Dn 1⁴ (cf. also אֵין מְאֻמָּה *there is nothing*, 1 K 18⁴³, Ec 5¹³); as also אֵין . . . כֹּל Hb 2¹⁹; cf. אֵין מְאֻמָּה Ju 14⁶.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵי occurring *q* in the two compounds אֵי כְבוֹד *אי* (as a proper name, 1 S 4²¹; Baer אֵי-כְבוֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי *not innocent*, Jb 22³⁰; but the proper name אֵי-חֲמֶר is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בֵל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵי is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(*d*) אֵינִי *not yet*, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 c), *r* with the imperfect, Gn 2⁵ אֵינִי . . . כֹּל *none . . . yet*; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19⁴, 24⁴⁵, Jos 2⁸, 1 S 3³; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10⁷ הֲתָרַע הָתָרַם *knowest thou not yet?* Ex 9³⁰; but cf. Gn 24¹⁵, and בְּתָרַם with the perfect in ψ 90² (but see § 107 c), Pr 8²⁵.

(*e*) אֵפֶס (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) *no longer*, including the verbal idea *of existing*, cf. Dt 32³⁶, Is 45^{6,14}, 46⁹; used absolutely, Am 6¹⁰ in the question אֵפֶס עוֹד אֵישׁ *is there none left?* &c., 2 S 9³; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֵין paragogic (§ 90 m) אֵפֶס Is 47^{8,10}, Zp 2¹⁵ אֵפֶס עוֹד *I am, and there is none else*.

(*f*) בֶּל, ² in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26¹⁴, 33^{20,23} (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7², ψ 49¹³, Pr 10³⁰ (but Is 14²¹ before the jussive, = אֵל-); before an adjective, Pr 24²³; before a preposition, ψ 16², Pr 23⁷.

(*g*) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31²⁰, Is 14⁶; with an imperfect, Jb 41¹⁸; to negative a participle, Ho 7⁸, ψ 19⁴; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1²¹.

(*h*) בְּלִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20²⁶; on בְּלִי Ez 13³, see *x*; on

¹ According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, הַשְׁמָתָה ψ 3³ is also an accusative after אֵין.

² Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בָּלִי and בָּלָת (whence בְּלִי § 90 m), originally substantives, are formed.

לֹא־כִלְכִּילִי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לֹא־כִלְכִּילִי as a conjunction, see x below.

On אֵין as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

- u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23⁴ לֹא־בָקָר אַ מְּוֹרָא *a morning when there are not clouds, i.e. a cloudless morning*; cf. Jb 12²⁴, 26^{2b}, 38²⁶ לֹא־אִישׁ *where no man is, i.e. uninhabited*; 1 Ch 230.32 לֹא־בָנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24¹⁰ and אֵין e.g. ψ 88⁶ *I am as a man there is not help, i.e. like a helpless man*; Is 9⁶ אֵין־מֶן *endless*; 47¹, Ho 7¹¹; אֵין־מִסָּפָר *countless*, Ct 6⁸, &c., but usually (ψ 104^{2b}, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין־מִסָּפָר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e.g. Jb 30¹³ לֹא־עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they for whom there is no helper, i.e. the helpless (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29¹², and we should read עֲזָר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29¹² translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in ψ 72¹² וְאֵין־עֵז is used in the same sense); Hb 1¹⁴; with אֵין Is 45⁹ *thy work is that of a man who hath no hands*; Zc 9¹¹ *out of the waterless pit*.¹

- v How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1⁶, ψ 72¹², Jb 29¹²; cf. also Is 59¹⁰, where פְּאִין־עֵלִיִּים is parallel with חֲסִידִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e.g. Is 40²⁹ (= *and to the powerless*); Jb 26^{2a,3}, Neh 8¹⁰.

- w (e) לֵן *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32¹², &c. (cf. *δεῖδω μὴ, vereror ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמֵר, הִשְׁמָרָה Gn 24⁶, 31²⁴, &c., *taking care*, 2 K 10²³, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which לֵן depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19¹⁹ *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), הִרְעָה פֶן־תִּהְיֶה בְּקִנְיִי *lest some evil overtake me*; Gn 26⁹, 38¹¹; also in Gn 44³⁴ from the rhetorical question *how shall I...*? we must understand *I cannot*, governing לֵן. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case לֵן is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11⁴, 19¹⁵, Nu 20¹⁸ (where לֵן is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15¹² *after swear unto me*; Pr 24¹⁸.—In Gn 32²² *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., לֵן is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26⁷, 31³¹, 42⁴ Ex 13¹⁷, 1 S 13¹⁹, 27¹¹, ψ 38¹⁷, in every case after כִּי־אָמַרְתִּי, כִּי־אָמַר, &c. = *I thought, &c., I must beware lest, &c.*

Rem. According to § 107 g, לֵן is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20⁶, 2 K 2¹⁶, see § 107 g, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10²³ פֶּן־יֵשְׁפָה רֶגֶל־רָאָה *look lest there be here, &c.*

¹ In Pr 9¹³ (perhaps also 14⁷; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ (in Jer 23¹⁴ *α* read the infinitive שָׁב for שָׁבוּ, in 27⁸ יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13⁸ רָאִי בִלְתִּי is a relative clause governed by לְ = *according to things which they have not seen*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *y* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδεὶς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e.g. Zp 2² (if the text is correct) לֹא יָבוֹאוּ בְּפָנֶיךָ before there shall (not) come.¹ This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אֵין or בְּלִי with מִן without (§ 119 y), e.g. Is 5⁹ (6¹¹) מֵאֵין יֵשֵׁב (for which in Jer 2¹⁵ מִבְּלִי יֵשֵׁב, prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*). On the other hand, in Is 50² מֵאֵין מַיִם the מֵין is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14¹¹ הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין is it *because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1^{3.6.16}. In Ec 3¹¹ לֹא מִבְּלִי אָשֶׁר לא except that (*yet so that man cannot, &c.*).

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to ~ a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e.g. 1 S 2³ *talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28⁴³, Lv 19¹³, 22^{9.15 f.}, Nu 16¹⁴, 23¹⁹, Dt 7²⁵, Is 23⁴, 28²⁷, 38¹⁸, 47¹⁴, Ez 16⁴⁷, ψ 9¹⁹, 13⁵, 35¹⁹, 38², 44¹⁹, 75⁶, Jb 28¹⁷ (so לֹא לָמָּה *why . . . not ?* in Jb 3¹¹ also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֵל, רַק *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲז, אֲז *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אֵל Gn 7²³, 34¹⁵; רַק Gn 6³, Am 3²; even אֲז הֲרַק הֲלֹא *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12²; אֲז Gn 27³⁴, Jb 7¹¹; אֲז Dt 15¹⁷), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֵל, e.g. Nu 14⁹, 1 K 17¹³, Pr 17¹¹, Jb 13¹⁵, 14²², 16⁷, 23⁶; רַק Gn 20¹¹, 24⁸, ψ 32⁶, Pr 13¹⁰; אֲז Gn 27³³, 32²¹ (אֲז הֲלֹא), 44¹⁰; 1 S 22⁷, 28²⁰, Zc 9¹¹, Pr 17²⁶, 20¹¹; אֲז Jb 14³, 15⁴.—In Mal 1¹⁰ and Jb 2¹⁰ אֲז is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 m.

¹ In 1 K 10²¹ אֵין אֵין goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to אֵין אֵין.

§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

(a) *Wāw copulativum*¹ (?) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 d-g). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

¹ For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25³⁴, five perfects with וַיִּשְׁלַח) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by וַי (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12¹⁶ *wāw copulativum* six times, 24³⁵ seven times, 15¹⁹ ff. nine times, and in Jos 7²⁴ ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5³², 10¹, 11²⁶, 13², 14¹, 30²³, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2²⁶); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45⁹; cf. § 132 d. The formula הַיּוֹם שֶׁלִּשְׁמֹרָה yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5⁸, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5²⁷ at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15⁹, Dt 32¹⁵, 1 S 15⁶, Jer 4⁷, Am 5²¹, ψ 10¹⁰, 14¹, 45⁵, Jb 20¹⁹, 28⁴, 29⁸, Ct 2¹¹, 5⁶, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also explanatory (like *isque*, *et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English to wit), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4⁴ and (i.e. namely) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24¹², 25¹² (to wit two); 27¹⁴, 28²³, Ju 17³ (in וַיִּסְתַּכֶּה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17⁸, Ez 3¹⁵, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17³⁴ and that too with the bear; 2 S 13²⁰, Is 57¹¹, Jer 17¹⁰, Am 3¹¹, 4¹⁰, Ze 9⁸, Pr 3¹², Neh 8¹³, 2 Ch 23¹⁰ (but in 1 S 28³ the ו before בְּעִירָה is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as וְעַד—כֵּן from . . . and even to . . ., Gn 13⁹, 14²³, 19^{4,11}, &c.—In 1 S 6¹¹ (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1²³, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea*, *and*; in Is 32⁷ even.

ו is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3¹⁶ וְהָיָה; Is 2¹, ψ 18⁷, perhaps also in Jb 10¹⁷ *yea*, a whole host; 2 Ch 16¹⁴.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41¹² a seething pot וְאֵשׁ with burning rushes; cf. Ex 10¹⁰ (with your little ones), 12⁸, Lv 1¹², Is 42⁵. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

ו—ו is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76⁷, Dn 1², 8¹³. On ו—ו as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as אֲדָמָה also, moreover, summing up a number, e.g. אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה both together, Gn 27⁴⁵, Pr 17¹⁵; אֲדָמָה all together; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30⁸, 37⁷, 1 S 30⁸; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24¹² see, *yea* see! אֲדָמָה—אֲדָמָה or אֲדָמָה—אֲדָמָה Gn 24⁴⁴=*both—and*; אֲדָמָה occurs three times in Gn 24²⁵ and 32²⁰; also אֲדָמָה, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also*, *in addition to this*, *even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44¹⁰, &c.; and אֲדָמָה—אֲדָמָה (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה and even, Lv 26⁴⁴; אֲדָמָה prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17²¹, 19¹⁹, Lv 2¹², Jb 6²⁵, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosis*, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2²² וְשִׂיבִי ask now rather; Ez 18²² for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשִּׁיבוּ wherefore turn yourselves. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2²⁰, 2 S 18¹¹, 24³, 2 K 4^{14,41}, 7¹³, 2 Ch 25⁹; cf. also Jos 7⁷ (וְלִי), ψ 2¹⁰, 4⁴, Is 8⁷. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12¹⁴, 20³ (וְלִי), 1 S 10¹², 15¹⁴, 22¹⁴, 28¹⁶, 2 S 18¹², 24³, 1 K 2²² (וְלִי), 2 K 1¹⁰, 7¹⁰ (cf. verse 2); Is 3¹⁴, Ze 2¹⁰, ψ 2⁶ (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas* I = *and yet I have*, &c.); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיִי Nu 11²⁰, Ju 9²⁰; on the disconnected use of וְלִי and וְיִי cf. § 159 d*l*.

§ 155. *Relative Clauses.*

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix וְ', *ZATW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.¹

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those *a* which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under n), *b* are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun וְשֵׁנִי; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by וְשֵׁנִי, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and g-*h*. Very frequently, however, especially

¹ In this exhaustive article the author shows that between וְ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and וְשֵׁנִי there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that וְשֵׁנִי is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and וְ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.¹

- c The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, &c.; see § 138 f.

- d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*sifa*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*sifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28⁴⁹ (נֹאמַר לְאֶתְשָׁמֶע לְשׁוֹנוֹ a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; cf. Is 66¹³, and especially 1 S 3¹¹), the addition of אֲשֶׁר is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,² a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, אֲשֶׁר is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Ch 9²², 12²³, 29¹ (read prob. אֲשֶׁר for אֲחֵר), 2 Ch 15¹¹; after כֹּל־ 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 18²³, 30¹⁷, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁶, but also Gn 39⁴; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*⁸, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18²⁰, Ju 8¹, 20¹⁵, 1 K 13¹² (= which way), so 2 K 3⁸, 2 Ch 18²³; Neh 13²³; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6⁹. In Jer 52¹² for עָמַר read עָמַר with the LXX.

- e 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(α) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20²¹ a man of the hill country of Ephraim שֵׁבַע שְׁמוֹ whose name was Sheba; Zc 6¹², Jb 1¹, 3¹⁵ with princes לְהָב לָהֶם that had gold; ψ 11⁴, Pr 22¹¹; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 49¹⁴ לָמוֹ בְּפֶסֶל וְהָיָה לָהֶם this is the way of them who have (self)-confidence.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38²⁶ עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ on a land where no man is, see § 152 u, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15¹³ לָאֶרֶץ לֹא-בְרָרָא in a land that belongs not to them; Dt 32¹⁷ (לְאִשִּׁים לֹא-אֵלֶּה); Hb 1⁶, Pr 26¹⁷ (לֹא-לִי).

- f (b) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

- (1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

¹ The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of אֲשֶׁר is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

² So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 f., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive, ψ 34⁹ *happy is the man* יְחַסְדֵּהוּ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3^{ab} הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after ψ 71¹⁸; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54¹, or to a noun-suffix (see under e), ψ 16⁴; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31¹² *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32^{17b}, 1 S 6⁹, Is 55¹³, 56², ψ 68³¹, 78⁶, Pr 30¹⁷, La 1¹⁰, 2 Ch 28⁹; referring to the suffix in הִנְנִי Is 28¹⁶, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29¹⁴, 38⁵ (but probably again the participle יֹסֵר should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25⁷. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49²⁷ יֹאכָב יִמְרָר *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51¹²; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40²⁰, Ho 4¹⁴ עַם לֹא-יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives ^g which have the particle of comparison בְּ, e.g. Jb 7² בְּעֶבֶר וְשֹׁאֵר-צֶלֶל *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32¹¹, Is 62¹, Jer 23²⁹, Ho 6¹, ψ 42², 83¹⁵, Jb 9²⁶, 11¹⁶; so also after בְּמִן ψ 58⁶; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53⁷ (but the better reading is בְּעֶשֶׂה without the article), 61^{10f}, Hb 2¹⁴, ψ 4^{13,21}, 125¹; see also the examples under h. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain בְּ (for בְּאִשֶּׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards ψ 90⁵, 125¹, Is 53⁷, 61¹¹, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an ^h accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32¹⁷ יָדְעוּם לֹא יְדָעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with בְּ (see above, g), Jer 23⁹, Jb 13²⁸. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8¹, ψ 33¹² (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר; Jb 28¹). Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15⁷ יְתֵרָה עָשָׂה (יְתֵרָה), for which Jer 48³⁶ יְתֵרָה עָשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d), ψ 7¹⁶, 51¹⁰, La 1²¹.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6⁶ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15¹⁷, Is 42¹⁶ (48¹⁷, ψ 25¹², all after בְּרָרָה; but ψ 32⁸ תִּלְכֶּה בְּרָרָה-וּ); Is 64²; Ec 10⁵ (in 6¹ the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14¹⁸ read with the LXX אֶל-אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on ⁱ a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2⁶ end.

Thus after a determinate substantive, ψ 18³ צִירִי אֲחֻסָּהּ בּוֹ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18²⁰, Is 42¹; in Jb 3^{3a} also, the omission of the article with יִם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2⁶, last clause but one; ψ 32².

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51¹ *look unto the rock* הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) *ye were heven, and to the hole of the pit* גִּפְתָּם (whence) *ye were digged*; Jb 21²⁷ *the devices* (where-with) *ye act violently against me*.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38¹⁹ *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth*? cf. 38²⁴.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 d, cf. the following: after בַּיּוֹם Lv 7³⁵, ψ 56¹⁰; after מִיּוֹם Jer 36²; after simple יוֹם ψ 56⁴ (אִיּוֹם *on the day when I am afraid*); after בָּעֵת 2 Ch 29²⁷ (הַעֲוִלָּה) *at the time when the burnt offering began*; 2c²², 24¹¹, Jb 6¹⁷; after לְעֵת Dt 32³⁵; after עַד-עֵת Mi 5²; after מִנְעֵת ψ 4⁸ *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased*.

m 2. The agreement (§ 138 d) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26¹⁴ *who art thou* (that) *criest*? Cf., however, Is 63¹⁹ *we are become as they over whom* (בָּם not בָּנוּ) *thou no longer bearest rule*.

n 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 e. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41²⁴ *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you* (but read perhaps לְבָחַר); Jb 30¹³, cf. § 152 u.

(b) As object, Is 41², with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2¹⁶ וְכִסָּה *and him that covereth* (or read וְכִסָּה ?); Jb 29¹² *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him*.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 d), Ex 4¹³ שְׁלַח-נָא בְיַד-תְּשַׁלָּח *send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else; ψ 65⁵ and Pr 8³², verbal-clauses after אֲשֶׁר *O the happiness of the man, &c.*; ψ 81⁶, 141⁹, Jb 29¹⁶, La 1¹⁴; after כֹּל Gn 39⁴, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כֹּל-אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַח as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9⁴; verbal-clauses after כֹּל 1 Ch 29³, 2 Ch 30¹⁹, 31¹⁹, Ezr 1⁵.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֲחֵרִי Jer 2⁸; after אֵל (= *to the place where*), 1 Ch 15¹², but Ex 23²⁰ before the same

verb אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם יֵאָשֶׁר; after בְּ Jer 2¹¹, 2 Ch 1⁴ (בְּהָרִי = בְּהָרָה = *to the place where*); after לְ Is 65¹ נִשְׁאַלֵּנוּ לָלוֹא by them *that asked not for me* . . . לָלוֹא בָקִשְׁנִי them *that sought me not*; Ez 13³ that which *they have not seen*, but the text is hardly correct; after עַל ψ 119¹⁸⁶, cf. § 158 b; after עִם 2 Ch 16⁹.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh 8¹⁰. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5¹⁴ *to one whose name was Sheshbazzar* [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116^a].

§ 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 e), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 d). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see c), or as verbal-clauses (see d-g).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without וַאֲשֶׁר, e. g. Gn 16¹²; also statements of weight, Gn 24²²; of name, Jb 1¹ (also introduced by וַיִּשְׁמֹו Gn 24²⁹, 1 S 1¹, &c., or וַיִּשְׁמָה Gn 16¹, 22²⁴, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1⁷, and others. —Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the predicate have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the subject¹ (Gn 19¹, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a state which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3⁷ *I will not be an healer, אֲנִי וּבֵיתִי אֵין לֶחֶם while in my house is neither bread nor clothing*; Is 6⁶ (Am 7⁷); 2 S 13¹⁸, 16¹. Cf. also the instances in § 152 l of וַאֲיִן followed by a participle, as וַאֲיִן מַצִּיל, &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun-clauses* are Gn 12^{8 c} *and pitched his tent בֵּית־אֵל מִזֶּם וְהָעִי מִבְּרֶחַם* with *Bethel on the west and Ai on the east*; Nu 22²⁴, 2 S 18¹⁴ *through the heart of Absalom, עוֹרְדֵנוּ חַי* while *he was yet alive*; Jer 30⁶, Ez 9² (cf. Ct 3⁸), Na 3⁸, Zc 14⁵, 2 Ch 23¹⁰; with the predicate preceding, e. g. 1 S 26¹³, ψ 32⁸.—In Gn 41²⁹ a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as אֶל־פָּנִים *face to face* (prop. while *face* was turned *towards face*), Gn 32³¹, Ex 33¹¹, Dt 34¹⁰,

¹ In Dt 32³¹ this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, and indeed our enemies are judges thereof, with *wāw* emphatic; to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

&c.;¹ so also to cast oneself down, אָרָץ אַפָּיִם the face being turned to the earth, Gn 19¹, &c. (for אָרָץ we find אָרֶץ in 1 K 1³¹, Is 49²³).²—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל-בָּנִים mother with children, Gn 32¹²; cf. Ho 10¹⁴ and § 119 aa, note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

- d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,³ we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see f), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see g).

Examples of (1) Is 5^{11b} woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, וְיִיָּהּ while wine inflames them; Is 1⁵, 10²⁴, 30³¹, Jer 7²⁶, 20¹⁵, ψ 4³, 5¹², 21¹³, 62⁵. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44¹², 48¹⁴ = crossing his hands; Dt 2²⁷, Ju 6¹⁰; antithetically, 1 K 13¹⁸ לֹא כִּי שָׁם wherewith however he lied unto him. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7⁷ מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ since thou hast commanded judgement; a consequence in ψ 103⁵.⁴

e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָיָם), see § 120 c.

- f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by without and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 1¹⁷ לֹא יִבְדִּיל without dividing it asunder; Jb 31³⁴; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44⁴, Ex 34²⁸, 1 S 30², Jb 20²⁵ (without its being blown upon it). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27⁹ לֹא יִקְמוּ so that they shall rise up no more.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (without doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20², Jb 24²², 42³; in a concessive sense, Is 33¹, ψ 44¹⁸.

- g Of (3), cf. יָדַע לֹא (prop. he knows it not) unawares, ψ 35⁸, Pr 5⁶ לֹא יִחַמֵּל unsparingly, Is 30¹⁴ (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1¹⁷, Jb 6¹⁰ (but יִחַמֵּל לֹא); Jb 16¹⁸, 27²²; see f at the end); לֹא כִּהְרִיז (prop. they hide not) openly, Is 3⁹ (but

¹ The expression הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים to look one another in the face (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14^{8,11}, 2 Ch 25^{17,21}, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים.

² That אָרָץ (אָרֶץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפָּיִם, and not אַפָּיִם as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49²³, where אָרֶץ precedes the verb.

³ Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

⁴ In Gn 21¹⁴ the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָה is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read וְאֶת-הַיֶּלֶד שָׁם עַל שִׁכְמָה. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17²⁵ he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15¹⁸ בְּלִי חֶשֶׁן; (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14⁶; זֶלֶם-יְמוֹט; Jb 41¹⁵ (ψ 93¹) בְּלִי-יְמוֹט and לֹא יְמוֹט Is 40²⁰ (*without tottering*) *immorably*; cf. also אֲמַעַד לֹא *without wavering*, ψ 26¹.

§ 157. Object-Clauses (Oratio Obliqua).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 a), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120 d-h). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.¹

Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under e) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentienti* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e. g. Gn 12¹³ אָמַרְתָּנָא אֵלַי אֵתִי אִמִּי say, *I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10¹³, Jb 25^{3a,14}, Neh 6⁶; Ze 8²³ (after שָׁמַע); ψ 9²¹ (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50²¹ *thou thoughtest* כְּמֹנֶה הָיִיתִי-אֵלַיִךְ *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיִי for הָיִיתָ]; Gn 41¹⁵, Ju 9⁴⁸ *what ye have seen me do*; Is 48⁸, Ho 7².

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6⁵ וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ſubiunctivum*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26⁶, 27²⁰), e. g. Gn 21³⁰, 22^{16 f.}, 26²⁸, 29³², 37³⁵, Jos 22⁴, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4²⁵, 32³¹, 41^{51 f.}, Ex 18⁴.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 h.²

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3⁴ בְּרִיהֵינָה לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר-הוּא *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18¹⁶, Ez 20²⁶, Ec 8¹²,³ even before direct narration, 1 S 15²⁰, 2 S 1⁴. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

¹ On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dürwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

² Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e. g. Nu 21²³ וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגִבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20²¹; followed by an infinitive with לֵ, e. g. Gn 20⁶, 31⁷, Ex 3¹⁹.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28⁵⁰ (after נָפַח *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11²⁰ (after הֶאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19⁴ (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

³ In Jer 28⁹ a *subject-clause* is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֲתָ (equivalent to the circumstance, the fact, that), e.g. Jos 2¹⁰, 1 S 24^{11,19}, 2 S 11²⁰, Is 38⁹, but in Gn 30²⁹, Dt 29¹⁵ equivalent to the way in which.

§ 158. Causal Clauses.

- a** A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw* copulative, e.g. ψ 60¹³ *give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man*; Gn 6¹⁷ (וְאֵינִי), 22¹², Ex 23⁹, Jb 22¹², perhaps also ψ 7¹⁰; or even without *Wāw*, e.g. Gn 17¹⁴. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.
- b** The most common causal conjunctions are כִּי Is 3¹⁶, &c., and עַל־אֲשֶׁר because, prop. *on account of the fact that*; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple וְעַל Nu 20¹², &c., or to כִּי because, Gn 3^{14,17}, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30¹⁸, 31⁴⁹, 34^{13,27}, 1 S 15¹⁵, 20⁴², 26^{16,23}, 1 K 3¹⁹, S³³, Ho 14⁴, Ze 1¹⁵; also אֲשֶׁר Gn 39^{5,23}. On the other hand, the simple וְעַל is sometimes repeated for emphasis, וְעַל וְעַל (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26⁴⁸, Ez 13¹⁰ (without וְ 36³); also עַל־אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3³⁰, and עַל־כִּי Dt 31¹⁷, Ju 3¹², Mal 2¹⁴ *on the ground that*; עַל־דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר because of the circumstance that, Dt 23⁵; עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר for this very cause that, Jer 3⁶. But just as the simple וְעַל is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל with the perfect stands for אֲשֶׁר ψ 119¹³⁶, Ezr 3¹¹; cf. עַל־כֵּן Gn 31²⁰ and מִכֵּן Dt 28⁵⁵ both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further אֲשֶׁר עָקַב Gn 22¹⁸, 26⁵, 2 S 12⁶, all with the perfect, and כִּי עָקַב (2 S 12¹⁰ with the perfect; Am 4¹² with the imperfect) prop. *in return for the fact that*; similarly again the simple עָקַב Nu 14²⁴ with the perfect, and Dt 7¹², S²⁰ with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43⁴ *arising from the fact that, = because*; הֵנָּה אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26²¹, &c., and הֵנָּה כִּי Dt 4³⁷, Pr 1²⁹ *for the reason that*.
- c** Rem. 1: The preposition עַל (because of, on account of) with the infinitive (§ 114 e) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e.g. Am 1^{3,6,13}, 2^{1,6}. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114 r, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case עַל governs the verb as a conjunction; e.g. Am 1⁹ וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל־הַקִּיָּרִים *because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.*; 1¹¹, 2⁴; without *Wāw*, Is 30¹⁴.
- d** 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 f) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e.g. Dt 7¹², S²⁰, 1 K 8³³, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 k on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 m on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

¹ Also כִּי־עַל־כֵּן prop. *for therefore*, Gn 18⁵, 19⁸, 33¹⁰, 38²⁶, Nu 10³¹, 14⁴³, 2 S 18²⁰ *forasmuch as*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל־כֵּן Jb 34²⁷, always mean *forasmuch as*.

§ 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.¹ In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 x) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22¹³, ψ 104^{28 n. C} יִלְכְּטוּ² לָהֶם תַּתֵּן (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.; ψ 139¹⁸, Pr 12¹⁷, Jb 20²⁴, Ec 1¹⁸, Neh 1⁸; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Ju 13¹²; with the jussive, Jb 10¹⁶; with the cohortative, Pr 1²⁸; with the perfect, Is 26¹⁰ (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

¹ It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

² On the termination יִ- cf. § 47 m. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁבְּעוּ is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28–30 and ψ 139¹⁸ can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that יִ- in Nu 32²³ appears after לֹא-לֵךְ in the protasis. In Nu 16²⁰, 32²⁰ יִ- as before לֵךְ (as in Jb 31¹⁰ in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8¹²); with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47²⁵, Ex 33⁵; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5⁸ (see § 107 x).

d (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 h, i) and apodosis, ψ 104¹⁰ הַשֵּׁחֶרֶתְיָהּ יִהְיֶה לַיְלָה (if) thou makest darkness, it is night; imperfect in the apodosis, ψ 104^{23 b}; cohortative Pr 1²³. Also in Ex 7⁹ יִהְיֶה לְחֹזֶן it shall become a serpent, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis if thou cast it down; so in 2 K 5¹⁰ וַיִּשָּׁב is the apodosis to a protasis if thou wash, contained in what precedes.

e (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 e) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis, ψ 40⁶; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19¹⁸ וַיִּקְוּהוּ וַיִּבְרַרְבִּי (if) I arise, they speak against me; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 f.

f (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 x), ψ 139¹¹ וְאָמַר if I say, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹⁰.

g (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 k k and ll), Gn 44²² וַיָּמָת אָבִיו וַיָּמָת and should he leave his father, his father would die; 9¹⁵, 44²⁰, Ex 4¹⁴, 12¹³, 1 S 16², 19³, 2 S 13²⁸, 1 K 8³⁰; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16²¹ (referring to the past, Jer 20³); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the Wāw by לָא), Nu 23²⁰, Jb 5²⁴; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2³⁷; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10¹⁹; a noun-clause, ψ 37¹⁰, Jb 7²¹.

h (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18²² מָצָא אִשָּׁה כָּצָא טוֹב has one found a wife, he has found a good thing; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19⁴, 23¹⁰; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20²⁵, Pr 11², Jb 3²⁵, 23^{13 b}, 29¹¹; an interrogative clause, Nu 12¹⁴, Jb 7²⁰ if I have sinned (prop., well, now I have sinned!) what can I do unto thee? 21³¹, 35⁶, Am 3⁸; a noun-clause, Jb 2¹⁰.

i (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 d, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 w) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by wāw apodosis, e.g. Pr 23²⁴ K^{eth}. יוֹלֵד הָקֵם וַיִּשְׁמַח בּוֹ if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2¹³, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21¹² (cf. § 112 n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7^{2,19}; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6¹⁸.

k (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 mm), e.g. 2 S 7^{14 ff.} וְהִכְחִמּוּ וְהִבְחִמּוּ לוֹ if he commit iniquity, I will correct him; Ex 34^{24 f.} (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 f.

l 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes הִנֵּן, see below, under w) and לוֹ (1 S 14³⁰, Is 63¹⁰ לֵא; Ec 6⁶, Est 7⁴ אֵלַי, from לוֹ אִם) if, negative לֹא אִם and לֹא לֵא (לֵא) unless; כִּי supposing that (Lat. ut), in case that, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם. With regard to the difference between אִם (לֹא אִם) and לוֹ (לֵא), the fundamental rule is that אִם is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

1 On ψ cf. Kohler in Geiger's Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, **אם** is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek *ἐάν* with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, **לִי** (**לִי־אֵל**) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case, **לִי** and **לִי־אֵל** are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek *εἰ* with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker (see under a), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between **אם** and **לִי** is not always consistently observed. Although naturally **לִי** and **לִי־אֵל** cannot take the place of **אם** and **אִלֵּא אם** (on the strange use of **לִי** in Gn 50¹⁵ see below), yet conversely **אם** is sometimes used where **לִי** would certainly be expected; cf. e.g. ψ 50¹², 137⁷, 139⁸, Ho 9¹² (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed (**אם** with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of **לִי** with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to **לִי**) a still open possibility. But **אם** is also used for **לִי** in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by **אם**, e.g. ψ 74¹⁰. . . **אִם־עֲשִׂיתִי זֹאת** **יִרְדֶּה וְג'** if I have done this . . . let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31¹⁰. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with **אם** see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A. **אם** 1. with perfect in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have η been completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 o). The apodosis¹ takes—

(a) A perfect also, e.g. Pr 9¹² **לֵךְ אִם־תִּכְמָתָה תִּכְמָתָה לָךְ** if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself; ψ 73¹⁵ (see below on **לִי**).

(b) Imperfect, e.g. Dt 32⁴¹ **אִם־שִׁנּוּתִי** **אִם־יִשְׁפּוֹתִי** if I whet my glittering sword . . . **אֶשִׁיב** I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9^{15, 30} (in both cases we should expect **לִי** rather than **אִם**; so also in ψ 44²¹ f., with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11¹³ (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) Jussive (or optative), e.g. Jb 31¹⁰ (see m above); Gn 18³.

¹ We are not here concerned with the fact that the logical apodosis (the consequence of the condition) is sometimes mentioned before the condition; as in Gn 18^{28, 30}, Ju 1¹⁰, 6¹, 137⁴, and according to Dillmann Is 4⁴.

- O** (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 gg), e.g. Gn 43⁹ אֲמַלְאָהּ *אם לא הביאתיו וג'* if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.; Ju 16¹⁷, 2 S 15³³, 2 K 7⁴. On the other hand, e.g. Gn 47⁶, Mi 5⁷, Jb 7⁴ refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38⁹ and Nu 21⁹ the perfect with וְ is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.
- (e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 q), e.g. Jb 8⁴ if thy children have sinned (הָטְאוּ) . . . , וַיִּשְׁפָּחֵם he has delivered them, &c.
- (f) *Imperative*, e.g. Gn 50⁴ אִם-נָא מִצְאֵתִי הֵן בְּעֵינֶיכֶם דְּבַר-רִנָּא וג' *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.*; the imperative precedes in Gn 47¹⁶ and Jb 38^{4,13}.
- p** (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e.g. Jer 14¹⁸ (a vivid realization of the future) if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.; Pr 24¹⁴ (apodosis with wāw apodosis).
- q** 2. אִם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 b) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—
- (a) The *perfect*, e.g. Nu 32²³ וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשֶׂוּן בְּהַזֶּה תַּטְאוּם but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20¹²⁻¹⁴. On the other hand, Nu 16²⁹ (as also 1 S 6⁹ and 1 K 22²⁸) is a case of a pregnant construction, if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me.
- r** (b) The *imperfect*, e.g. 2 K 7⁴ אִם-יְחִיֵּנוּ נָחִיָּה if (they save us alive, we shall live, &c.; Gn 13¹⁶, 15^{28,30}, 28²⁰ ff., Ex 20²⁵ (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1¹⁸, 10²², Am 9²⁻⁴, ψ 50¹² (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8^{5 f.} (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9^{3,20}, 14⁷; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31⁸ אִם-לֵבָּה יֹאמֶר if (ever) he said thus . . . , וְיֹלְדוּ then they bare . . . ; Ex 40³⁷. In Gn 42²⁷ the consequence (on תָּמִית cf. § 107 s) precedes the condition.
- (c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. ψ 137⁵; cf. § 109 h.
- (d) The *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 13³, Jb 31⁷; cf. § 108 f.
- s** (e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 ff and gg), e.g. 1 S 20⁶ אִם-יִפְסַדְנִי אָבִיךָ אִם-יִפְסַדְנִי אָבִיךָ if thy father miss me at all, then shall thou say, &c.; Gn 24⁴¹, Ju 4²⁰; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31⁸ if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.
- (f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps ψ 59¹⁰, if וְלֵבִי is to be explained according to § 111 t.
- (g) The *imperative*, e.g. Gn 31⁵⁰, 1 S 20²¹ (with wāw apodosis, but in verse 22 simply לֵךְ), 21¹⁰, Jb 33⁵.
- t** (h) A noun-clause, e.g. Gn 47, ψ 139⁸, Jb 8⁶, 31^{26 f.}
3. אִם with *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 30³¹; cf. the passages in § 108 e.
- u** 4. אִם with *infinitive*, Jb 9²⁷ אִם-אָמַרְתִּי prop. if my saying is (but probably we should read אֲמַרְתִּי).
- v** 5. אִם with a noun-clause, e.g. Dt 5²² (in the apodosis a perfect with wāw apodosis), Gn 27⁴⁶, Ju 9¹⁵ (imperative in the apodosis); 11⁹ (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12⁸ (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12¹²; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to וְ, in a negative sentence to אִין (cf. on both, § 100 o), while the predicate (cf. § 116 q) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e.g. Ju 6^{36 f.} אִם-יִשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c.; Gn 24⁴⁰ אַם-יִשְׁכַּחם עֵשָׂאִם *if ye will deal, &c.*; 1 S 23²⁸. In Gn 24^{42f.} the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of נָא. With אֵין Gn 43⁶ וְאִם-יֵאָדָה מִשְׁלַח *but if thou wilt not send, &c.*; 20⁷ (with imperative in the apodosis); Ex 8¹⁷, 9^{2f.}, 1 S 19¹¹ (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But יֵשׁ and אֵין may also be used after אַם without a suffix; thus יֵשׁ Gn 23⁸, 1 S 20⁸, 2 K 9¹⁵, &c., אִם-אֵין (*if it be not the case*) Gn 30¹, Ex 32³², Ju 9¹⁵, 2 K 2¹⁰; cf. also אַם-כֵּן *if it be so*, Gn 25²².

B. הֵן *if*, generally supposed to be originally identical with הֵן *behold!*¹ w Probably, however, הֵן *if*, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הִנֵּה. Cf. Ex 8²², Lv 25²⁰, Is 54¹⁵, Jer 3¹, Hag 2¹², 2 Ch 7¹³, and frequently in Job, as 9^{11,12}, 12^{14,15}, 19⁷, 23⁸, 40²³, always with wāw apodosis following, except in 13¹⁵, where consequently the meaning *see* is no doubt preferable.

C. *if*, לִי (לִי) *if not*. a

1. With *perfect* in the protasis and apodosis (cf. § 106 p), e.g. Ju 8¹⁹; אֵלֶּה is used in the same sense as לִי in Est 7⁴, cf. Ec 6⁶ (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after לִי Gn 31¹², 43¹⁰, Ju 14¹⁸, 1 S 25³⁴, 2 S 2²⁷, Is 1⁹. On the other hand, in Dt 32²⁹ לִי with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, *if they were wise, they would understand this*; in Mi 2¹¹ by a perfect consecutive.

2. With *imperfect* after לִי Dt 32²⁷, אֲנִי probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, *y* *were it not that I ever and again feared, &c.*; so also the imperfect after לִי with the apodosis suppressed, Gn 50¹⁵ *supposing that Joseph should hate us*; since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of לִי here is strange; conversely in other cases, e.g. ψ 73¹⁵, Jb 9^{15f.30}, לִי would be more natural than אַם.

3. A noun-clause occurs after לִי 2 S 18¹², 2 K 3¹⁴, ψ 81¹⁴, all with imperfect אַם in the apodosis; Jb 16⁴ יֵשׁ לִי, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. *supposing that, if*:—

1. *כי* with *perfect* in the protasis, e.g. Nu 5²⁰ וְאַתָּה כִּי שָׁטִיתָ *but thou, if thou aa* *hast gone astray, &c.*; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Jb 7^{18f.}; with an imperfect consecutive, Jb 22²⁹.

2. *כי* with *imperfect* in the protasis, e.g. ψ 23⁴ כִּי-אֵלֶּךָ גַּם *yea, though I walk bb* *(have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא-אֵירָא) evil*; 37²⁴; Ex 21² עֲבָד עֲבָדָה כִּי-תִקְנָה *if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve* (but in verses 3-5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by אַם; so also the *כי* in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אַם; cf. also verse 17 ff.); cf. Gn 4²⁴, 24⁴¹, Jb 38⁵; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gn 32^{18f.}, Ex 18¹⁶; with a noun-clause, Is 1¹⁵.

3. *כי* with a noun-clause (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 S 19⁸.

REMARKS.

1. In 2 K 5¹³ the particle אֲבִי (Masora אֲבִי, probably in the sense of *my CC* *father*) appears exceptionally for לִי; its meaning here is unquestionable, but

¹ There could be no doubt of their identity if הֵן in 1 S 9⁷, 2 S 18¹¹, simply meant *if*. We must, however, keep to the meaning *but behold*.

its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34³⁸, where this **אִם** appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of **אִם** or, e.g. Ex 21³⁶ **אִם נֹרֵעַ וְג'** or (another possible case) it is known that, &c., i.e. but if it be known, &c., LXX *ἐὰν δέ*, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4^{23,28}, 5¹, 25⁴⁰, 2 S 18¹³; with a following imperfect, Ez 14¹⁷.—On the hypothetical use of **אִם** (which is interchangeable with **כִּי** in other senses also) Lv 4²² (in verses 3 and 27 **אִם**), Dt 11²⁷ (verse 28 **אִם**), Jos 4²¹, see the Lexicon.

dd 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13⁹, 24⁴⁰, 1 S 21⁶ **לֹא-אִם** and if not, i.e. and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it (perfect according to § 106 n) by force; cf. 1 S 6⁹. The use of **וַיֵּשׁ** alone in Ju 6¹³ is peculiar, as also **וַיֵּשׁ** in 2 K 10¹⁵ (where read with the LXX **וַיֵּשׁ** **וַיֵּהוּא** **וַיֵּהוּא**) in the sense of if it be so.—In 2 S 13²⁶, 2 K 5¹⁷ **וְלֹא** alone appears to be used in the sense of if really... not, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to may there at least, &c. (cf. § 143 d); but perhaps with Matthes, ZAW. 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read **וְלֹא** would that!—In 1 S 13¹⁸, Jb 3¹⁸ the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by **כִּי עָתָה**, in Jb 31²⁸ by **כִּי**, in 2 K 13¹⁹ by **אִם**.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4²⁴, Is 43²) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30²⁷, 38¹⁷, 50¹⁵ (see y above), Ex 32³², ψ 27¹⁸, Jb 38⁶, where properly **הִנֵּה** must be supplied with **כִּי** as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 a.—In ψ 8⁴, instead of the apodosis I expect which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

ee 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of **כִּי** Is 7⁹; **כִּי אִם** 2 S 22²⁷, 19⁷, Jb 11²⁵; or **עָתָה כִּי** now verily, Nu 22²⁰, 1 S 14³⁰ after **לִי**, Gn 31⁴², 43¹⁰ after **לִי**, Jb 8⁶ after **אִם**. On this corroborative **כִּי** cf. such passages as Gn 18²⁰, &c., and § 148 d. On **אִם כִּי** after an oath cf. 163 d.

ff 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of **אִם** Pr 9¹², Jb 10¹⁵, 16⁶, 22²³, and **כִּי** Is 43².

gg 5. In Ex 33²⁰ a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, for a man doth not see me and vice, instead of for if a man sees me, he does not live; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22^{1,4} thou shalt not see... and hide thyself, instead of if thou seest... thou shalt not hide thyself.

§ 160. Concessive Clauses.

a Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 a) or mockingly (§ 110 f), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 e, § 142 d, and § 156 f), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(a) By a simple **אִם** if: thus Jb 9¹⁵ with perfect, if (=though) I had been in the right; Is 1¹⁸ and 10²² with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

b (b) By **כִּי אִם** yea though, Is 1¹⁸ with imperfect; for which we find simply **אִם** in Is 49¹⁵ with imperfect, yea, though these may forget, yet...; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36²⁶, ψ 95⁹, Neh 6¹; finally **אִם כִּי** even if, though, Ec 4¹⁴.

(c) By the preposition עַל governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16¹⁷ C לֹא-חַיָּים בְּכַפִּי עַל notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53⁹. On עַל with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to in addition to the fact that = notwithstanding that), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

§ 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *a* simply uniting them with *wāw copulative*, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e.g. Jb 5⁷ *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i.e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12¹¹ (in an interrogative form; in 34³ the same comparison as a statement); 14^{11f}, Pr 17³, 25³, 26^{3,9,14}, 27²¹, &c.¹ Even without the connecting וְ Jb 24¹⁹ *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, שָׂאֹל הַחֵמָה so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17¹¹.

2. The conjunction כַּאֲשֶׁר (cf. § 155 g; the simple אִשֶּׁר occurs in the *b* same sense in Ex 10⁶, 14¹³, 34¹⁸) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob¹⁵), frequently with כֵּן *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31⁴, 52^{14f}. Sometimes, however, כֵּן (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55⁹, Jer 3²⁰.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5¹⁵ by כָּל-עֲמֻתָּי שִׁי in all points *as*.

Rem. On the use of כֵּן *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *C* comparisons, cf. 118 s; on the alleged use of כֵּן as a conjunction (equivalent to כַּאֲשֶׁר), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that כֵּן—כֵּן when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e.g. Lv 7⁷, Ju 8¹⁸, Is 24², Ho 4⁹; also *so—as*, Gn 18²⁵, 44¹⁸, Dt 1¹⁷, 1 K 22⁴; in Jos 14¹¹, 1 S 30²⁴ כֵּן—כֵּן; ψ 127⁴ and often, כֵּן—כֵּן, cf. Jo 2⁴), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; יְהִיֶּה כַּכֶּם בְּנֵי יִרְיָה Nu 15¹⁵ properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i.e. *your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24²².

¹ On this *wāw adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e.g. Pr 25²³, 26²¹, 27²¹ (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions עִם נְחִישׁ עַם prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88⁵, and עִם נְחִשֶׁל *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28¹, 143⁷, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of עִם cf. Jb 9³⁶, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

² In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with כֵּן, כָּל-עֲמֻתָּי. The expression is compounded of כֵּן and לְעֲמֻתָּי, like the Aramaic כָּל-עֲמֻתָּי for כָּל-קָלָל; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ*, xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by **וְ** *or*, e.g. Ex 21³⁶, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2¹⁶; so Is 27⁵ **וְ** = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere **וְ** **וְ**.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ** (see the examples in the Lexicon), also **וְ**—**וְ** Lv 5³, Nu 9¹⁴, Dt 24⁷, Is 2¹³, Jer 32²⁰, **וְ** 76⁷, Jb 34²⁹, perhaps also Ex 21¹⁶ (but not Pr 29⁹; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and **וְ**—**וְ** (see § 143 e); cf. also **וְ**—**וְ** (in Gn 24⁴⁴ **וְ**—**וְ**) *both—and*; but **וְ**—**וְ** (in Gn 21²⁶ **וְ**—**וְ**) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 g.

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

- a* 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by **וְ** **וְ**, e.g. 1 S 8¹⁹ *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; **וְ** 1², &c.; frequently also by **וְ** alone, e.g. Gn 18¹⁵, 19², or even simply connected with **וְ**, Gn 17⁵, **וְ** **וְ** as perfect consecutive; 42¹⁰; cf. Ex 5¹⁸.
- b* Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6^{9f}) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31¹⁸); **וְ** or **וְ** **וְ** in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by **וְ** **וְ** *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) **וְ** **וְ**¹ *unless*; especially **וְ** **וְ** with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32²⁷ *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22⁶, Is 55¹⁰, 65⁶, Am 3⁷, Ru 3¹⁸. Finally, **וְ** **וְ** *unless*, Am 3⁴ (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply **וְ** **וְ** Gn 43³ with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10⁴ after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

¹ Very probably this use of **וְ** **וְ** arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (**וְ** in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22²² as a forcible resumption of the preceding **וְ**. Thus, e.g. Ju 15⁷ is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, *I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3¹⁸ *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with **וְ** **וְ** *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which **אֲנִי כִּי** appends an exception, *d* must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40¹⁴ (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember*, &c. (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read **אֲנִי** for **כִּי**). Cf. Mi 6⁸, where **אֲנִי כִּי**, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42⁸, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when **אֲנִי כִּי** after an oath introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5²⁰ *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him*, &c.; cf. 2 S 15²¹ *Keth.*, Jer 51¹⁴, Ru 3¹² *Keth.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15⁷; cf. the Rem. on c.

§ 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or *a* events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by **וְ** (or **וְהָיָה**), e.g. Gn 7⁶ and Noah was six hundred years old (prop. a son of six hundred years), **וְהַמְבּוּל הָיָה** and (i.e. when) the flood was. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by **עוֹד עוֹד** still) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1¹⁶ **וְהָיָה עוֹד וְהָיָה** *he was yet speaking, and there came another*, &c.; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after **כִּלְ** with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one* . . ., e.g. 1 S 2¹³ **כִּלְ אִישׁ וְזָכַר וְזָכַר** *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c.; 2 S 2²³, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116 v.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24¹⁹ **וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁקֶה וְהָיָה** *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, &c.; 28⁸ f., 29³¹, 30⁹, 32²⁶, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by **וְ**, e.g. Gn 38²⁵; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49²⁹ an imperative follows without **וְ**;

(3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession¹ of the two actions or events in past time), e.g. Gn 19²³ **וְהָיָה כִּי יָרָא וְהָיָה** *the sun was just risen . . . and (=when) Lot came*, &c., cf. 1 S 9⁵, 2 S 2²⁴; Gn 44³ f., Ju 3²⁴, 15¹⁴, 20³⁹ f.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44⁴ **וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁקֶה וְהָיָה**

¹ This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent verbal-clauses, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116 u, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a noun-clause with another clause. In Gn 2³⁰ the immediate succession is especially emphasized by **וְ** and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9²⁴ by **וְ** only; in ψ 48⁶ by **כִּי** and the addition of two more perfects without **וְ**.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *h* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וְיָהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16⁶, cf. § 112 *cc*.—In 1 S 29¹⁰ an imperative with י follows the perfect consecutive.

- c* (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by מָרָם (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24¹⁵),¹ is then connected by י (or וְיָהִי) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19⁴ (cf. Jos 2⁸) נָפְּסוּ וְיָשְׁפְּבוּ הָעִיר . . . they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24²⁵.

- d* 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6¹, Ju 1²⁸, 16¹⁶, 1 S 1¹²; with imperfect, Gn 4¹², 12¹², 24⁴¹, Ex 3²¹, Lv 21⁹, Dt 31²¹, Is 1¹², 8¹⁹) and אֲשֶׁר² when (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8⁴; with perfect Jb 1⁵); less frequently אֲמֵן³ (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38⁹, Nu 21⁹, Ju 6³, ψ 41⁷, 94¹⁸, cf. also Is 24¹³ = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36⁴; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4¹. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds כִּמּוֹ when, Gn 19¹⁵; כַּאֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד-כִּי, עַד-אֲשֶׁר until (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38¹¹, Jos 2²², 1 S 1²² [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10²]); 2⁵, &c.; especially in the formula עַד-בְּלֹתִי הַשְּׂאִיר לִי until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשְּׂאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בְּלֹתִי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21³⁵, Dt 3³, Jos 8²², 11⁸ (but 1 S 14¹⁹ while, as long as); עַד-אֲשֶׁר לא before that, Ec 12^{1,2,6} with an imperfect, as in Pr 8²⁶ עַד with a perfect; עַד-אֲמֵן until the time when; אֲחֵרֵי-אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40¹ אַחֲרֵי-אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25⁴⁸, 1 S 5⁹ simply אַחֲרֵי; Lv 14⁴³, Jer 41¹⁶, Jb 42⁷ simply אַחֲרֵי) after that; מֵאָז (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39⁵; בְּמָרָם (and simply מָרָם § 107 *c*) before; בְּרִמַּת אֲשֶׁר (for בְּרִמַּת אֲשֶׁר) before, ψ 129⁶.

- e* Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

¹ On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

² On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence עַד-אֲשֶׁר נָשׁוּב (we shall return) is properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

³ Cf. the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. if] for *wann* [= when] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 a), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On בָּרָם, בְּרָם, and עַר with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by עַר, עַרְפִּי, or עַרְאִשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַר with the imperfect, ψ 110¹; עַרְפִּי with the perfect, Gn 26¹³, with impf. 49¹⁰; עַרְאִשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28¹⁵; with the imperfect, ψ 112⁸.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַר may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15¹⁶ עַרְאִשֶׁר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 d, e) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בָּ by may usually be rendered by *when*, *as*, or *whilst*; the infinitive with כִּי by *when*, *as soon as* (in Pr 10²⁵ followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw* apodosis), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after כִּן by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17⁵⁵ (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיְהִי וַיִּבְרָאוֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 v, and in general, § 114 r.—With the participle, כֹּנֵן appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in כֹּנֵן יָשִׁיב *as he drew back*, Gn 38²⁹ (unless we should read כֹּנֵן יָשִׁיב [or כֹּנֵן יָשִׁיב, cf. Gn 19¹⁵]), and in כֹּנֵן בְּפִרְחָתָהּ *when it budded*, 40¹⁰.

§ 165. Final Clauses.¹

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *a* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw* copulative to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (α) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וַיְהִי, La 1¹⁹, see § 107 g; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9^{1,3}, Jb 38²⁴; with an optative, ψ 51⁹; with an imperative, 1 K 11²¹; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by וַיְהִי, Gn 29²¹, 1 S 15¹⁶, or a jussive, Neh 2⁵ (§ 108 d); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וַיְהִי, Ex 9¹, 2 S 16¹¹, 1 K 5²⁰, ψ 59¹⁴, 86¹⁷; with a jussive, Jb 21¹⁹, or cohortative, § 109 f, g (cf. also 2 S 24²¹ the infinitive with לְ, Jon 1¹¹ מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29¹⁰ עִם-לִבִּי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וַיְהִי, § 110 i; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14³⁶; after an imperfect, § 112 m and p; similarly after a jussive, § 112 q; after an imperative, § 112 r.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex 28⁴³, 30²⁰; and 2 S 13²⁵ after אֶל-כֵּן with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 g. In Ex 28³², 39²³ the negative final clause is simply connected by וְלֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

¹ Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13⁹ *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9⁷ a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without וְ) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12¹³, 27²⁵, Ex 4⁵, ψ 51⁶, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27¹⁰, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27⁴, Ex 9¹⁴, 20²⁰; also the simple אֲשֶׁר¹ Dt 4^{10,40}, 6³, 32⁴⁶, Jos 3⁷, Neh 8^{14f.}; negatively, אֲשֶׁר לֹא Gn 11⁷, 24³, 1 K 22¹⁶; or שֶׁ Ec 3¹⁴; also negatively, שֶׁלֹא עַל־דְּבַרְתָּ שָׁלֹא *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7¹⁴; לְבִלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20²⁰, 2 S 14¹⁴ *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of מִן (if the text be right) in Dt 33¹¹ מִן־יְקִימוֹן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִן־יָקִים].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 q (on the apparent exception in Jos 4²⁴, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions אֵל and כֵּן *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with לְ (also לְמַעַן Gn 15¹⁹, 37²², &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11⁵, 28¹, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבִלְתִּי, § 114 s. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31²⁸, 1 S 15²⁸, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

§ 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple wāw copulative with the jussive,³ especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e.g. Nu 23¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אִישׁ אֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53² וַיִּחְשְׁבֵהוּ; Ho 14¹⁰ נָבוֹן וַיִּדְעֵם אֱלֹהִים *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5¹² וְלֹא = *so that . . . not*; in Pr 30³ ! is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16¹⁰ a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10⁵ after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9^{32,33} the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without Wāw to the preceding negative sentence (in

¹ In Ez 36²⁷ a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

² On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6¹⁹, see § 66 i.

³ That such examples as וַיֹּאמֶר are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14¹⁰ and Jb 9³³.

verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see b § 157 c, note 3) וְ and וְכֵן = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16¹¹, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20¹⁰ with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On וְכֵן with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13¹⁶, 22¹⁴; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3^{12f}, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on כֵּן; on כֵּן וְכֵן = *ut non*, cf. Dt 28³⁵, 1 K 3⁸, 2 K 9³⁷.

On וְ with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

§ 167. *Apopsiopsis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Apopsiopsis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,¹ and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 dd, cf. also Ex 32³² (the LXX and Samaritan supply שָׁמַיִם); Nu 5²⁰, Ju 9¹⁶ (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12^{14f}, 2 S 5⁸ (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11⁶); 2 S 23¹⁷, ψ 27¹³, 1 Ch 4¹⁰. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3¹⁵.—On Gn 3²², cf. § 152 w at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been *b* already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20¹³, 31⁵² and Ez 34¹⁰ (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14^{21ff}, 32^{20ff}, Dt 17^{2ff}, 24^{1ff}, 29^{21ff}, Ju 10¹¹ (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

¹ But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of *apopsiopsis*, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with הֵ; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66¹⁸ (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).¹ On Gn 23¹³ (¹⁵ with the imperative), see § 110 e.

- c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24¹⁴ and ¹² π, and Gn 28^{aff}.

¹ On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e.g. Gn 17^{14,17}, nor even Gn 31⁴⁰ (cf. § 143).

THE PARADIGMS.

IN the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָה, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָהּ, קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm 4 onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

Sing. 1. comm. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { *m.* אַתָּה (אתָ), in pause } *thou.*
אַתָּה
{ *f.* את (אתי) }

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה;
אַתָּה } *thee.*
אַתָּה; אַתָּה; אַתָּה, אַתָּה

3. { *m.* הוּא he.
{ *f.* הִיא she.

הוּא; הוּא; הוּא (הוּ), הוּ; הוּא him.

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא her (eam).

Plur. 1. comm. אֲנִיחֵנו (נִחֵנוּ), in
pause אֲנִיחֵנוּ (נִחֵנוּ) we.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי us.

2. { *m.* אַתֶּם
{ *f.* אתֶּנּוּ, אַתֶּנּוּ } *you.*

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם } *you.*
[אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם]

3. { *m.* הֵם, הֵם } *they.*
{ *f.* הֵנָּה } *they.*

(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם *; הֵם,
(הֵם), הֵם * *them (eos).*

[הֵם], הֵם; הֵם, (הֵם); [הֵם] *them (eos).*

Pronoun.¹

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*
(*Pron. possessivum*).

B.	A.	B.
With <i>Nûn energicum</i> .	Attached to a sing. noun.	Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
יָּמִי; יָּמִי	יָּמִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i>).	יָּמִי <i>my</i> .
יָּמִי, (יָּמִי) not found.	יָּמִי, יָּמִי, in } <i>thy</i> pause יָּמִי } (prop. יָּמִי, יָּמִי, (יָּמִי) } <i>tui</i> .	יָּמִי } <i>thy</i> .
(יָּמִי), יָּמִי; (יָּמִי)	יָּמִי, יָּמִי; יָּמִי, יָּמִי (יָּמִי) <i>his</i> (<i>eius</i> and <i>sui</i>).	יָּמִי, יָּמִי, (יָּמִי *) <i>his</i> .
יָּמִי	יָּמִי; יָּמִי; יָּמִי <i>her</i> .	יָּמִי <i>her</i> .
יָּמִי ? (see § 58 k)	יָּמִי; יָּמִי; (יָּמִי) <i>our</i> .	יָּמִי <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	יָּמִי; יָּמִי } <i>your</i> . יָּמִי; יָּמִי }	יָּמִי } <i>your</i> . יָּמִי }
	יָּמִי; יָּמִי, } <i>their</i> . יָּמִי * }	יָּמִי, יָּמִי * } <i>their</i> . יָּמִי }

¹ Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses () are rare, those in brackets [] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

		Qal.		Niph'al.	Pi'el.
Perf. Sing.	3. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	קָטַל*	קָטַל, קָטַל*
	3. f.	קָטַלָּה	כָּבְדָּה	קָטַלָּה	קָטַלָּה
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ	כָּבַדְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ	כָּבַדְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ
	1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
	Plur. 3. c.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטַלוּ	קָטַלוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם	כָּבַדְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
	2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן	כָּבַדְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
	1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
Inf.		שָׁבַב, קָטַל*		הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*
Inf. absol.		קָטוּל*		הִקָּטַל, נִקָּטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
Imp. Sing.	2. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*
	2. f.	קָטַלִּי	כָּבְדִּי	הִקָּטַלִּי	קָטַלִּי
	Plur. 2. m.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	הִקָּטַלוּ	קָטַלוּ
	2. f.	קָטַלְנָה	כָּבְדְּנָה	הִקָּטַלְנָה	קָטַלְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יִקָּטַל*	יִכָּבַד*	יִקָּטַל*	יִקָּטַל*
	3. f.	תִּקָּטַל	תִּכָּבַד	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל
	2. m.	תִּקָּטַל	תִּכָּבַד	תִּקָּטַל	תִּקָּטַל
	2. f.	תִּקָּטַלִּי	תִּכָּבְדִּי	תִּקָּטַלִּי	תִּקָּטַלִּי
	1. c.	אִקָּטַל	אִכָּבַד	אִקָּטַל	אִקָּטַל
	Plur. 3. m.	יִקָּטְלוּ	יִכָּבְדוּ	יִקָּטְלוּ	יִקָּטְלוּ
	3. f.	תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תִּכָּבְדְּנָה	תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תִּקָּטַלְנָה
	2. m.	תִּקָּטְלוּ	תִּכָּבְדוּ	תִּקָּטְלוּ	תִּקָּטְלוּ
	2. f.	תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תִּכָּבְדְּנָה	תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תִּקָּטַלְנָה
	1. c.	נִקָּטַל	נִכָּבַד	נִקָּטַל	נִקָּטַל
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).					
Part. act.		קָטַל*	כָּבַד	קָטַן	נִקָּטַל*
pass.		קָטוּל*			מִקָּטַל*

Verb.

<i>Pa'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קטל*	הקטיל*	הקטל*	התקטל*
קטלה*	הקטילה*	הקטלה*	התקטלה*
קטלת*	הקטלת*	הקטלת*	התקטלת*
קטלת	הקטלת	הקטלת	התקטלת
קטלתי	הקטלתי	הקטלתי	התקטלתי
קטלו	הקטילו	הקטלו	התקטלו
קטלתם	הקטלתם	הקטלתם	התקטלתם
קטלתו	הקטלתו	הקטלתו	התקטלתו
קטלנו	הקטלנו	הקטלנו	התקטלנו
wanting.	הקטיל*	wanting.	התקטל*
קטל*	הקטל*	הקטל*	התקטל*
wanting.	הקטל*	wanting.	התקטל*
	הקטילי*		התקטילי*
	הקטילו		התקטילו
	הקטילנה*		התקטילנה*
יִקְטֹל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטֵּל*
תִּקְטֹל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
תִּקְטֹל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
*תִּקְטֹלִי	*תִּקְטִילִי	*תִּקְטַלִּי	*תִּתְקַטֵּלִי
אִקְטֹל	אִקְטִיל	אִקְטַל	אִתְקַטֵּל
יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִתְקַטְּלוּ
*תִּקְטֹלְנָה	*תִּקְטִילְנָה	*תִּקְטַלְנָה	*תִּתְקַטְּלְנָה
תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטִילוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּתְקַטְּלוּ
תִּקְטֹלְנָה	תִּקְטִילְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּתְקַטְּלְנָה
נִקְטֹל	נִקְטִיל	נִקְטַל	נִתְקַטֵּל
	יִקְטֹל*		
	מִקְטִיל*		מִתְקַטֵּל*
מִקְטֹל*		מִקְטַל*	

C. Strong Verb

		Suffixes	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
Perf. Qal	3. m.	{ קָטַלְנִי שָׁחַתְנִי }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְתָּ	{ קָטַלְהוּ קָטַלְוּ }	
	3. f.	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	{ קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּוּ }	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	{ קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּוּ }	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	קָטַלְתְּהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קָטַלְתִּיךָ קָטַלְתִּיךָ }	
	Plur. 3. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	{ קָטַלְדְּךָ אָחַבְדְּךָ }	קָטַלְדְּךָ	קָטַלְדְּהוּ	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	קָטַלְתְּהוּ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְנִיךָ	קָטַלְנִיךָ	קָטַלְנִיךָ	
	Inf. Qal		{ קָטַלְי קָטַלְנִי }	{ בָּתַבְדְּךָ קָטַלְדְּךָ }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְוּ
Imp. Qal	2.	קָטַלְנִי	—	—	קָטַלְהוּ	
(from an Imperf. in a שָׁחַתְנִי, יִשְׁחַדְנִי)						
Impf. Qal	3. m.	{ יִקָּטַלְנִי יִלְבַּשְׁנִי }	{ יִקָּטַלְךָ יִלְבַּשְׁךָ }	{ יִקָּטַלְתָּ יִלְבַּשְׁתָּ }	{ יִקָּטַלְהוּ יִלְבַּשְׁהוּ }	
	3. m.	} with <i>Nān</i> energ.	יִקָּטַלְנִי	יִקָּטַלְךָ	—	
	3. m.		יִקָּטַלְנִי	יִקָּטַלְךָ	יִקָּטַלְהוּ	
	Plur. 3. m.	יִקָּטַלְנִי	יִקָּטַלְדְּךָ	יִקָּטַלְדְּךָ	{ יִקָּטַלְדְּהוּ יִנְאָאֶלְדְּהוּ }	
Perf. Pi'el	3. m.	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְהוּ	

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f.	1 Plur.	2 Plur. m.	2 Plur. f.	3 Plur. m.	3 Plur. f.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	{ קָטְלָם לָרָשָׁם }	קָטְלוּ
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵינוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתֵים	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָתֵים	קָטְלָתֵין
קָטְלָוּהָ	קָטְלָוּנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלוּם	קָטְלוּן
wanting.	קָטְלָוּנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלָוּהָ	—	קָטְלָוּכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָוּם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	{ קָטְלָבָבָם קָטְלָבָם }	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ
{ קָטְלָהּ קָטְלָהּ }	קָטְלָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָם	—
{ יִקְטְלֶיהָ יִלְבָּשֶׁיהָ }	{ יִקְטְלָנוּ יִלְבָּשֶׁנוּ }	יִקְטְלָבָם	wanting.	יִקְטְלָם	wanting.
יִקְטְלָנָהּ	יִקְטְלָנוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטְלָוּהָ	יִקְטְלָוּנוּ	יִקְטְלָבָם	wanting.	יִקְטְלָם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ

D. Verbs primae gutturalis

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	עָמַד	*נָעַמַד	*הָעָמַד	*הָעָמַד
3. f.	עָמְדָה	*נָעַמְדָה	הָעָמְדָה	*הָעָמְדָה
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נָעַמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נָעַמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נָעַמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָמְדוּ	נָעַמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
2. m.	*עָמַדְתֶּם	נָעַמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם
2. f.	*עָמַדְתֶּן	נָעַמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן
1. c.	עָמַדְנוּ	נָעַמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד*	*הָעָמַד	*הָעָמַד	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עָמֹד	*נָעֲמֹד, הָאֵסָף	*הָעָמֹד	*הָעָמֹד
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	עָמַד*	*חֹק	*הָעָמַד	הָעָמַד
f.	עָמְדִי	חֹקִי	הָעָמְדִי	הָעָמְדִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עָמְדוּ	חֹקוּ	הָעָמְדוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
f.	*עָמַדְנָה	*חֹקְנָה	הָעָמַדְנָה	הָעָמַדְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	*יָעַמַד	*יָחֹק	*יָעַמַד	*יָעַמַד
3. f.	תָּעַמַד	תָּחֹק	תָּעַמַד	תָּעַמַד
2. m.	תָּעַמַד	תָּחֹק	תָּעַמַד	תָּעַמַד
2. f.	*תָּעַמְדִי	*תָּחֹקִי	תָּעַמְדִי	תָּעַמְדִי
1. c.	*אָעַמַד	אָחֹק	אָעַמַד	אָעַמַד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	*יָעַמְדוּ	*יָחֹקוּ	יָעַמְדוּ	יָעַמְדוּ
3. f.	תָּעַמְדְנָה	תָּחֹקְנָה	תָּעַמְדְנָה	תָּעַמְדְנָה
2. m.	תָּעַמְדוּ	תָּחֹקוּ	תָּעַמְדוּ	תָּעַמְדוּ
2. f.	תָּעַמְדְנָה	תָּחֹקְנָה	תָּעַמְדְנָה	תָּעַמְדְנָה
1. c.	נָעַמַד	נָחֹק	נָעַמַד	נָעַמַד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יָעַמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עָמֵד	*נָעֲמֵד	*מְעַמֵּד	
<i>pass.</i>	עָמֹד			מְעַמֵּד

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Pa'al.</i>	<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	בָּרַךְ*	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַכָה	[בָּרַכָה]	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	[בָּרַכְתֶּן]	בָּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁחֹט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting.	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחוּט	נִשְׁחָט	בָּרַךְ*		
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>f.</i>	שִׁיחִי*	הִשְׁחִי*	בָּרְכִי*	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרְכִי]
<i>Plur. m.</i>	שָׁחֻטוּ	הִשְׁחֻטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
<i>f.</i>	שִׁיחִינָה	הִשְׁחִינָה	בָּרְכִינָה*		הִתְבָּרְכִינָה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַךְ*	יִבְרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּבְרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטִּי*	תִּשְׁחַטִּי*	תִּבְרַכִּי	[תִּבְרַכִּי]	[תִּתְבָּרַכִּי]
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶבְרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּבְרְכוּ	תִּבְרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַךְ	נִבְרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁחַטְהוּ				
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נֹשְׁחָט	מְבָרַךְ*		מִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרָךְ*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שְׁלֹחַ	נִשְׁלֹחַ	שִׁלַּח
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>	שְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>f.</i>	שְׁלַחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	שִׁלַּחִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	שְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
<i>f.</i>	שְׁלַחְנָה*	הִשְׁלַחְנָה	שִׁלְחָנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחֲנִי		
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֵחַ	מִשְׁלֵחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שְׁלֹחַ*		

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	הִשְׁלִיחַ*	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
שִׁלְחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הִשְׁלַחָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה
שִׁלְחָתָה	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה	הִשְׁלַחָתָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה
שִׁלְחָתָה*	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה*	הִשְׁלַחָתָה*	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה*
שִׁלְחָתִי	הִשְׁלִיחָתִי	הִשְׁלַחָתִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתִי
שִׁלְחֻי	הִשְׁלִיחֻי	הִשְׁלַחֻי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחֻי
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
שִׁלְחָתָם	הִשְׁלִיחָתָם	הִשְׁלַחָתָם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָם
	הִשְׁלִיחַ*		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלִיחִי		הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחֻי	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּחֻי
	הִשְׁלַחָה		הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה*
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחִי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	מִשְׁלִיחַ*		מִשְׁתַּלַּח*
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

G. Verbs mediae geminatae

	Qal.	Niphal.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָבַב, תָּם	קָבַב, נָם
3. f.	קָבְּבָה, תָּמָה	קָבְּבָה
2. m.	קָבַבְתָּ*	קָבַבְתָּ*
2. f.	קָבַבְתְּ	קָבַבְתְּ
1. c.	קָבַבְתִּי	קָבַבְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָבְּבוּ, תָּמוּ	קָבְּבוּ
2. m.	קָבַבְתֶּם	קָבַבְתֶּם
2. f.	קָבַבְתֶּן	קָבַבְתֶּן
1. c.	קָבַבְנוּ	קָבַבְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	קָבֵב*	קָבֵב*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָבֹב	הָמָם, הָפֹב
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	קָבֵב*	הָפֵב
f.	קָבִי*	הָפִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	קָבוּ	הָפִבוּ
f.	[קָבִינָה]	[הָפִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יָקַב (יָסַל § 67 p) יָקַב*	יָקַב*
3. f.	תָּקַב	תָּקַב
2. m.	תָּקַב	תָּקַב
2. f.	תָּקַבְתְּ*	תָּקַבְתְּ*
1. c.	אָקַב	אָקַב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יָקַבוּ	יָקַבוּ
3. f.	תָּקַבְינָה*	[תָּקַבְינָה]
2. m.	תָּקַבוּ	תָּקַבוּ
2. f.	[תָּקַבְינָה]	[תָּקַבְינָה]
1. c.	נָקַב	נָקַב
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיָּקַב* (pause וַיָּקַב)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יָקַבְנִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	קָבֵב	קָבֵב
<i>pass.</i>	קָבֹב*	(fem. קָבְּבָה)

or double v.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Po'el.</i>	<i>Pa'al.</i>
*הִסָּב, הִסָּב	*הוֹסֵב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבֵב
*הִסָּבָה	הוֹסֵבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	[סוֹבֵבָה]
*הִסָּבוֹת	[הוֹסֵבוֹת]	סוֹבֵבָת	סוֹבֵבָת
הִסָּבוֹת	הוֹסֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבָת	סוֹבֵבָת
הִסָּבוֹתַי	[הוֹסֵבוֹתַי]	סוֹבֵבָתִי	סוֹבֵבָתִי
הִסָּבוּ, הִסָּלוּ	הוֹסֵבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ	קוֹבְבוּ
הִסָּבוּתָם	[הוֹסָבוּתָם]	סוֹבְבוֹתָם	סוֹבְבוֹתָם
הִסָּבוּתָן	הוֹסָבוּתָן	סוֹבְבוֹתָן	קוֹבְבוֹתָן
הִסָּבוּנִי	[הוֹסָבוּנִי]	סוֹבְבוּנִי	[סוֹבְבוּנִי]
*הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסֵב	הִשָּׁמָה	סוֹבֵב	[סוֹבֵב]
*הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסֵבִי	wanting.	[סוֹבְבִי]	wanting.
הָסֵבוּ		סוֹבְבוּ	
[הִסָּפִינָה]		סוֹבְבָנָה	
*יָסַב, יָסַב	*יּוֹסֵב, יָסַב	יְסוֹבֵב	[יְסוֹבֵב]
תָּסַב	[תּוֹסֵב]	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
תָּסַב	תּוֹסֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבֵב
[תָּסַבִּי]	*תּוֹסָבִי	[תְּסוֹבְבִי]	תְּסוֹבְבִי
אָסַב	[אּוֹסֵב]	[אְסוֹבֵב]	אְסוֹבֵב
יָסְבוּ, יָסְבוּ	יּוֹסְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ
*תָּסַפִּינָה	*[תּוֹסָפִינָה]	[תְּסוֹבְבָנָה]	תְּסוֹבְבָנָה
תָּסְבוּ	תּוֹסְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ
תָּסַפִּינָה	תּוֹסָפִינָה	[תְּסוֹבְבָנָה]	תְּסוֹבְבָנָה
נָסַב	[נּוֹסֵב]	נְסוֹבֵב	[נְסוֹבֵב]
וָיָסַב			
*יָסַפְנִי (יְסָפְכֶם)		יְסוֹבְבָנִי	.
*מָסַב		מְסוֹבֵב	
	מוֹסֵב		מְסוֹבֵב

H. Verbs י"ב.

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	[נָגַשׁ]	נָגַל	נָגַשׁ*	הִנָּגַשׁ*	הִנָּגַשׁ*
3. <i>f.</i>			נָגַשְׁה	הִנָּגַשְׁה	הִנָּגַשְׁה
2. <i>m.</i>			נָגַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתָּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>			נָגַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתְּ	הִנָּגַשְׁתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>	regular.		נָגַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּגַשְׁתִּי	הִנָּגַשְׁתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>			נָגַשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	*		נָגַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּם	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>			נָגַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּן	הִנָּגַשְׁתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>			נָגַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּגַשְׁנוּ	הִנָּגַשְׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נָגַשׁ*	נָגַל*	הִנָּגַשׁ	הִנָּגַשׁ*	הִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נִגְשׁוּ		נִגְשׁוּ, הִנָּגְשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁ*	הִנָּגַשׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>	נָגַשׁ*	נָגַל*	הִנָּגַשׁ	הִנָּגַשׁ*	
<i>f.</i>	נָגַשְׁי	נָגַלִּי	הִנָּגַשְׁי	הִנָּגַשְׁי	wanting.
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נָגַשׁוּ	נָגַלוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ	הִנָּגַשׁוּ	
<i>f.</i>	נָגַשְׁנָה	נָגַלְנָה	הִנָּגַשְׁנָה	הִנָּגַשְׁנָה	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִנָּגַשׁ*	יִנָּגַל*	[יִנָּגַשׁ]	יִנָּגַשׁ*	יִנָּגַשׁ*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּגַל		תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּגַשׁ
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּגַל		תִּנָּגַשׁ	תִּנָּגַשׁ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּנָּגַשְׁי	תִּנָּגַלִּי		תִּנָּגַשְׁי	תִּנָּגַשְׁי
1. <i>c.</i>	אִנָּגַשׁ	אִנָּגַל		אִנָּגַשׁ	אִנָּגַשׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִנָּגַשׁוּ	יִנָּגַלוּ	regular.	יִנָּגַשׁוּ	יִנָּגַשׁוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה	תִּנָּגַלְנָה		תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה	תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּנָּגַשׁוּ	תִּנָּגַלוּ		תִּנָּגַשׁוּ	תִּנָּגַשׁוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	[תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה]	[תִּנָּגַלְנָה]		[תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה]	[תִּנָּגַשְׁנָה]
1. <i>c.</i>	נִגְשׁוּ	נָגַל		נִגְשׁוּ	נִגְשׁוּ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				יִנָּגַשׁ*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	נִגְשׁוֹ		נִגְשׁוֹ*	מִנָּגַשׁ*	
<i>pass.</i>	נִגְשׁוֹ				מִנָּגַשׁ

I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָבַל	נִאָבַל*	הִאָבַל*	הֻאָבַל*

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.		אָבַל, אֶבֶל*	הֶאָבַל	הִאָבַל	הֻאָבַל
Inf. absol.		אָבֹל	הֶאָבֹל	wanting.	wanting.
Imp. Sing. m.		אָבַל*	הֶאָבַל	הִאָבַל	
f.		אָבְלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur. m.		אָבְלוּ			
f.		[אָבְלִנָּה]			
Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יֵאָבַל* (in pause	יֵאָבַל*	יִאָבַל*	יֻאָבַל*
	3. f.	תֵּאָבַל (יֵאָבַל)	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. m.	תֵּאָבַל			
	2. f.	תֵּאָבְלִי			
	1. c.	אָבַל*			
Plur.	3. m.	יֵאָבְלוּ			
	3. f.	תֵּאָבְלִנָּה			
	2. m.	תֵּאָבְלוּ			
	2. f.	[תֵּאָבְלִנָּה]			
	1. c.	נֵאָבַל			
Impf. with consec.	Wāw }	וַיֵּאָבַר*			
		וַיֵּאָבַל*			
Part. act.		אָבֵל	נֹאבֵל	מֵאָבֵל	
pass.		אָבֹל			מֵאָבֹל

K. Weak Verbs,

	Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יָשַׁב	*נִשְׁבַּח
3. f.		*נִשְׁבְּחָה
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּחְתָּ
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּחְתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.		נִשְׁבְּחוּ
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן
1. c.		נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	יֹכַד, רָשַׁת, *שָׁבַת	*הִישֵׁב
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting.
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	*יֹשֶׁב, דַּע	*הִישֵׁב
f.	שָׁבִי	הִישֵׁבִי
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שִׁבוּ	הִישִׁבוּ
f.	שִׁבְנָה	[הִישִׁבְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	*יֹשֵׁב	*יֹרֵשׁ
3. f.	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ
2. m.	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ
2. f.	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי
1. c.	אֵשֵׁב	אִירֵשׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ
3. f.	תֵּשְׁבְּנָה	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]
2. m.	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִּירְשׁוּ
2. f.	[תֵּשְׁבְּנָה]	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]
1. c.	נִשְׁבַּח	נִירֵשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>		
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיֵּשֶׁב	
<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	*נֹשֵׁב
<i>pass.</i>	יָשׁוּב	

פ"י (for פ"י).

L. Verbs properly פ"י.

Hiph'al.	Hoph'al.	Qal.	Hiph'al.
*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיכָה הוֹשִׁבָה הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבו הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ	*הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיכָה הוֹשִׁבָה הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבו הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ	יָטַב regular. יָטַב יָטוּב	*הִיטִיב הִיטִיכָה הִיטִיבָה הִיטִיבְתִּי הִיטִיבְתִּי הִיטִיבו הִיטִיבְתֶּם הִיטִיבְתֶּן הִיטִיבְנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב *הוֹשֵׁב	*הוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב יָטוּב	*הִיטִיב *הִיטֵב
*הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיכִי הוֹשִׁיבו [הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	wanting.		*הִיטֵב הִיטִיכִי הִיטִיבו [הִיטִיבְנָה]
יֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיכִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹשִׁיבו [תוֹשִׁיבְנָה] תוֹשִׁיבו [תוֹשִׁיבְנָה] נוֹשֵׁב	*יֹשֵׁב תוֹשֵׁב תוֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיכִי אוֹשֵׁב יֹשִׁיבו תוֹשִׁיבְנָה תוֹשִׁיבו [תוֹשִׁיבְנָה] נוֹשֵׁב	*יִיטֵב תִּיטֵב תִּיטֵב תִּיטִיכִי אִיטֵב יִיטֵבו תִּיטִיבְנָה תִּיטֵבו [תִּיטִיבְנָה] נִיטֵב	*יִיטֵב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיכִי אִיטִיב יִיטִיבו [תִּיטִיבְנָה] תִּיטִיבו [תִּיטִיבְנָה] נִיטִיב
*יֹשֵׁב יֹשִׁיב		יִיטֵב יִיטֵב	יִיטֵב יִיטֵב
*מוֹשִׁיב	*מוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב יָטוּב	מִיטִיב מִיטֵב

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָם*	נָקַם*	הָקִים*
	3. f.	קָמָה*	נָקְמָה*	הָקִימָה*
	2. m.	קָמַת*	[נְקִימוֹת]	הָקִימוֹת*
	2. f.	קָמַת	[נְקִימוֹת]	הָקִימוֹת
	1. c.	קָמַתִּי	נְקִימוֹתִי	הָקִימוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ	נָקְמוּ	הָקִימוּ
	2. m.	קָמַתֶּם	נָקְמוּתֶם	הָקִימוּתֶם
	2. f.	[קָמַתֶּן]	[נְקִימוֹתֶן]	[הָקִימוֹתֶן]
	1. c.	קָמַנּוּ	נָקְמוּנָה	הָקִימוּנָה
<i>Inf.</i>		קִים*	הִקֹּם*	הָקִים*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קִים*	הִקֹּם, נָסֹג	הָקִם*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	קִים*	הִקֹּם*	הָקִם*
	f.	קִימִי*	[הִקֹּמִי]	הָקִימִי*
<i>Plur.</i>	m.	קִימוּ	הִקֹּמוּ	הָקִימוּ
	f.	קִימְנָה*		[הָקִימְנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יָקִים*, יִבּוֹא	יָקִים*	יָקִים*
	3. f.	תִּקְוֶם	תִּקְוֶם	תִּקְוֶם
	2. m.	תִּקְוֶם	תִּקְוֶם	תִּקְוֶם
	2. f.	תִּקְוֶמִי*	[תִּקְוֶמִי]	תִּקְוֶמִי*
	1. c.	אִקְוֶם	אִקְוֶם	אִקְוֶם
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְוֶמוּ	יִקְוֶמוּ	יִקְוֶמוּ
	3. f.	תִּקְוֶינָה, תִּשְׁלַבְנָה*		תִּקְוֶינָה, תִּשְׁלַבְנָה*
	2. m.	תִּקְוֶמוּ	תִּקְוֶמוּ	תִּקְוֶמוּ
	2. f.	תִּקְוֶינָה		[תִּשְׁלַבְנָה]
	1. c.	נִקְוֶם	נִקְוֶם	נִקְוֶם
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יָקֶם*		יָקֶם*
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיִּקֶּם (pause וַיִּקֶּם*)		וַיִּקֶּם*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִשְׁוֶנִי*		יִקְוֶינִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>		קֶם*	נִקְוֶם*	מִקְוֶם*
<i>pass.</i>		קֶם*		

Verbs, ע"י.

N. Weak Verbs, ע"י.

<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Pôlêl.</i>	<i>Pôlal.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>
*הִיָּקַם	*קִיָּם	*קִיָּם	*כָּן	*נָכוֹן
[הִיָּקַמָּה]	קִיָּמָה	[קִיָּמָה]	*כָּנָה	[נָכוֹנָה]
הִיָּקַמְתָּ	קִיָּמַתָּ	קִיָּמַתָּ	*כָּנַתָּ	נָכוֹנַתָּ
הִיָּקַמְתָּ	[קִיָּמַמְתָּ]	[קִיָּמַמְתָּ]	כָּנַתָּ	[נָכוֹנַתָּ]
[הִיָּקַמְתִּי]	קִיָּמַמְתִּי	קִיָּמַמְתִּי	[כָּנַתִּי]	נָכוֹנַתִּי
הִיָּקַמוּ	קִיָּמוּ	קִיָּמוּ	כָּנוּ	
[הִיָּקַמְתֶּם]	[קִיָּמַמְתֶּם]	[קִיָּמַמְתֶּם]	[כָּנַתֶּם]	See
הִיָּקַמְתִּי	קִיָּמַמְתִּי	קִיָּמַמְתִּי	[כָּנַתְּ]	Verbs ע"י.
[הִיָּקַמְנוּ]	[קִיָּמַמְנוּ]	[קִיָּמַמְנוּ]	כָּנוּ	
*הִיָּקַם	קִיָּם		*כָּין	
			כָּן	
	קִיָּם		*כָּין	
	[קִיָּיָמִי]	wanting.	כָּיִי	
	קִיָּיָמוּ		כָּיִנוּ	
	[קִיָּיָמְנָה]		—	
*יָקַם	יָקַם	יָקַם	יָקַל	
הִיָּקַם	הִיָּקַם	[הִיָּקַם]	הִיָּקַל	
[הִיָּקַם]	הִיָּקַם	הִיָּקַם	הִיָּקַל	
הִיָּקַמְתָּ	[הִיָּקַמְתָּ]	הִיָּקַמְתָּ	הִיָּקַלְתָּ	
[הִיָּקַם]	הִיָּקַם	הִיָּקַם	הִיָּקַלְתָּ	
יָקַמוּ	יָקַמוּ	יָקַמוּ	יָקַלוּ	
[הִיָּקַמְנָה]	הִיָּקַמְנָה	הִיָּקַמְנָה	הִיָּקַלְנָה	
הִיָּקַמוּ	הִיָּקַמוּ	[הִיָּקַמוּ]	הִיָּקַלוּ	
[הִיָּקַמְנָה]	הִיָּקַמְנָה	הִיָּקַמְנָה	הִיָּקַלְנָה	
נָקַם	[נָקַם]	[נָקַם]	נָקַל	
			יָקַל	
			וְיָקַל	
			יָרִיבִי	
	מִקִּיָּם		לָגִים, שָׁב	נָכוֹן
*מִקִּיָּם		מִקִּיָּם	שָׁם, שָׁם	

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצָא*	נִמְצָא*	דָּבָא, מִצָּא
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	[מִצְאָה]
	2. m.	מָצְאָתָ*	נִמְצְאָתָ*	מִצְאָתָ*
	2. f.	מָצְאָת	נִמְצְאָת	[מִצְאָת]
	1. c.	מָצְאָתִי	נִמְצְאָתִי	מִצְאָתִי
	3. c.	מָצְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצְאוּ
	2. m.	מָצְאתֶם	נִמְצְאתֶם	מִצְאתֶם
	2. f.	[מָצְאתֶן]	[נִמְצְאתֶן]	[מִצְאתֶן]
<i>Plur.</i>	1. c.	מָצְאָנוּ	נִמְצְאָנוּ	מִצְאָנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		מָצֵא	הִמְצֵא	מִצֵּא
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		מִצּוֹא	נִמְצֵא	מִצֵּא
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצֵא*	הִמְצֵא	מִצֵּא
	f.	מָצֵאִי	[הִמְצֵאִי]	[מִצֵּאִי]
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	מָצֵאוּ	הִמְצֵאוּ	מִצֵּאוּ
	f.	מָצֵאנָה*	[הִמְצֵאנָה]	[מִצֵּאנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא
	3. f.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא
	2. m.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא
	2. f.	תִּמְצֵאִי	תִּמְצֵאִי	[תִּמְצֵאִי]
	1. c.	אִמְצֵא	אִמְצֵא	אִמְצֵא
	3. m.	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
	3. f.	תִּמְצְאָנָה*	תִּמְצְאָנָה*	תִּמְצְאָנָה*
	2. m.	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ	[תִּמְצְאוּ]
	2. f.	תִּמְצְאָנָה	תִּמְצְאָנָה	תִּמְצְאָנָה
	1. c.	נִמְצֵא	[נִמְצֵא]	נִמְצֵא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִמְצֵאֲךָ, יִמְצֵאֲנִי		יִמְצֵאֲנִי
<i>Part. act.</i>		מֹצֵא	נִמְצֵא	מִמְצֵא
<i>pass.</i>		מִצּוֹא		

Verbs, ל"א.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קָרָא [מִצָּא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצָא]	הִתְמַצָּא
מִצָּאָה	הִמְצִיָּאָה	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מִצָּאת	*הִמְצִיאת	*הִמְצָאת	*הִתְמַצָּאת
מִצָּאת	הִמְצִאת	הִמְצָאת	[הִתְמַצָּאת]
מִצָּאתִי	הִמְצִאתִי	הִמְצָאתִי	הִתְמַצָּאתִי
מִצָּאוּ	הִמְצִיאוּ	הִמְצָאוּ	הִתְמַצָּאוּ
מִצָּאתָם	הִמְצִאתָם	הִמְצָאתָם	[הִתְמַצָּאתָם]
מִצָּאתָן	[הִמְצִאתָן]	הִמְצָאתָן	הִתְמַצָּאתָן
מִצָּאֵנוּ	הִמְצִאֵנוּ	[הִמְצָאֵנוּ]	[הִתְמַצָּאֵנוּ]
wanting.	הִמְצִיא הִמְצָא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא wanting.
wanting.	הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּא הִמְצִיאוּ [הִמְצִיָּאָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצָּא] הִתְמַצָּאִי הִתְמַצָּאוּ [הִתְמַצָּאָה]
יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא]	יִתְמַצָּא
[תִּמְצָא]	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָאִי	תִּמְצִיָּאִי	תִּמְצָאִי	[תִּתְמַצָּאִי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצָּא]
יִמְצָאוּ	יִמְצִיאוּ	יִמְצָאוּ	יִתְמַצָּאוּ
*תִּמְצָאָה	*תִּמְצִיָּאָה	*תִּמְצָאָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאָה]
תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּמְצִיאוּ	תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּתְמַצָּאוּ
תִּתְמַצָּאָה	תִּתְמַצָּאָה	תִּתְמַצָּאָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאָה]
[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	[נִתְמַצָּא]
	יִמְצָא		
	יִמְצִיָּאִי		
	מִמְצִיא		מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphal.</i>	<i>Pre.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. <i>m.</i>	פָּלַח*	נִפְלַח*	פָּלַח*
	3. <i>f.</i>	פָּלְחָה*	נִפְלְחָה*	פָּלְחָה*
	2. <i>m.</i>	פָּלִית*	נִפְלִית, יָת	פָּלִית*
	2. <i>f.</i>	פָּלִית	נִפְלִית	פָּלִית
	1. <i>c.</i>	פָּלִיתִי	נִפְלִיתִי	פָּלִיתִי, פָּלִיתִי
	<i>Plur.</i>			
	3. <i>c.</i>	פָּלּוּ*	נִפְּלוּ	פָּלּוּ
	2. <i>m.</i>	פָּלִיתֶם	[נִפְּלִיתֶם]	פָּלִיתֶם
	2. <i>f.</i>	פָּלִיתְנָן	[נִפְּלִיתְנָן]	[פָּלִיתְנָן]
	1. <i>c.</i>	פָּלִינוּ	נִפְּלִינוּ	פָּלִינוּ
<i>Inf.</i>		פָּלֹחַ*	הִפְּלֹחַ*	פָּלֹחַ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		פָּלַח	נִפְּלַח, הִפְּקַח	פָּלַח, פָּלַח
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	<i>m.</i>	פָּלַח*	הִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח, פָּל
	<i>f.</i>	פָּלִי*	הִפְּלִי*	פָּלִי*
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	פָּלּוּ	הִפְּלּוּ	פָּלּוּ
	<i>f.</i>	פָּלִינָה*	[הִפְּלִינָה]	[פָּלִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. <i>m.</i>	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*
	3. <i>f.</i>	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
	2. <i>m.</i>	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
	2. <i>f.</i>	תִּפְּלִי*	[תִּפְּלִי]	תִּפְּלִי*
	1. <i>c.</i>	אִפְּלַח	אִפְּלַח, אִפְּ	אִפְּלַח
	<i>Plur.</i>			
	3. <i>m.</i>	יִפְּלוּ	יִפְּלוּ	יִפְּלוּ
	3. <i>f.</i>	תִּפְּלִינָה*	תִּפְּלִינָה*	תִּפְּלִינָה*
	2. <i>m.</i>	תִּפְּלוּ	תִּפְּלוּ	תִּפְּלוּ
	2. <i>f.</i>	תִּפְּלִינָה	תִּפְּלִינָה	תִּפְּלִינָה
	1. <i>c.</i>	נִפְּלַח	[נִפְּלַח]	נִפְּלַח
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יִפְּל*	יִפְּל*	יִפְּל*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִפְּלֶה, יִפְּלֵי		יִפְּלֶה, יִפְּלֵי
<i>Part. act.</i>		פָּלַח*	נִפְּלַח*	מִפְּלַח*
<i>pass.</i>		פָּלִי*		

Verbs, ל"ה.

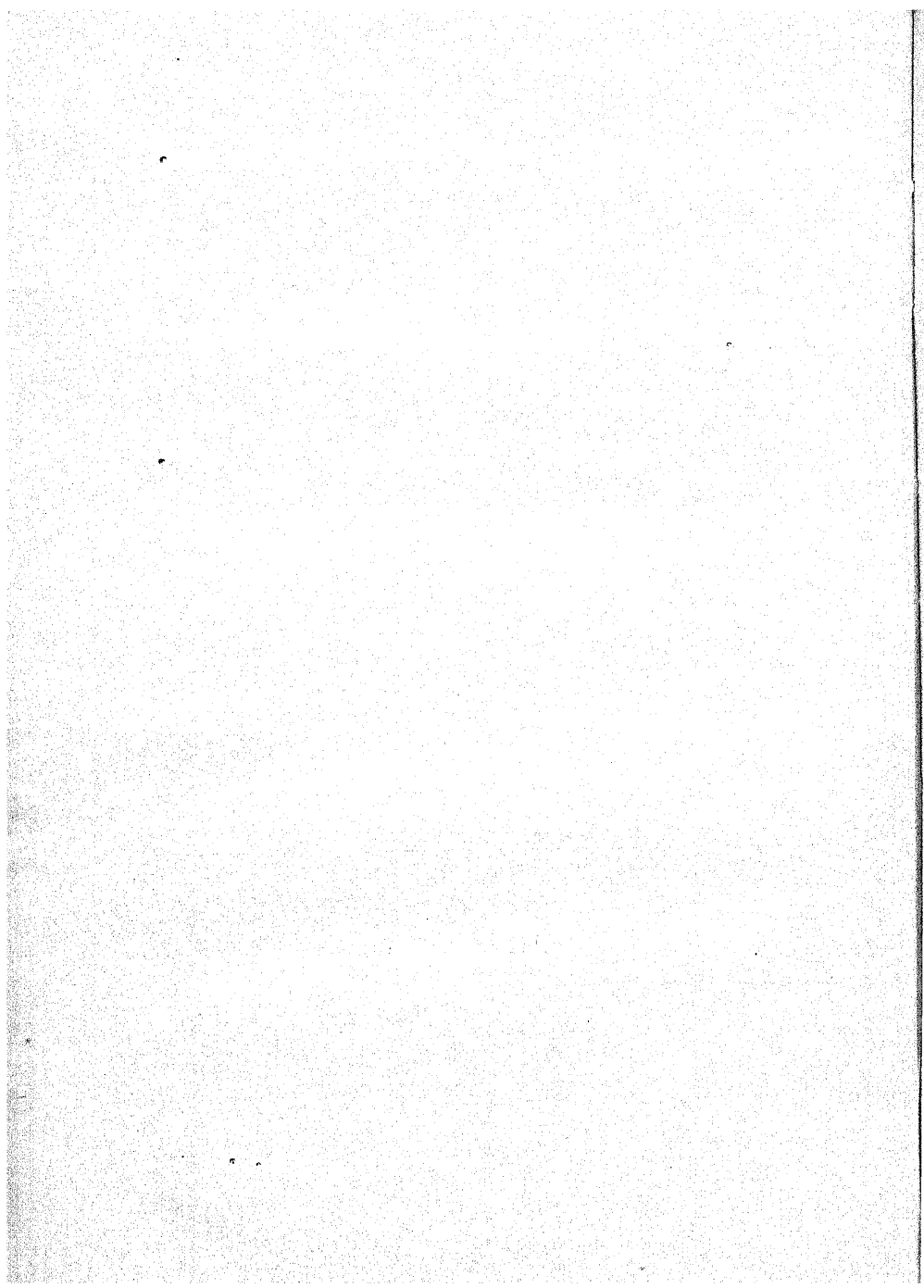
<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
*הִנָּלָה	*הִנָּלָה	*הִנָּלָה	*הִתְנָלָה
*הִנָּלְתָּה	*הִנָּלְתָּה	*הִנָּלְתָּה	[הִתְנָלְתָּה]
*הִנָּלִיתָ	*הִנָּלִיתָ, יִתְּ	*הִנָּלִיתָ	*הִתְנָלִיתָ
[הִנָּלִיתָ]	הִנָּלִיתָ, יִתְּ	[הִנָּלִיתָ]	[הִתְנָלִיתָ]
הִנָּלִיתִי	הִנָּלִיתִי, יִתְּ	הִנָּלִיתִי	הִתְנָלִיתִי
הִנָּלְוּ	הִנָּלְוּ	הִנָּלְוּ	הִתְנָלְוּ
הִנָּלִיתֶם, יִתְּ	הִנָּלִיתֶם, יִתְּ	[הִנָּלִיתֶם]	הִתְנָלִיתֶם
הִנָּלִיתֶם	[הִנָּלִיתֶם]	הִנָּלִיתֶם	[הִתְנָלִיתֶם]
הִנָּלִינוּ	הִנָּלִינוּ	הִנָּלִינוּ	הִתְנָלִינוּ
*הִנָּלֹת	*הִנָּלֹת		*הִתְנָלֹת
	הִנָּלָה	*הִנָּלָה	
	*הִנָּלָה		[הִתְנָלָה] הִתְנָלָה
wanting.	הִנָּלִי	wanting.	הִתְנָלִי
	הִנָּלְוּ		הִתְנָלְוּ
	[הִנָּלִינוּ]		[הִתְנָלִינוּ]
*יִנָּלָה	*יִנָּלָה	*יִנָּלָה	*יִתְנָלָה
תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	[תִּתְנָלָה]
תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּנָּלָה	תִּתְנָלָה
[תִּנָּלִי]	*תִּנָּלִי	*תִּנָּלִי	*תִּתְנָלִי
[יִנָּלָה]	אִנָּלָה	*אִנָּלָה	אִתְנָלָה
יִנָּלְוּ	יִנָּלְוּ	יִנָּלְוּ	יִתְנָלְוּ
*[תִּנָּלִינוּ]	*תִּנָּלִינוּ	*תִּנָּלִינוּ	[תִּתְנָלִינוּ]
תִּנָּלְוּ	תִּנָּלְוּ	תִּנָּלְוּ	תִּתְנָלְוּ
תִּנָּלִינוּ	תִּנָּלִינוּ	תִּנָּלִינוּ	[תִּתְנָלִינוּ]
[נִנָּלָה]	נִנָּלָה	נִנָּלָה	נִתְנָלָה
	*יִנָּלְוּ		*יִתְנָלְוּ
	יִנָּלְוּ, *יִנָּלְוּ		
	*מִנָּלָה		*מִתְנָלָה
*מִנָּלָה		*מִנָּלָה	

Q. Verbs ל"ה

	1. Sing.	2. Sing. m.	2. Sing. f.
<i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי	רָאָה, עָשָׂךְ	
	<i>P.</i> עָשָׂנִי	<i>P.</i> עָנָה, קָנָה	
3. f.	עָשָׂתִנִּי		
2. m.	רָאִיתִנִּי		
	<i>P.</i> עָנִיתִנִּי		
2. f.	<i>Pi.</i> רָפִיתִנִּי		
1. c.		רָאִיתִיךְ	עָנִיתִיךְ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָשָׂוּנִי	רָאוּךְ	<i>Pi.</i> כָּסְפוּךְ
1. c.		קִוִּינִיךְ	
<i>Imper. 2. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי } עָנֵנִי }		
2. f.	<i>Hiph.</i> הָרָאִנִּי		
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	<i>Pi.</i> כָּפְסוּנִי		
<i>Impf. 3. m.</i>	יִרְאֵנִי	יִפְדֶּךְ } יִחַתֶּךְ }	
3. f.		תִּשְׁכַּחֶךְ	
2. m.	תִּרְאֵנִי		
2. f.			
1. c.		אֶרְאֶךְ	אֶעֱנֶךְ
		אֶעֱנֶךְ	
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעֲשֻׂוּנִי	<i>Pi.</i> יִפְתְּרוּךְ	
2. m.	תַּעֲצֹנִי		
1. c.			

with Suffixes.

3. Sing. m.	3. Sing. f.	1. Plur.	3. Plur. m.
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהּ	עָשִׂנוּ	עָשׂוּם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּלָהוּ	<i>Pi.</i> צָוָהּ		<i>Hiph.</i> הֶעֱלָחֵם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּסִיחוּ	עָשִׂיתָהּ	<i>Pi.</i> דָּבִיחָנוּ	עָנִיתָם
עָשִׂיתָהּ } רָאִיתָיו }	רָאִיתָהּ		רָעִיתִים
עָשָׂהוּ <i>Pi.</i> קִיָּיְרָהוּ	רָאָהּ		שָׁבוּם
		<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנוּ	רָעִים
תָּלָהוּ			<i>Hiph.</i> הִכְבוֹם
יִרְאָהוּ } יִלְוָהוּ }	יִרְאָהּ } יִרְאָהּ }	<i>Pi.</i> יִצְוָנוּ	יִחַצֵּם } יַעֲשִׂם }
<i>Hiph.</i> תִּשְׁלָהוּ	תַּעֲשֶׂהּ	<i>Hiph.</i> תִּתְעַנֵּנוּ	תִּזְרֵם
תַּעֲשֶׂנוּ			<i>Pi.</i> תִּכְבְּסִים
אֶרְאָהוּ	אֶעֱשֶׂנָּהּ		אֶפְדֵּם
אֶעֱרָהוּ	יַעֲשֶׂהָ	<i>Pi.</i> יַעֲרֹנוּ	
<i>Pi.</i> יִפְרָהוּ			
נִשְׁכָּנוּ	נַעֲשֶׂנָּהּ		תִּצְצִים



I

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The numbers refer to the sections, except where otherwise indicated.

N. = note.

A-sounds, 8 *a*, 9 *a* ff.

Abbreviations, 5 *m*.

Absolute cases, 143 *c* N.

Abstract, for concrete, 83 *c*: abstr. ideas expressed by the feminine, 122 *g*, *r*: by fem. in $\Pi\lambda$ -, 86 *k*: by the plural, 124 *a*, *d-f*: with the article, 126 *n*.

Accents, 3 *b*: names and laws of, 15: of the poetical books, 15 *h*, *i*.

Accentuation, 3 *b*: double accentuation in certain passages, 15 *p*.

Accusative expressed by $\Pi\lambda$ -, 117: as direct object of verb, 117: syntax of pronominal object and second accus., 117 *e*: introduced by λ (esp. late), 117 *n*: cognate accus., 117 *p-r*: pronominal suffix with dative force, 117 *x*: with verbs of putting on and off, 117 *y*, being filled, 117 *z*, dwelling (rare) 117 *bb*: double accus. (to clothe, present, support, meet, &c. with), 117 *cc-gg*: accus. of material (to make of), 117 *hh*: of product (make into), 117 *ii*: of the part affected, 117 *ll*: of place, 118 *d-g*: of nearer definition, 118 *h*: of time, 118 *i-k*: of cause, 118 *l*: defining the manner of an action, 118 *m-r*, 120 *b*: construed with passive verb, 121 *a*, *b*.

Accusative and infinitive construction, 157 *b* N.

Acrophony, 5 *e*.

Acrostic poems, 5 *h*.

Adjectival idea expressed by a substantive in the genitive, 128 *o*, *p*, 135 *n*; by a substantive as predicate, 141 *c*, *d*: adjective used as a substantive in the genitive, 128 *w*, 133 *h*, cf. with ordinal numerals, 134 *p*, end: used poetically for a substantive, 132 *a* N²: rarely

stands before the subst., 132 *b*. See also Attributive ideas.

Adjectives, construction of, with substantives, 132: with the article, 126 *u*, *v*: with art. when subst. is without it, 126 *w*, *x* and N: without the article when subst. definite, 126 *z*: syntax of, as predicate in a noun-clause, 145 *r*.

Adverbs, 100: with suffixes, 100 *o*, *p*: adverbial ideas expressed by the infin. abs., 113 *h-k*: by infin. constr., 114 *n* and N: by finite verb, 120 *d-h*.

Adversative clauses, 163.

Affirmatives of the perfect, 40 *c*, 44: of the imperfect, 40 *c*, 47: of the noun, 85 *s-v*, 86 *h-l*.

Agreement of members of a sentence in gender and number, 145.

Aleph four times with Mappiq, 14 *d*: affixed to 3rd plur. perf. (rare), 23 *i*, 44 *l*: verbs N² D, 68.

Aleph prostheticum, 19 *m* and N.

Alphabet, old Hebrew, 5 *a*: origin of, 5 *g*.

Alphabetic poems, 5 *h*.

Amarna letters, 2 *b* N², 2 *f* and N⁴.

Anacoluthon, 167 *b*.

Answers, affirmative, 150 *n*: negative, 150 *n*.

Any one, 139 *d*.

Aphaeresis, 19 *h*, *i*, 66 *a-c*, 69 *b*, *c*, *f-h*.

Apocope, 19 *l*: in verbs $\Pi\lambda$ -, 75 *k*.

Aposiopesis, 117 *l*, 167 *a*.

Appellatives, 125 *c-g*.

Apposition, 127 *h*, 130 *c*: in the wider sense, 131: to express attribute, material, contents, measure, &c., 131 *c-e*.

Arabic language and Arabisms, 1 *b*, *m*, 22 *s*, 24 *g* N, 35 *l* and N², 44 *a*, 47 *a* N, 48 *b*, 58 *l*.

Aramaic language and Aramaisms,

1 *c*, *m*, 2 *g*, *l*, 24 *e*, 44 *c*, 47 *a* *n*, *c* *n* :
 Pi'el, 52 *a* : Nūn epentheticum,
 53 *i-l* : Aram. forms of verbs, 57 *y*,
 67 *g* : of verbs 57 *y*, 72 *es* : of verbs
 77 *l*, 75 *h* : Aram. termination of
 the feminine, 80 *h* : of the plural,
 87 *e*.
 Araç al-Emir, inscription of, 5 *a*.
 Archaisms, 2 *k* : supposed, in the
 Pentateuch, 2 *n*.
 Article, 35 : syntax of, 126 : with
 demonstrative force, 126 *a*, *b* :
 before names of classes, 126 *l-n* :
 in comparisons, 126 *o*, *c* *p* : with
 the attributive, 126 *u-x* : used as a
 relative, 138 *i*, *k* : punctuation of,
 35 *a-k*, *o* : rarely retained after pre-
 positions, 35 *n* : original form of,
 35 *l* : *el* elided after it, 35 *d* : omitted
 with *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* after a subst.
 with pronom. suff., 126 *y* : found
 anomalously with a noun in constr.
 st., 127 *f-i*.
 Ashdod, language of, 2 *w*.
 Asher, ben, 7 *h* *n*².
 Aspirates, 6 *n*.
 Asseverations, 149.
 Assimilation, 19 *b-f*, 54 *c*, 66 *d-g* : of
 י and י : 71 : 'backward-assimila-
 tion,' 19 *f* *n*.
 Assuan papyri, 1 *m*.
 Assyrian language, 1 *d*.
 Asyndeton, cases of, 120 *g*, *h*, 154 *a*
n (*a*).
 Athē merahiq, 20 *f*, *g*.
 Athnāh, chief divider of verse in
 prose, 15 *f* : secondary divider in
 poetry, 15 *h*.
 Attraction, cases of, 145 *u* *n*³, 146 *a*.
 Attribute, *see* Adjective.
 Attributive ideas expressed by *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*,
וְהָאֵלֹהִים, followed by a genitive,
 128 *s-v* : by the genitive, 128 *o*, *p*,
 135 *m* : by a substantive in appo-
 sition, 131 *c-e* : by a subst. as pre-
 dicate, 141 *c*, *d* : negative expressed
 by a noun-clause, 152 *u*, *v*. *See also*
 Adjectival idea.
 Babylonian language, 1 *a*, *d*, *e*, *i*.
 Babylonian punctuation, 42 *n*³.
 B^ogadh^ophath letters, 3 *d*, 6 *n*, 12 *a*,
 13 *c* : aspiration of, 21.
 Ben Asher's recension of the text,
 7 *h* *n*².
 Ben Naphthali's recension of the
 text, 7 *h* *n*².
 Beth essentialae, 119 *i* : pretii, 119 *p*.
 Bodily and mental defects denoted

by adjectives of the form *קָדָשׁ*,
 84^b *d*.
 Boustrophedon, 1 *k* *n*², 5 *d* *n*².

Canaanite branch of the Semitic
 languages, 1 *b* (ii).
 Canaanite glosses in the cuneiform
 tablets of Tell el-Amarna, 2 *f* *n*¹.
 Cardinal numbers, 97.
 Case-endings, remains of early, 90 :
n as locative, 90 *c*, of time,
 90 *h*, in place-names and as a poeti-
 cal form without meaning, 90 *f*, *g*
 with *n* : punctuation and tone, 90 *i* :
וְהָאֵלֹהִים, 90 *k-m*, *o* : *i*- and *l*-, 90 *k*, *n*, *o*.
 Cases, absolute, 143 *c* *n* : instrumental,
 144 *m* *n*.
 Casus pendens, various uses of, 111 *h*,
 112 *n*, *t*, *mm*, *oo*, 116 *u*, 143, 159 *i*.
 Causal clauses, 106 *f*, 112 *nn* : syntax
 of, 158.
 Chaldee, incorrect use of the term,
 1 *c* *n*.
 Changes of consonants, 19.
 Chiasmus in the arrangement of
 words in parallel members of a
 verse, 114 *r* *n*, 142 *f* *n*.
 Circumstantial clauses, 156 : express-
 ing negative qualities, 152 *u* : noun-
 clauses, 156 *c* : verbal, 156 *d*.
 Citation, formulae of, 150 *e*.
 Cognate accusative, 117 *p-r*.
 Cohortative, 48 *b* : form of, 48 *c*, *d* :
 meaning, 48 *e* : syntax of, 108 :
 very rare in verbs 77 *l*, 75 *l*.
 Coins, Hebrew, 2 *d* (4).
 Collective nouns, 123 *a*, *b* : in fem.
 sing., 122 *s* : names of classes used
 collectively, 126 *l-p* : with the plu-
 ral of the adj. or ptep., 132 *g* :
 with the predicate in the plur.
 masc., 145 *b-e*, in 3rd pl. fem., 145 *c*
 (*וְהָאֵלֹהִים*), in masc. sing., 145 *f*, in sing.
 followed by plur., 145 *g*, in fem.
 sing., 145 *k* (cf. 135 *p*).
 Common gender, 122 *b*, *d*.
 Comparatio decurtata, 118 *r* *n*, 133 *c* *n*.
 Comparative, expression of, 133 *a-f*.
 Comparative clauses, 161.
 Comparison, use of article in, 126 *o*, *p*.
 Compensatory lengthening, 25 *a*, 27 *e*,
e-h.
 Composition of words, 30 *p*, (b), *r*,
 81 *d*, 152 *a* *n* : of particles, 99 *e*.
 Compound ideas, how thrown into
 the plural, 124 *p-r* : with the article,
 127 *e* : with suffixes, 135 *n*.
 Compounds formed by *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* with a sub-
 stantive or adjective, 152 *a* *n*.

- Concessive clauses, 160.
 Concord of subject and object in gender and number, 145 *a-l*: cases of false concord, 145 *u*.
 Conditional sentences, perfect in, 106 *p*: imperf. in, 107 *x*: cohortative in, 108 *e, f*: jussive in, 109 *h*: imperat. in, 110 *f*: ptep. in, 159 *v*: ptep. without *DN*, 116 *w*, 159 *i*: perf. consec. in apodosis, 112 *ß-mm*: different types of, 159: without conditional particle, 112 *kk, ll*, 159 *b-k*.
 Conjugations, or verba derivata, 38 *b*, 39 *c, d*: number and arrangement of, 39 *e-f*: Niph'al, 51: Pi'el and Pu'al, 52: Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53: Hithpa'el, 54: the less common conjugations, 39 *g*, 55: conjugation of aim or attack (Po'el), 55 *c*.
 Conjunctions, 104.
 Conjunctive accents, 15 *g, i*.
 Consecutio temporum, perf. and imperf. with wāw consec., 49: perf. with wāw consec., 112.
 Consecutive clauses, 107 *u*: syntax of, 166.
 Consonants, 5: changes of, 19: pronunciation and division of, 6: transcription of their names, 5 *fN*: weak consonants, 7 *a-g*: softening of, 19 *o*.
 Constructio ad sensum, 132 *g*, 145 *a-l*: asyndetos, 120 *g, h*, 154 *a N (a)*: praegnans, 119 *x, y, ß, gg*.
 Continuous action expressed by infin. abs., 113 *s-u*.
 Continuous progress expressed by duplication of a word, 133 *h*.
 Contraction of vowels, 7 *a*.
 Co-ordination of verbal ideas instead of subordination, 120.
 Copula, *see* Wāw copulativum: verbal, how expressed, 141 *f-h*.
 Cuneiform inscriptions, 1 *d, m N*¹, 5 *g (b), 6 b*.
 Dageš forte, 12: in place of a letter assimilated, 19 *b-f*: orthophonicum, 20 *g*, 13 *c*: necessarium, compensativum, caracteristicum, 20 *a*: euphonicum, 20 *c*: conjunctivum, 20 *c-f*: dirimens, 20 *h*: affectuosum, 20 *i*: firmativum, 20 *k*: implicitum, 20 *m*, 22 *c*: omission of, 20 *l, m*: in gutturals, 22 *b, s*: occasionally in *l*, 22 *g (a)*, *s*: four times in *N* (acc. to others Mappiq), 14 *d*: omitted sometimes in 2nd radical of verbs *ו"ו*, 67 *g, dd*. *See also* Strengthening.
 Dageš lene, 13, 21: after יהוה (i.e. יהוה), 21 *c*: omitted anomalously after consonantal *י* and *י*, 21 *c*: exceptional cases of (בב, בב, בפ, במ), 21 *d*.
 Dative, 119 *s*.
 Dativus ethicus, 119 *s*, 135 *i*: dative expressed by a suffix, 117 *x*.
 Decalogue, double accentuation of, 15 *p*.
 Dehiq, 20 *c*.
 Denominative nouns, *see* Nouns: verbs, *see* Verb.
 Desiderative sentences, 151.
 Determination of nouns, 125: omission of it, 117 *g*, 126 *p*: determination of proper names, 125 *c-f*: determination by the article, 126: by a following determinate genitive, 127: determination of numerals, 134 *k*.
 Diacritical points, *see* Puncta extraordinaria.
 Dialects in the O. T., 2 *w*.
 Diminutives, 86 *g* and *n*.
 Diphthongs, 7 *a*, 8 *m*, 24 *f*.
 Disjunctive accents, 15 *f, h*.
 Disjunctive questions, 150 *f-i*.
 Dissimilation of vowels, 27 *x*.
 Distributive numerals, 134 *g*.
 Doubling of consonants, *see* Strengthening.
 Dual, 88: with the plural of the adjective, 132 *f*: with predicate in the plur., 145 *n*: in numerals, 97 *g, h*, 134 *r*: place-names doubtfully so explained, 88 *c*.
 E-sounds, 7 *a, b, e, 8 b, 9 i-m*.
 Each, every, how expressed, 139 *b, c*.
 East Semitic, 1 *d*.
 Elatives, 85 *b*, 133 *a N*.
 Elegy, rhythm of, in Hebrew, 2 *r*.
 Elision, *see* Syncope and elision.
 Ellipse of the pronominal object, 117 *f*: other cases of ellipse (real or apparent), 116 *s*, 118 *s N* (in comparisons), 134 *n* (of names of measures, weights, &c.), 144 *o* (due to corruption).
 'Emblematic Mashal,' 161 *a N*.
 Emphasis expressed by infin. abs., 114 *l-r, v-x*: by cognate accus., 113 *u* (end): by cognate accus. with defining adjective, 117 *q*: by duplication of a word, 123 *e, 133 k, l*: by combination of different derivatives from the same root, 133 *l*: by

- the article or a genitive (the superlative degree), 133 *g-i*: by a personal pronoun added to the subject, 135 *a, c*: by the pronoun annexed in the nominative to the suffix or to a noun, 135 *d-h*: by *PN* with the suffix, 135 *k*: by position, 142 *f, g*, 152 *e* (after *N*), 152 *w* (after *D*).
- Emphasis on indeterminate nouns, 117 *g*, 125 *c*.
- Enallage of gender, 135 *o*, 144 *a*.
- Epicene nouns, 122 *b, e-g*.
- Epithets, poetical, used as substantives, 132 *a n*.
- Era, Jewish, 5 *L*.
- Ethical dative, 119 *s*, 135 *i*.
- Ethiopic, 1 *b* (i), 30 *p n*.
- Exceptive clauses, 163 *c*.
- Exclamations, 146 *b* (קִלְקִל = *hark*): with קִלְקִל, 147 *b*: without קִלְקִל, 147 *c*: with other interjections, 147 *d*: expressing a wish, 148 *a-d*: in form of a question expressing irony or indignation, 148 *a, b*: expressed by יֵי, 148 *d*, 151.
- Extension of influence of a preposition over a parallel clause, 119 *h k*: of a negative, 152 *s*: of an interrogative, 150 *m*: of a conjunction, 150 *m n*.
- Extension, plurals of, 124 *a-g*.
- Feminine, forms of, 80, 94: ending in *PN*, 80 *f*, *PN*, 80 *g*, *PN*, 80 *l*: in the constr. state, 89 *e*: in the plural, 87 *i-l*: paradigms, 95: of a land or people, 122 *h, i*: of abstract ideas, 122 *g*: of holders of offices¹, 122 *r*: of collectives, 122 *s*: in verb or pronoun to express *it*, 135 *p*: in impersonal verbs (*it* rains), 144 *b, c*: in the predicate of collective plurals, 145 *k* (cf. fem. of pronoun referring to collectives, 135 *p*): dislike of the fem. form, 132 *d*, 145 *p, t*: fem. forms of the infinitive, 45 *d*, 66 *b, g, h*, 69 *b* (O), *c*: fem. nouns with plur. in *PN*, 87 *g*: fem. denoting artificial (as opposed to natural) objects, 122 *u*, in plur. (as opp. to dual), 87 *o*.
- Feminine pronoun = English *it*, 135 *p*, 144 *b, c*.
- Figura etymologica, see Schema etymologicum.
- Final clauses, 107 *q* (imperf.), 109 *f, g* (jussive): syntax of, 165.
- Final letters, 5 *c*.
- Formae mixtae, 78 *d*.
- Formative letters, or serviles, 30 *c*: in formation of nouns, 81 *b*, 85.
- Frequentative force of imperf., 107 *b-g*: of perf. with *waw* consec., 112 *e-o*, cf. *kk, ll*.
- Fulcrum, 8 *h n*.
- Future tense, 47 *a n*: futurum exactum, 106 *o*, 107 *l*: futurum intrans, 116 *p*.
- Ga'ya, 16 *c, g, h*.
- Ge'ez, 1 *b* (i).
- Gemara, 1 *c*, 3 *a*.
- Gender of nouns, 122: in the construction of subject and predicate, 145: irregularities in use of, 110 *k*, 135 *o*, 144 *a*, 145 *p, t, u*.
- Genitive, expression of, 89, 127 *a*, 128: epexegetical or explicative, 128 *k-g, x, y*: subjective, 128 *g*, 135 *m*: objective, 128 *h*, 135 *m*: partitive, 128 *i, r*: expressing the genus, *l*, the species, *m*: expressed periphrastically by יֵי, 129 *a-f*: by יֵי, 129 *a, h*.
- Gentile names, in *PN*, 86 *h*: determination of, 125 *e*: of compounds (as יֵי יֵי יֵי), 127 *d*.
- Geographical names with a following genitive, 125 *h*: with the article (appellatives), 125 *e*.
- Germanic languages, 1 *e*.
- Gerund, 45 *f, g*.
- Grammarians, early, p. 20 *n*¹.
- Gutturals, pronunciation of, 6 *c-f, o, r*: peculiarities of, 22: in verbal stems, 62-65.
- Hadad inscription, 1 *m*.
- Hateph-Pathah, 10 *f, g*: shorter than Hateph-Seghol, 27 *r*, 63 *f*.
- Hateph-Qames, 10 *f, h*.
- Hateph-Seghol, 10 *f*.
- He interrogative, pointing of, 100 *k-n*.
- He locale, 90 *c-i*.
- Hebrew language, 1 *a, b* (ii): history of, 2: remains of the literature, 2 *d, l, o*: dialects of, 2 *w*: grammatical treatment of, 3: system of writing, 2 *i, 5*.
- Hebrews, 2 *b*.
- Helping vowels, 9 *h, m*, 28 *e* (to keep a syllable open), 84^a *u*, 93 *c* (in segholates).

¹ Cf. Driver, *Introd.*^s, p. 466: Segal, *Mishn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

Himyaritic, 1 *b* (i): writing, 1 *k N*².
 Hiph'il, 53: 'internal,' 53 *d*: infinitive-pointed -ן, 53 *l*: the ה in infin. elided after preposition, 53 *g*: imperf. with — for — (as הַיְיָרְכֵנוּ), 53 *n*: with ה retained in imperf. after preformatives, 53 *g*: denominatives in Hiph., 53 *g*.
 Hîreq, different kinds of, 8 *b*, 9 *g*, *h*: compaginis, 90 *k-n*.
 Hithpa'el, 54: sometimes construed with an accusative, 54 *f*, 117 *w*.
 Hithpa'el, 55 *d*, 72 *m*, 75 *kk*.
 Hithpalpel, 55 *g*, 67 *l*.
 Hithpo'el, 55 *b*, 67 *l*.
 Holem, 8 *c-g*: written defectively, 8 *i-l*: its origin, 9 *p-s*: changed to games in pause, 29 *w*.
 Homogeneous consonants, 6 *q*: vowels, 24 *b, f*.
 Homorganic consonants, 6 *q*.
 Hoph'al, 53 *b, h, s, t*: ה retained once in ptep., 53 *s*.
 Hothpa'al, 54 *b, h, l*.
 Hypothetical sentences, *see* Conditional sentences.

I-sounds, 8 *b*, 9 *g, h*: from *a* 27 *s, t*: in impf., 47 *b*: in Niph., 51 *a*: in Pi., 52 *a*: in Hiph., 53 *a*: in nouns with preformative ה, 85 *f*: lengthened to *z*, 93 *c*.
 Imperative, forms in Qal, 46: shortened and lengthened forms of, 48 *i-l*, 75 *k*: with suffixes, 61 *f-h*: syntax of, 110: infinitive absolute used with force of imperative, 113 *bb*.
 Imperfect, the name, 47 *a N*: formation and inflexion of, 47: unusual forms of, 47 *k*: form הַקְטִילְנוּ as 3rd fem. sing. or 2nd masc. sing., 47 *k*: 3rd pl. masc. in הַיְיָ, 47 *m*: jussive and cohortative forms of, 48: with wāw consecutive, 49 *c-g*, 111: with suffixes, 60: its syntax (alone), 107: expressing custom or habit, 107 *e, g*: with wāw consec., 111: subordinated to another verb, 120 *c*.
 Imperfect Hiph'il with — for — (as הַיְיָרְכֵנוּ), 53 *n*: with ה retained after preformatives, 53 *g*.
 Impersonal construction of הַיְיָ, &c., 144 *b*: impersonal passive, 121 *a*.
 Imprecation, formulae of, 149 *d*.
 Incomplete retrocession of the tone, 29 *f*.
 Indefinite subject of verb, expressed

by 3rd masc. sing., 144 *d, e*, by 3rd plur., 144 *f, g*, by 2nd sing. masc. (rare), 144 *h*, by ptep. plur., 144 *i*, by passive, *k*.
 Indeterminateness expressing amplification, 125 *c*.
 Indogermanic languages compared, 1 *e, g, h, i* (loan-words in), 10 *e N*¹, 20 *l N*, 22 *c N*, 27 *t N*, 31 *a*, 33 *a*, 51 *c-e*, 52 *f N*, 53 *g N*, 55 *f N*, 99 *b* and *n*, 132 *a N*, 133 *b N*¹, 135 *i N*, *q N*, 145 *k N*¹, 155 *b N*.
 Infinitive, 45: with suffixes, 61 *a-e*: use of the infinitive absolute, 113: as a casus adverbialis, 113 *k-k*: to strengthen the idea of the verb, 113 *l-r*: in place of the finite verb, 113 *y-gg*: infinitive construct, unusual forms in Qal, 45 *c-e*, in Pi'el, 52 *p* (cf. 84^b *o*), in Hiph'il, 53 *l*, 86 *k*, in Hithpa'el, 54 *k*: of הַיְיָ, 66 *i*: in verbs הַיְיָ, 67 *o*: in הַיְיָ, 69 *m* with *n*: in הַיְיָ (Hiph.), 72 *c*, cf. 85 *c*: הַיְיָ 74 *h*, 75 *gg*: הַיְיָ, 75 *n* (cf. 69 *m N*), *f, kk*: syntax of the infin. constr., 114: with ה to express a future, 114 *h-k*, obligation, 114 *l*, as object of another verb, 114 *m*, gerundial, 114 *o*: after הַיְיָ, 114 *p*: infinitive construct continued by a finite verb, 114 *r*: how negated, 114 *s*: construction with subject and object, 115: infinitive Hiph'il pointed -ן, 53 *l*, with ה elided after preposition, 53 *g*: Niph'al with ה elided, 51 *z*.
 Instrument, introduced by הַיְיָ, 119 *o*: accusative as a supposed casus instrumentalis, 114 *m N*.
 Interjections, 30 *s*, 105: syntax of, 148.
 Interpunctuation, the accents as marks of, 15 *d*, *m-o*.
 Interrogative sentences, 107 *t*, 150: disjunctive, 150 *c, g*: indirect, 150 *i*: expressing a wish, 151 *a, b*: expressed without an interrog. particle, 150 *a, b*.
 Interrogative words and particles, 150 *c, d*.
 Involved series of sentences, 167 *c*.

Jews, Jewish, 2 *a*.
 Jussive, forms of, 48 *a-c, f-h*: syntax of, 109: used absolutely, 109 *b, c*: depending on another verb, 109 *f, g, i*: in conditional sentences, 109 *h*, 159 *d*: jussive forms in poetry without jussive force, 109 *k*.

Kaph veritatis, 118 *x*.
K^{thibh}, 17 *a-c*.

Lamed auctoris, 129 *c*.

Lamentation metre, 2 *r*.

Letters, forms and names of, 5 *a, b*,
e, f: final, 5 *c*: order of, 5 *h, i*:
numerical value, 5 *k*.

Litterae dilatabiles, 5 *d*: maiusculae,
minusculae, suspensae, 5 *n*: spi-
rantes, 6 *n*: quiescibiles, 8 *h n*, 23:
incompatibiles, 30 *m n*: serviles,
30 *g*, 81 *b*: compaginis, 90 *k-a*.

Loan-words in Hebrew and Greek, 1 *i*.

Locative, 90 *a, c-i*.

Mandaeans, 1 *c*.

Mappiq, 8 *m n*¹, 14 *a-d*: omitted in
3rd fem. sing. suffix of verb, 58 *g*:
of noun, 91 *a*: in מִן, 103 *g* (end):
found four times in *N*, 14 *d*.

Maqqēph, 9 *c, d*, 16 *a, b*.

Masculine as prior gender, 122 *g*,
146 *d*: masc. nouns with plur.
in מִן-, 87 *m-p*.

Masora and Masoretic text, 3 *b, c*:
masora marginalis (magna and
parva) and finalis, 17 *d, e*.

Masoretic terms explained, 17 *e*.

Material expressed by the genitive,
128 *o*, 135 *n*.

Matres lectionis, 8 *h n*.

Mesa' inscription, 1 *b* (ii), *k*, 2 *d*, final
vowels in, 7 *b-d n*¹: מִן=אִנְךָ,
p. 105 *n*: מִן=אִנְךָ, 32 *k n*: wāw
consecutive, 49 *a n*: the forms
הִלַּחֲתִים, &c., 54 *l*: לִסְפֹּת, 69 *h n*:
לִנְחֵם, 75 *b n*: fem. sing. abs. in מִן-,
80 *f n*: plur. masc. in מִן-, 87 *e n*:
suffixes, 91 *k n*: the imperfect,
107 *b n*¹: impf. consec. 111 *k n*:
article omitted with מִן though
the noun has it, 126 *y*: use of the
separate pronoun, 135 *a n*: casus
pendens, 143 *b n*.

Metathesis, *see* Transposition.

Metheg, distinguishing *a* from *o*, 9 *u*,
v: marks secondary tone, 15 *c*, 29 *b*,
20 *f*: various kinds of, 16 *c-i*: with
short vowel in open syllable, 26 *i-l*
(but cf. *o n*): with sere in closed
ultima, 29 *f*: in perf. consec. 49 *i*.

Metre in Hebrew, 2 *r*.

Mil'el and Milra', 15 *c*, 20 *f*.

Mishna, 3 *a*.

Mixed forms, 78 *d*.

Moods, expression of, 40 *a*, 106 *p*,
107 *m-x*: modus rei repetitae (im-
perf. as frequentative), 107 *e*.

Multiplicatives (*once, twice, &c.*), how
expressed, 134 *r*.

Nabataean inscriptions, 1 *c*.

Naphthali, ben, 7 *h n*.

Names of countries, peoples, and
towns, fem., 122 *i*: of places and
peoples with the article, 125 *d n*, *e*:
with a following genitive, 125 *h*.

Nasog ahor, 29 *e*.

Negative sentences, 152.

Negatives, 152: two negatives in-
tensify negation, 152 *y*: influence
extending over a following clause,
152 *z*.

Neuter, wanting in Hebrew, 80 *a*:
expressed by feminine, 122 *g* with *n*,
135 *p*: by plur. of adjectives, 122 *g*:
by suffix of 3rd plur., 135 *p*: in
pronoun, 136 *b*, in verb, 144 *b, c*.

Niph'al, 51: tolerativum, 51 *c*: re-
flexive and reciprocal senses of,
51 *c-e*: infin. with מִן elided after
a preposition, 51 *l*.

Nithqat'el, 55 *k* (9).

Nomen regens and reatum, 89 *a*.

Nomen unitatis, 122 *t*.

Nominativus pendens resumed by
a pronoun, 143.

North Semitic, 1 *c*.

Nota accusativi, 57: when used,
117 *a-e*.

Nothing, no one, how expressed, 139 *d*.

Noun-clauses, ptep. in, 116 *m-r*: de-
fined, 140 *a*: syntax of, 141: short-
ened unusually (rare), 147 *e*: nega-
tived by מִן and מִן, 152 *a, d, i-m*:
relative, 155 *e*.

Noun-forms with verbal force (*no-
mina verbi*), 45 *e* (with prefixed
מִן), 115 *d*.

Nouns, derivation and various kinds
of, 81: primitive, 30 *f*, 79 *a*, 82:
on nouns in general, 83: forms de-
rived from the simple stem, 84^a,
from intensive stems, 84^b: nouns
formed with preformatives (מִן, מִן,
מִן, &c.), 85 *b-r*, with affirmatives,
85 *s-v*: quadriliterals and quinque-
literals, 85 *w*: denominatives, 86:
with pronominal suffixes, 91: para-
digms of, 93: forms with peculiar
flexion (מִן, מִן, &c.), 96: distinc-
tions of gender in, 122: collectives,
123 *a, b*: with the article, 126: ap-
pellatives, 125 *e-g*: nomina unitatis,
122 *s, t*, 123 *b*: abstracts, *see* Ab-
stract. *See also* Names.

Number in the construction of subject
and predicate, 145.

Number of words in the O. T., 3 *w n*.
 Numeral adverbs, 124 *r*.
 Numerals, 97: syntax of, 134: order of compound numerals in different books, 134 *c n, h, i*.
 Numeration, ascending (rhetorical figure), cases of, 134 *s*.
 Numerical signs, 5 *k*.
 Nûn paragogicum, in imperf., 47 *m*: in perf. (?), 44 *l*: assimilation of Nûn, 19 *b, c*, 66 *d*: Nûn energicum (demonstrativum, epentheticum), 58 *i-l*: inversum, 5 *n*.

O-sounds, 8 *c, d*, 9 *p-s*.

Oaths, formulae of, 149.

Object, in the accusative, 117: introduced by ל , 143 *e*: introduced by ב instrumenti, 119 *q*: absolute or internal (cognate accusative), 117 *p, q*: dative expressed by accus. suffixes, 117 *x*.

Object of verb anticipated by pronom. suffix, as in Aram., 131 *m, o*.

Object-clauses, 157.

Occupations denoted by nouns of the form מְעַלְּל , 84^b *b*.

Old Hebrew, 1 *k, 2 a*.

Old w'yôredh, principal divider of verse in poetry, 15 *b*.

One, indefinite, how expressed, 144 *d-k*.

Onomatopoeica, 1 *h*, 30 *h*.

Optative, 109 *b, c*.

Oratio obliqua, how expressed, 157.

Order of the alphabet, 5 *h, i*.

Order of words, 114 *r n* (chiasmus): in noun-clauses, 141 *l-n*: varieties of, in verbal clauses, 142 *a, f, g*: with the infinitive constr., 115 *e-k*.

Oriental numbers, 98, 134 *o, p*.

Oriental and Occidental texts, 7 *h n*.

Orthography of Hebrew in the masoretic text and previously, 7.

Pa'lel, 55 *d*: in three מְעַלְּל verbs, 75 *kk*.

Panammu inscription, 1 *m*.

Papyri of Assuan, 1 *m*.

Parallel texts, 3 *g*.

Parallelism of members, 2 *q*, 150 *h*.

Participle, forms of, in Qal, 50: Niph'al, 51 *a*: Pi'el and Pu'al, 52 *a-c*: with aphaeresis of ב , 52 *s*: Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 *a, b*: anomalous forms in Hiph., 53 *o*: with suffix, 61 *h*: fem. in מְעַלְּל , 84^a *s*, 94 *d*: plur. in מְעַלְּלִים , 93 *qq*: force of, 107 *d*: syntax of, 116: construed as verb or noun, 116 *f-i*: passive ptep. construed with accus.

or genitive, 116 *k, l*: of imminent future, 116 *p*: subject with מְעַלְּל (of continuous action), 116 *r*: subject omitted, 116 *s, i*: participle absolute, 116 *w*: continued by finite verb, 116 *x*.

Particles, 99.

Partitive sense of ב , 119 *m*: of ל , 119 *w n*.

Paseq, p. 59 *n*².

Passive, 39 *e*, 51 *f* (Niph'al): probable passives of Qal, 52 *e*, 53 *w*: construction of passives, 121: expressed by the 3rd plur. active, 144 *f, g*, by the active participle, 144 *i*: impersonal passive, 121 *a*: passive verbs construed with מְעַלְּל , 121 *a, b*: agent after passive expressed by ל , ב , and (rarely) ב , 121 *f*.

Pathah, 8 *a*, 9 *e*: preferred with gutturals, 22 *d*: furtive, 8 *f*, 22 *f, g*, 65 *a-e*: as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *c*, *e n*², 65 *g*, 84^a *a*: in the imperfect of verbs מְעַלְּל , 75 *bb*: in pause for Sere, 29 *g*, 51 *m*: before a guttural (esp. פ) with Qames changed to S'ghöl, 27 *g*, 29 *c*: in perf. Pi'el for Sere, 52 *a, l*.

Patronymics, 86 *h*.

Pause, 29 *i-v*: pausal forms with lesser distinctive accents, 29 *i*.

Pe'al'al, 55 *e*.

Pentateuch, linguistic character of, 2 *m, n*.

Perfect, 40: flexion of, 44: 3rd fem. sing. in מְעַלְּל , 44 *f*, 72 *o*: 2nd fem. sing. in מְעַלְּל , 44 *h*: 1st sing. in מְעַלְּל , 44 *i*: 3rd plur. in מְעַלְּלִים (?), 44 *l*: did Hebrew possess a 3rd pl. fem. in מְעַלְּל ? 44 *m*: contraction of last radical with affirmative of perfect, 44 *o*: meaning of, 47 *a n*: with suffixes, 59: syntax of, 106: not precative, 106 *n n*²: perfectum confidentiae, 106 *n*: propheticum, 106 *n*: with ל consec., 49 *a*, change of tone, *h-l*, syntax, 112: with ל consec. as a frequentative, 112 *e-o, dd, ee*: carrying on the protasis, 112 *p*, introducing the apodosis, 112 *f-ti*: with simple ל of a single act, in narrative, 112 *pp-u*.

Periphrastic expression of qualities

by means of מְעַלְּל , בְּעַלְּל , 128 *s-v*.

Periphrastic future, 114 *p n*.

Permutation, 131 *k*.

Punctuation, Babylonian, 8 *g n*.
Punic, *see* Phoenician.

Qal, form and meaning of, 43 : probable passives of, 52 *e*, 53 *u*.

Qames, 8 *a*, 9 *a-d* : its pronunciation, 8 *d* : Qames impurum, 25 *c*.

Qames-hatûph, 8 *c*, 9 *s* : how distinguished from Qames, 9 *u*, *v*.

Qere, 17 *a*, *b* : perpetuum, 17 *c*.

Qibbus, 8 *c*, 9 *n*, *o*.

Qina-metre, 2 *r*.

Quadriliterals, 30 *p*, *q* : nouns, 85 *w* : verbs, 56.

Quantity of vowels, p. 40 (Preliminary remark).

Questions indicated by tone, 150 *a*, *b* : disjunctive, 150 *g* : double, 150 *h* : indirect, 150 *i* : expressing rhetorically a denial, 148 *c*, 150 *d*, 151 *a*, *b*.

Quiescent letters, *see* Letters.

Quinqueliterals, 30 *p*, *r*, 85 *v*.

Radical letters, 30 *c-e*.

Raphe, 6 *n*, 14 *e*.

Reciprocity expressed by . . . אִישׁ אֶת
(רַעְיוֹן) by Niph'al, 51 *d* : by Hithpa'el, 54 *f*.

Reduplication of letters, in verbs, 55 *d-g*, in nouns, 84 *b k-p*.

Reflexive use of ל (ethical dative), 119 *s* : of Niph'al, 51 *c* : of Hithp., 54 *e* : of pronouns, 57 *n*, 135 *i*, *k*.

Relative sentences, 138 *a-f*, 155 : expressed without אֲשֶׁר, 155 *f-m*, 156 *b* : in genitive after constr. st., 130 *c*, without אֲשֶׁר, 130 *d*, 152 *a n* (end), *u* (2nd part), *v*, 155 *c* : expressed by וְהָ, וְ, וְ, 138 *g* : by article (in late Hebrew), 138 *i* (cases due to false vocalization or accentuation, 138 *k*) : independent rel. clause as subject or object of verb, or genitive of a noun, or governed by a preposition, 155 *n*.

Relative pronoun, 36, 138.

Repetition of words, without ו, to express distribution (= 'every'), 123 *c*, *d* : emphasis, 123 *e* : the superlative, 123 *l* : with ו, to express summation, 123 *c*, to express difference (וְהָ וְהָ), 123 *f*.

Resh occasionally with Dageš, 22 *s*.

Rhythm of Hebrew poetry, 2 *q*, *r*.

Roots, 30 *c*, *d*.

Sabaeen, 1 *b* (i), *k n*.

Samaritan, 1 *c*.

Saph'el, 55 *i*, cf. 30 *p*.

Schema etymologicum, 117 *p-r*.

Scriptio continua, 3 *g n*.

Scriptio plena and defectiva, 8 *i-l*, 25 *b*.

Seal-stones, engraved, 2 *d*.

S'ghol, 8 *b*, 9 *m*, 27 *p-r* : as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *e*, 84^a *a* : rarely after gutturals, 22 *h* : before gutturals (esp. פ) with Qames, for Pathah, 27 *q*, 29 *v* : in pause for Sere in Piel, 52 *n*.

'Segholate' nouns, forms of, 84^a *a-d* : in constr. st. and with suffixes (paradigms), § 93 *c-e*, *g-r*, feminine forms, 95 *d-f* : of the form וְיִלְכֹּד in constr. st., 93 *h* : of the form וְיִלְכֹּד (dageš in 3rd radical) in constr. st. plur., 93 *m* : explanation of forms from verbs וְיִלְכֹּד (as וְיִלְכֹּד), 84^a *c* (e), 93 *x-z*, 95 *d-f* : constr. st. of nouns of the form וְיִלְכֹּד sometimes segholate in form, 93 *h h*.

Self, idea of, how expressed, 135 *a*, *i*, *k*, 139 *f*, with *n*, cf. *g*.

Semitic languages, 1 : their grammatical structure, 1 *f* : their relation to one another, 1 *e*, *m*, *n* : and to other languages, 1 *g-i* : theirage, 1 *m*, *n* : writing, 1 *k*, *l*.

Sentences, 140 : compound, 140 *d*, 143 : incomplete, 147 : restrictive and intensive, 153 : connected by ו, 154 : divided by Paseq, 15 *f n*².

Separating vowels, 67 *d n*, 72 *i*.

Septuagint, 3 *a*, 6 *b*, p. 35 *n*.

Sere, 8 *b*, 9 *i-l* : in pause for S'ghol in verbs וְיִלְכֹּד, 75 *h h n* : changed to pathah in pause, 29 *q* : in Hithpa'el changed to qames in pause, 29 *s*, 55 *k*.

Serviles, *see* Formative letters.

Šwā, simple and compound, 10, 21 *e*, *f*, 22 *l-p*, 24 *b-d*, 63 *f* : mobile, 10 *b*, *c*, *l*, 20 *m*, 21 *e*, *f*, 22 *l*, 27 *e*, *i-m* : simple, under gutturals, 22 *m*, *n*, 63 *a*, *c*, 65 *g* : quiescent (silent, syllable divider), 10 *i*, 22 *m*, 24 *b*.

Sibilants, 6 *h-l* : transposition of, 19 *n*, 54 *b*.

Sillûq with Sôph pasûq, 15 *f*.

Siloam inscription, 2 *d n* : orthography of, 7 *f*.

Simultaneity of actions expressed by noun-clauses, 141 *e*, 164 *q*.

Singular with distributive force, 145 *l*, *m*.

Softening of consonants (rare), 19 *o*.

Some, how expressed, 139 *h* with *n*.

Sonants, 6 *o*, *p*.

South Semitic, 1 *b* (i).

Spirants, 6 *n*, 13, 21.

Square character, 5 *a*.

Status absolutus of the noun, 89 *a*.

Status constructus, its form, 89: vowel-changes marking it in many nouns, 91-6: its use, 128: before an adjective treated as a subst., 128 *w*, 133 *h* (end), 134 *p* (end): wider use of it, 130: before prepositions, 130 *a*: before relative clauses, 130 *c*, *d*: in apposition with another constr. st., 130 *e*, *f*: before numerals, 134 *o*, *p*: anomalously with the article, 127 *f-i*: before הַ, used as a relative, 138 *g* (*a*).

Stem-consonants, or radicals, 30 *c*.

Stems, distinguished from roots, 30 *a*, *d*, *g-h*.

Strengthening (doubling or sharpening) of consonants, 12, 20: in gutturals, 22 *b*: virtual, 22 *c*: to intensify the idea of the stem, 52 *a*, *d*: of 3rd radical in fem. and plur. of nouns of the forms בִּנְיָן, לִבְיָן, 84^a *h*, 93 *s*, *ee*, *kk*, 94 *c*, 95 *g*, *cf*. 93 *pp*: virtual sharpening of נ, 64^e: sharpening sometimes omitted in 2nd radical of verbs פִּיפִי, 67 *g*, *dd*.

Subject, omitted in participial clauses, 116 *s*, *t*: impersonal, 144 *b*, *c*: indefinite, 144 *d-h*: two subjects in a verbal clause, 144 *l*, *m*: construction of compound subjects, 146.

Substantive, its construction with the adjective, 132: as predicate of a noun-clause, 141 *b*: used as predicate where we should use an adjective, 141 *c-d*.

Suffixes, (pronominal) attached to verbs, 58: rare, irregular, or poetic, with verb, 58 *g*, *i*, *k* (*cf*. 59 *e-h*, 60 *d-h*, 61 *b-e*, *g*, *h*): with noun in sing., 91 *e*, *f*: in plur. 91 *l*: the sing. form after הַ-, 91 *n*: with prepositions, 103: 3rd sing. masc. in הַ-, 7 *c*, 58 *g*, 91 *e*: 3rd sing. fem. without Mappiq, 58 *g*, 91 *e*, 103 *g*: omission of הַ- in fem. nouns before suffix, 91 *e* (end): 3rd plur. in הַ, 58 *g*, 91 *f*, *l*, 103 *f* *N*³: omission of ' in plur. nouns before suffix, 91 *k*: original ' of sing. nouns from הַ stems retained before suffix, 93 *ss*: denoting the remoter object, 117 *x*: use of 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd plur. to express 'it', 135 *p*: anticipating the object (as in Aram.), 131 *m*, *o*: apparent verbal

forms attached to nouns used as adverbs, 100 *o*, *p*: anticipating the genitive, 131 *n*: syntax of, 135 *m-r*: heavy (or grave) and light, 59 *e*, 91 *o*, 93 *b*: masculine suffixes referring to feminines, 135 *o*: fem. suff. with collective force, 135 *p*: suffixes which have lost their meaning (הַ, הַ), 135 *g*, *r*: omitted sometimes with infinitive, 115 *e* *N*.

Superlative, expression of, 132 *c*, 133 *g-l*.

Šureq, 8 *c*, 9 *n*.

'Surface'-plurals, 124 *b*, *c*.

Suspended genitive, 130 *e*, *f*.

Syllables, theory of, 26.

Syncope and elision, 19 *k*, 35 *d*: of the article, 35 *n*: of הַ in Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 *a*, *b*, in infin. Niph., 51 *l*, in infin. Hiph., 53 *g*, in infin. Hoph., 67 *y* (end).

Syriac language, 1 *c*.

Syriasms in pronunciation, 24 *e*: *cf*. Aramaisms.

Talmud, 3 *a*.

'Tam'-character, 5 *a* (end).

Targums, 1 *c*, 3 *a*.

Tell-el-Amarna tablets, 2 *f*.

Temporal clauses, 106 *f*, 111 *d*, 112 *oo*, 164: expressed by infin. constr. with a preposition, 164 *g*.

Tenses, 40: their use, 106-9, 111, 112: tempus historicum, 106 *d*.

Text of the O. T. probably derived from a single archetype, 3 *c*.

Textual criticism, 3 *g*: intentional and unintentional changes in the text, 3 *g*.

Tiph'el, 55 *h*.

Titles indicated by the feminine form, 122 *r*.

Tone of Hebrew words, 29: marks of, 15 *b*, *c*, *k*, *l*: thrown forward, 29 *e*: retrocession of, 29 *d-g*: incomplete retrocession, 29 *f*: tone in pause, 29 *i-r*: concurrence of two tone-syllables avoided, 29 *e*, *f*, *h*. Tone in perfect thrown forward after wāw consec., 49 *h-l*: in imperf. often thrown back in jussive and after wāw consec., 48 *f*, 49 *d*, 67 *x*, 68 *d*, *e*, 69 *p*, 71, 72 *t*, *aa*, 73 *e*.

Transitions in poetry from one person to another, 144 *p*, *cf*. 135 *r*.

Translations of the O. T., 3 *a*.

Transposition (metathesis) of consonants, 19 *n*, 54 *b*.

U-sounds, 8 *c*, 9 *n*, *o*.

Verb, 38: its syntax, 106-116: its government, 117-121: weak verbs, 41, 66-76, relation to one another, 77: verbs middle *e* and *o*, 43: derivative, *see* Conjugations: denominative, 38 *c*, *d*, 43 *c* (in Qal), 51 *g* (Niph.), 52 *h* (Pi.), 53 *g* (Hiph.), 54 *i* (Hithp.): transitive and intransitive, 43, 117 *u*, *v*: with suffixes, 57-61: doubly weak, 76: נ"ל and נ"ל confused, 75 *nn-rr*: defective, 78: verba induendi et exuendi, 117 *y*: copiae et inopiae, 117 *z*, *aa*: with prepositions, 119: primitive ' retained exceptionally in verbs נ"ל, 75 *u*, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg* (end), cf. 29 *t*: verbs נ"ל, 65 *n*, 75 *b* (end): verbs נ"ל, 75 *b*, *v*, *kk*, nouns derived from, 84^a *c* (*e*), *f* (end), *g* (end), 93 *z*.
 Verbal clauses, 140 *b*, *c*, 142: relative, 155 *f-n*.
 Verbal ideas subordinated to a verb, 120 *a-c*: co-ordinated with a verb, 120 *d-h*.
 Verbal suffixes with prepositions (rare), 103 *d*.
 Verse arrangement of poetic passages, 2 *r* (end).
 Vocalization of the text, 7 *h*, *i*: Babylonian, 8 *g* *n*, 103 *m* *n*.
 Vocative with and without the article, 126 *f*.
 Vowel-letters, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*.
 Vowel-signs or points, 7 *h*, *i*, 8-10.
 Vowels, 7: influenced by the nature

of the syllable, 26: firm or unchangeable, 25: changes in them as regards quantity, 27: impure, 25 *c* *n*: pretonic, p. 86 *n*¹, § 102 *f-i*, 103 *c*.

Wāw consecutive, § 49 *a*, *b*, before *n* in 1st pers. impf. Pi. with anomalous pathah, 49 *c*, with the perfect, 49 *h-l*, with the imperfect, 49 *c-g*: copulative, punctuation of, 104 *d-g*: wāw apodosis introducing the predicate, 143 *d*: explicative, 154 *a* *n* (*b*): concomitantes, 154 *a* *n* (*b*): adaequationis, 161 *a* *n*. *See also under* Perfect and Imperfect.

Weak consonants, 6 *s*: *n* and *l*, 23: *l* and *l*, 24.

Weak verbs, 41, 66-76: their relation to one another, 77: relation between נ"ל and נ"ל, 75 *nn-rr*.

Weakening (or softening) of consonants, 19 *o*.

Wish, expressed by simple impf., 107 *n*: by cohortative, 108 (with נ"ל, 108 *c*): by jussive, 109 (with נ"ל, 109 *b*), by imperative, 110 *a*: by perf. consec., 112 *aa*: by a noun-clause, 116 *r* *n*, 141 *g*: by נ"ל, 151 *a*: by נ"ל, 151 *b-d*: by נ"ל, 151 *a*.

Writing, Semitic, 1 *h*, *i*: old Hebrew, 2 *d*, *i*, 5 *a*: its origin, 5 *g*.

Zenjirli, inscriptions, 1 *m*, 32 *k* *n*.

II

INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS AND FORMS

The numbers refer to the sections: the 'superior' figures after the letters refer to the notes. Doubtful forms are marked ? Corrupt forms with †.

א as consonant and guttural 6 c, 22; qui- escent 23 a-i; prosthetic 19 m	אָדֶרֶשׁ 51 k אָהַב 68 e אָהָב 64 a אָהָבִי 55 e אָהָה 105 a אָהִיָּה 75 h אָהָל 22 h אָהָלָה 91 e אָהָלִים 23 h, 93 r אָהֻמִּיָּה 75 l אָהָרָה 63 f אָה 104 c, in dis- junctive questions 150 g, in indirect questions 150 i, in conditional sentences 159 cc, in disjunctive sen- tences 162	אָהָתָהּ 103 b אָהָתָם 103 b אָה 100 i, with perf. and imperf. 107 e, 108 g ¹ אָזֹר 23 h אָזֹן 68 i אָזְכָּרָה 85 b אָזֶלֶת 44 f אָזֶרָה 75 h אָזְרַע 84 ^a n אָח 96, 105 a אָחֵד 96 אָחֵד not in constr. st. 130 g אָחֵדָהּ 63 f אָחֵד 1 i אָחֵד 75 bb אָחֻמִּי 90 k אָחוֹת p. 283 אָחוֹת 64 c אָחוֹת 64 c אָחֻשָׁה 23 f, 75 oo אָחֻתָּהּ 91 n אָחֵל 67 y אָחֵל, אָחֵל in wishes 151 אָחֵר, אָחֵר 103 o אָחֵר 64 d אָחֵר 64 h
אָב 96 אָבִד 68 b אָבִד 50 e, 93 q אָבִדָּה 85 v אָבָה 68 b, 76 d אָבֹא ? 23 i אָבֹתֵיהֶם 91 n אָבְחָר 10 g ³ אָבִי 74 k, 76 h אָבִי for לִי 159 cc אָבִידָה 68 i אָבִיד 84 ^b f אָבִל 93 h אָנֶאֱלֵמִי ? 53 p אָנֶרֶת 95 q אָנֶדָה 55 g אָדֹשׁ ? 113 w ³ אָדֶם without arti- cle, 125 f, 126 e ¹ אָדֶנִי 87 g, as Qerê for הִוא 102 m, force of suffix lost 135 g and note ² אָדֶנִי 21 c אָדֶנִים 124 i, 145 h אָדֶעַד 69 b ¹	אָבִידָה 105 a אָבִידָה 75 h אָבִידָה 22 h אָבִידָה 91 e אָבִידָה 23 h, 93 r אָבִידָה 75 l אָבִידָה 63 f אָבִידָה 104 c, in dis- junctive questions 150 g, in indirect questions 150 i, in conditional sentences 159 cc, in disjunctive sen- tences 162 אָבִיד 50 e אָבִיד 105 a אָבִידָה 105 a אָבִיד 84 ^a o אָבִיד 68 i אָבִיד 92 g אָבִיד 84 ^b c אָבִידָה 93 r אָבִיד 84 ^a r אָבִיד 72 c ² , n אָבִיד 95 n אָבִידָה 103 b	

אֶחָד 29 *g*
 אֶחָדִים 85 *u*
 אִי island 93 *y*
 אִי woe! 105 *a*
 אִי not 152 *q*
 אִיף 148
 אִיכָּה 100 *i*, 148
 אִיכָּה 100 *i*
 אִילִל 70 *d*
 אִימָה 84³ *g*
 אִין, אִין connecting
 subj. and predicate 141 *k*,
 152 *i-q*
 אִין? 150 *c*³
 אִיסִירִם 24 *f*², 70 *b*
 אִישׁ 96 (and אִשָּׁה)
 used distributively 139 *b, c*
 אִישׁוֹן 86 *g*
 אִישִׁי 47 *b*¹
 אִישָׁר 70 *b*
 אִיתָם? 67 *p*
 אִיתָן 85 *b*, 133 *a*¹
 אִף 100 *i*, uses of
 153
 אִכּוֹב 85 *b*, 133 *a*¹
 אִכָּל 68 *b*
 אִכָּל- 22 *o*
 אִכָּל (ptep.) 52 *s*
 אִכָּלָה 91 *e*
 אִכָּלָה for אִכָּלָה 27 *q*,
 68 *f*, 75 *bb*
 אִכָּלָה 61 *d*
 אִכָּלָם 61 *d*
 אִכּוֹ 100 *i*
 (for אִכָּלָה) אִל 34 *b*
 אִל- with jussive
 109 *c*, 152 *f*, forming a
 negative compound 152 *g*,
 not standing immediately
 before a verb 152 *h*

אִל, אִלִּי 103 *o*, 119 *g*
 אִלְבִּישׁ 35 *m*
 אִלָּה 9 *q*, 87 *t*
 אִלָּה 20 *k*
 אִלָּהִים pluralis maje-
 statis 124 *g* and note²,
 without article 125 *f*, with
 article 126 *e*¹, with the
 singular 145 *h*; with a
 plural 132 *h*², 145 *i*
 אִלּוּת (inf. abs.) 75 *n*
 אִלִּיכֶם 22 *o*
 אִלִּיל 84^a *o*
 אִלִּימוֹ 103 *p*²
 אִלְמִיִּים 35 *m*
 אִלְמוּדָר 35 *m*
 אִלְקִים? 35 *m*
 אִלְקִטָּה 64 *i*
 אִלְתַּחַת 119 *e*¹
 אִלְתִּי 95 *n*
 אִם (אִם-לֹא) in
 wishes 151 *e*, in condi-
 tional sentences 159 *l-v*,
dd, in double questions
 150 *c-i*, in oaths 149, con-
 cessive 160 *a*
 אִם μητρόπολις
 122 *h*⁵
 אִמָּה 96
 אִמָּה 1 *h*
 אִמּוֹן 63 *p*
 אִמִּילִם: 60 *d*
 אִמִּינוֹן 86 *g*¹
 אִמֶּן for אִמְנַת 122 *f*¹
 אִמֶּן 68 *b*
 אִמֶּר 23 *f*, 68 *c*
 אִמְרָה 44 *f*
 אִמְשָׁךְ 67 *r*, *dd*
 אִן for אִין or אִין 7 *f*

אִנָּה, אִנָּה 16 *f*¹, 105 *a*,
 and Additions
 אִנָּה 80 *i*²
 אִנִּי (Jer 42⁵) 32 *d*
 אִנְחִמָּד (Is 51¹⁹) 47 *b*¹
 אִנִּי, אִנְכִּי use of, in dif-
 ferent books p. 105 note
 אִנִּי 32 *c*
 אִנֹּב (Moab.) 7 *d*¹
 אִנֹּשׁ 96
 אִסְפִּים 72 *aa*, 113 *w*³
 אִסְרִי 84^b *f*
 אִסְלּוּחַ 65 *b*¹
 אִסְפִּי 72 *aa*, 113 *w*²
 אִסְפָּה 69 *h*¹
 אִסְפָּה 48 *i*
 אִסְפָּה 48 *i*
 אִסְפָּה? 68 *h*
 אִסְפִּי 19 *f*, 66 *e*
 אִסְרָה 91 *k*
 אִסְרִים 71
 אִעֲנָה 63 *f*
 אִעֲנָה 63 *h*¹
 אִעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 *b*¹
 אִעֲשֶׂה 63 *m*
 אִף 104 *c*, inten-
 sive 153, אִף...אִף 154 *a*¹(*c*)
 אִפְּאִיִּים 58 *a*¹, 75 *mm*
 אִפָּה 68 *b*, 76 *d*
 אִפְּהִים 91 *c*¹, 93 *ss*
 אִפּוֹ 63 *i*, 76 *d*
 אִפּוֹא 23 *i*
 אִרְבִּי 154 *a*¹(*c*)
 אִרְבִּי 93 *r*
 אִרְפִּים 152 *s*, אִרְפִּים
 163 *c*
 אִרְפָּךְ 47 *b*¹
 אִרְפִּים 88 *c*
 אִרְשָׁנָה 65 *b*
 אִרְשִׁיתָנָה 71

אֶצֶק 71
 אֶקטל 47 *b*
 אֶקדא 10 *g*³
 אֶרה־לִי 9 *v*, 67 *o*
 אֶרחם 52 *n*
 אֶרה־תִּי 93 *r*
 אֶרִי 93 *x*
 אֶרִיב 72 *gg*, 75 *dd*
 אֶרפּה 75 *pp*
 אֶרֶץ 67 *p*
 אֶרצה 90 *f*
 אֶשׁ = אֶשׁ 47 *b*¹, 114 *l*^o
 אֶשׁה 96
 אֶשׁבים 53 *k*
 אֶשׁבם 93 *bb*
 אֶשׁעה 75 *l*
 אֶשקה 20 *m*
 אֶשקמח 10 *h*, 48 *c*
 אֶשׁר as relative
 pron. 36, its syntax 138,
 in relative clauses 155.
 introducing obj.-clause
 157 *c*, after יען, על, &c.
 158 *a*, hypothetical (rare)
 159 *cc*, introd. temporal
 clauses 164 *d*, final 165 *b*.
 consecutive 166 *b*, with
 prepositions forming con-
 junctions 104 *b*; אֶשׁר לְ for
 the genitive 129 *h*
 אֶשׁר 84 *b* *g*
 אֶשׁרִיך 93 *l*
 אֶת, אֶת 103 *b*, syntax
 of 117 *a-m*; before an un-
 determined noun 177 *d*; not
 denoting accus. 117 *i-m*
 אֶת 20 *l*, 32 *h*; as
 masc. 32 *g*
 אֶת = אֶת 32 *g*
 אֶתא 75 *rr*

אֶתח 76 *d*
 אֶתחם 103 *b*
 אֶתחון 103 *b*
 אֶתחבר 54 *a*²
 אֶתִי, אֶתִי 32 *h*
 אֶתִי 29 *t*, cf. 75 *u*
 אֶתִי מְבַחֵק 20 *f*
 אֶתִּן 32 *i*
 אֶתִּנו 75 *rr*
 אֶ preposition
 102; punctuation of 102
d, *h*, *m*; with suffixes
 103 *g*; senses of 119 *h-q*;
 אֶ essential 119 *i*; אֶ par-
 titive 119 *m*; אֶ pretii,
 119 *p*; אֶ instrumenti with
 the object 119 *q*
 אֶבא ? 72 *o*, 76 *g*,
 152 *x*
 אֶבאִים 20 *g*
 אֶבאִי 9 *v*
 אֶבדוּ 61 *b*
 אֶבדִי 93 *k*
 אֶבד־תּה 44 *g*
 אֶבדאם 74 *i*
 אֶבדִיל 84 *o*
 אֶבדלוּ 67 *p*
 אֶבדוּן 22 *h*
 אֶבדנות 93 *r*
 אֶבדרג 51 *l*
 אֶבדשמה 67 *y*
 אֶבדשמהוּתִי 75 *kk*
 אֶבא 76 *g*
 אֶבראם 23 *c*
 אֶבדח 75 *qq*
 אֶבוסים 72 *p*
 אֶבושם 61 *e*
 אֶבז 72 *dd*
 אֶבזח לְ 72 *l*

אֶבדע 20 *g*
 אֶבדנִי 27 *n*
 אֶבדן 64 *d*
 אֶבדקו 67 *r*
 אֶבדריאָה 9 *v*
 אֶבדנים 95 *r*
 אֶבדנס 107 *c*
 אֶבד for אֶבדִי 19 *k*²,
 as interjection 105 *b*
 אֶבדה 102 *m*
 אֶבד 73 *a*
 אֶבד 103 *o*
 אֶבדנִי 103 *p*¹
 אֶבדִי 103 *o*
 אֶבדִיך 103 *o*
 אֶבד תִּבִּי 73 *d*
 אֶבדתי 73 *a*
 אֶבד 96
 אֶבדה 103 *g*
 אֶבדנה 91 *e*
 אֶבד אנשים 127 *c*²
 אֶבדלוּ 51 *l*
 אֶבדתח 93 *hh*
 אֶבד 152 *t*
 אֶבדה 19 *k*²
 אֶבדאי 93 *x*
 אֶבדוּ 8 *h*
 אֶבדִי 152 *t*
 אֶבדעל 81 *d*
 אֶבדע 99 *e*
 אֶבדתי with infin.
 constr. 114 *s*, with an ad-
 jective 152 *t*; אֶבדתי that
 . . . not, with infin. 114 *s*,
 with impf. 152 *x*; (אֶבד) *except*, 163 *c*
 אֶבד 23 *k*
 אֶבדו 103 *k*

בְּמִצְרַיִם 61 *d*, 74 *h*,
93 *q*
בְּמִתִּי 87 *s*, 95 *o*
בֵּן 96
בְּנוֹ 72 *o*, 76 *g*
בְּנוֹ 90 *o*
בְּנֵיהֶם 23 *k*
בְּנֵיהֶם 60 *h*
בִּנְתִּי (Moab.) for
בְּנֵי 7 *d*¹
בִּנְתִּי 73 *a*
בְּעֵרְנִי 103 *d*
בְּעֵטָה 51 *l*
בְּעֵי 29 *t*, 75 *u*
בְּעִיר (ψ 73²⁰) 53 *q*
בְּעֵלֶיהֶן 93 *m*
בְּעֵלִים 145 *h*
בְּעֵרָה 80 *k*
בְּעֵשֶׂר 53 *k*
בְּעֵשֶׂק 35 *g*
בְּעֵת מוֹלֶכֶת ? 116 *g*¹
בְּצִיִּם ? 93 *y*
בְּצֵעַם 61 *g*
בְּקֶרֶב 10 *g*³
בְּקָרִים 123 *a*¹
בְּרָא (בְּרָה) 75 *rr*
בְּרוֹל 85 *s*
בְּרֵיהֶם 93 *n*
בְּרֵפֶת 95 *g*
בְּרִקָּת 80 *f*
בֶּשׂ 72 *c*², *n*, 78 *b*
בִּשְׁגָם 67 *p*
בִּשְׁוֹבְנִי ? 91 *e*
בֵּת 96; to per-
sonify a people 122 *i*
בֵּת for בֵּית 7 *f*
בְּתוּאֵל 90 *k*
בְּתוּבָם 10 *g*, 91 *d*
בְּתִים 9 *u*; p. 285
s. v. בֵּית

בְּתִקוּמָאִיד 72 *cc*
בָּהָה 84^b *c*
בְּבָהָא 44 *f*
בְּבָהִים 124 *h*
בְּבִי 86 *i*, 87 *g*
בְּבַעַל 85 *s*
בְּבָרִים 93 *x*
בְּבָרִים 95 *o*
בָּהָה 23 *f*
בָּהָה 84^a *r*
בָּהִי 8 *k*
בָּהִי 8 *k*
בָּהִל 67 *n*
בָּהִע 65 *a*
בָּהִי 93 *g*, *v*
בָּהִי 85 *v*
בָּהִל 95 *r*
בָּהִל ? 91 *e*
בָּהִל 80 *f*, *g*
בָּהִל 44 *f*
בָּהִל intensive 153,
154 *a*¹ (*c*); בָּהִל (ו) ... בָּהִל *ibid.*;
(בִּי) concessive 160 *b*
בָּהִל 84^b *b*
בְּבָהִל 91 *n*
בְּבָהִל 90 *i*
בָּהִשׁ 66 *c*
בָּהִשׁ 66 *c*
בָּהִשׁ 66 *c*
בָּהִשׁ 90 *k*
בָּהִבִּן 85 *u*
בָּהִבִּא 9 *b*
בְּבָהִל 44 *c*
בְּבָהִל 52 *o*
בְּבָהִל 93 *x*
בָּהִם 67 *n*
בָּהִם 100 *g*²
בָּהִם 84^a *r*

בָּהִשׁ 72 *q*
בָּהִל 64 *d*
בְּבָהִל 20 *sc*
בְּבָהִל 91 *d*
בְּבָהִל 84^b *b*
בָּהִל 93 *x*, 95 *f*
בְּבָהִל 67 *dd*, 75 *u*, *bb*
בְּבָהִל 93 *z*
בְּבָהִל 84^a *g*
בְּבָהִל 67 *cc*
בְּבָהִל 95 *f*
בְּבָהִל 93 *n*
בָּהִם 93 *mm*
בָּהִם 124 *n*
בָּהִי 58 *i*, 59 *f*
בָּהִי 69 *m*
בָּהִי 69 *c*, *m*²
בָּהִי 48 *l*
בָּהִי 67 *bb*
בָּהִי 85 *u*
בָּהִי 93 *n*
בָּהִי ? 91 *k*
בָּהִי 80 *h*
בָּהִי 22 *e*
ה with Mappiq
14, as a weak consonant
23 *k*, *l*, in verbs לִ"ה 75, as
a mere vowel-letter 6 *d*,
7 *b*, *c*, 24 *g*
ה locale, origin
90 *b*, use 90 *c*-*i*, with
constr. st. before a geni-
tive 90 *c*, sometimes oti-
ose 90 *e*, mere poetic
ornament 90 *f*, *g*, in place-
names. 90 *g*¹, added in se-
gholate nouns to the de-
veloped form 90 *i*, 93 *i*
ה (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126:
see Article in Index I

ה interrog. 100,
origin and pointing 100
י-נ, uses of 150; אה(?) ... ה
150 *h*

ה (with the tone),
ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*
ה (toneless), end-
ing of the Cohortative and
Imperative 48 *c, d*; an old
case-ending 90 *a-i*

ה 3rd masc. sing.
pronominal suffix 91 *e*

ה (without Map-
piq) anomalous 3rd fem.
sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*

הא 105 *b*

האנה (Mi 6¹¹) 47 *b*¹

האניהו 53 *g*

האנים 35 *d*

האח 105 *a*

האיש one, 144 *d*¹

האל בית-אל 127 *f*¹

האנה 65 *e*

הארון 35 *o*

הבאת 74 *g*

הבאתה 74 *d*

הבאתי 72 *w*

הבה 105 *b*

הביא 72 *y*, 74 *l*

הביטתה 78 *b*

הביש 72 *x*, 78 *b*

הבמות ואת (Moab.) 80 *f*¹

הברו 67 *t*

הברכה 10 *g* (end)

הברכה 16 *g*

הנה *Qere* for הנה 118 *e*²

הנה 69 *w*

הנו 75 *n, aa*

הגרנות 93 *r*

הדרש 72 *v*

הדרך חתלון 127 *f*¹

הדרשנה 54 *h*

ההימיר 72 *e*

ההלכתי 90 *n*

ההלכה 52 *s*

הוא 32 *k*; הוא with

Qere הוא 17 *c*, הוא as fem.,

not an archaism 32 *l*

הוא (הפה, היא) =

ipse or *idem* 135 *a*¹, demon-

strative 136, for the copula

141 *h*, resuming the sub-

ject 145 *w*², in questions

136 *e* (end), 150 *l*

הוא 75 *hh*

הוביש 72 *x*

הורע 69 *w*

הוי 105 *a*

הוכח 65 *f*

הולכת 71

הוללות 86 *l*

הולם פעם 29 *f*

הונה 72 *ee*¹

הופיע 69 *v*

הוציא 74 *l*

הורדתנו 59 *h*

הושע 65 *f*

הוירה 80 *i*

הוילהה 67 *y*, 72 *ee*

הוצו 54 *d*

הופרכם 53 *l*

החבאתה 75 *oo*

החבה 75 *pp*

החליתי 63 *k*

החתי 35 *f*, 27 *q*

החל 67 *t*

החלי 74 *k*, 75 *ii*

החפנים 35 *f*

החריטים 35 *f*

החריסה 90 *f*

החזתה 67 *w*

החזרה 27 *q*

היה 32 *k*

היה 16 *f*, 63 *q*, 75 *s*,

with participle 116 *r*, with

ל before infin. 114 *h-k*, as

copula 141 *g-i*. Cf. היה.

היה 75 *n*

היום = one day

126 *s*

היום שלשה 134 *o*¹

היטב 113 *k*

היכל 9 *i*, 85 *c*

הילכי 69 *x*, 78 *b*

הימה 90 *f*

היצא 69 *v*

היקין 70 *e*

הישר 24 *f*², 70 *b*

הית 75 *m*¹

הבות (inf. abs.) 75 *f*¹

הבי 150 *d, e*

הבין 72 *z*

הביני 75 *mm*

הכלמנו 53 *p*

הכנו 72 *w*

הלא expressing

assurance 150 *e*

הלקח 69 *w*, 71

הלך 34 *f*

הלך 34 *f*

הלך 34 *f*

הלך inflexion of

69 *a*, use of, to express con-

tinuance 113 *u*

הלך 69 *m*²

הלכו 23 *i*

הֶלְכָתִי 44 *h*
הֶלְלִי 10 *g*
הֶלֶם 50 *e*
הֶלְמָהּ (Moab.) 54 *l*
הֶמָּה, הֵם 32 *m*, for the
feminine, 32 *n*
הַמַּיִּיֹּת 97 *g*
הַיָּמָה its Dages 20 *k*
הַמוֹנָה 91 *e*
הַמוֹשֵׁב in close con-
nexion 72 *bb*, 93 *pp*, cf.
65 *d*
הַמִּיֵּנִי 67 *v*
הַמִּכִּי 67 *y*
הַמִּלְמִי 29 *o*²
הַמִּנְשָׁה 125 *d*¹
הַמִּסִּי 67 *t*
הַמִּסִּי 75 *ii*
הַמִּסְלָת (Moab.) 80 *f*¹
הַמַּעֲדִי 64 *h*
הַמַּעֲמִי 133 *c*³
הַמַּצְרִיעִים 10 *g*
הַפְּרוֹת 75 *ff*
הַפִּשְׁחִית 126 *m*¹
הַפִּתָּה 72 *w*
הַפִּתָּם 72 *w*
הֵן with suffixes
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,
= *if* 159 *w*
הֵנָּה 76 *a*
הֵנָּה with suffixes
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,
with ptp. of present time
116 *n*; more often of future
time 116 *p*
הֵנָּה 20 *k*
הֵנָּקָה 85 *c* (A dit.)
הֵנָּח 72 *ee*
הֵנָּחַת 64 *h*
הֵנִי, הֵנִיתִי 72 *ee*

הַיָּחִיד	72 <i>ee</i>
הַנָּגִי	10 <i>g</i>
הַנָּגִי	58 <i>k</i>
הַנָּגִי	10 <i>g</i>
הַנָּפֶת	72 <i>k</i>
הַנָּתִקִי	66 <i>f</i>
הַסֵּ	105 <i>a</i>
הַסֵּ	72 <i>ee</i>
הַסִּירִים	35 <i>d</i>
הַסִּי	72 <i>ee</i>
הַסִּית	72 <i>ee</i>
הַסִּתָּה	72 <i>w</i>
הַעֲבֵרָה	63 <i>p</i>
הַעֲוִים	35 <i>g</i>
הַעֲוִים	35 <i>g</i>
הַעֲוָה	67 <i>dd</i>
הַעֲלָה	63 <i>p</i>
הַעֲלָה	63 <i>p</i>
הַעֲרָב	113 <i>k</i>
הַעֲרָכִים	35 <i>g</i>
הַעֲשֹׂ	116 <i>g</i> ¹
הַעֲשִׂים	75 <i>v</i>
הַעֲתִיר	63 <i>o</i>
הַפִּיר	67 <i>v</i>
הַפִּי	61 <i>a</i>
הַפִּלָּא	75 <i>oo</i>
הַפִּצָּר	29 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>l</i>
הַפִּר	29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i>
הַצָּג	113 <i>d</i> ²
הַצִּמִּיד	72 <i>m</i>
הַקִּלְתִּי	67 <i>w</i>
הַקִּסֵּם עַל	29 <i>g</i>
הַקִּמְתִּי	72 <i>w</i>
הַקִּשְׁבָּה	10 <i>g</i>
הַרְאִיתִם	22 <i>s</i>
הַרְבָּה	113 <i>k</i>
הַרְבָּה	75 <i>ff</i>
הַרְבָּה	75 <i>ff</i>

תְּרִפִּית ? 75 ff
 חֲדָיָהוּ 20 hⁱ, 22 s
 הָרָה 27 q, 93 aa
 חָרוּ 75 n, aa
 חֶרֶק 29 q, 64 h
 חֶרֶק 64 h
 חַיֵּיוָנוּ 84 g
 חַיִּים 72 ee
 חֹמֶר 67 t, 72 dd
 חֲרָפִים 35 d
 חֲרִינוּ 67 cc
 חָרֵעַ 67 v
 חֻרְמָה 22 i
 דְּחָרִי 90 n
 דְּחָרִי 93-aa
 דְּחָרִי 93-aa
 דְּגִדִּיהָ 93 aa
 דְּהָרִם 93 aa
 דְּחִסּוֹ ? 73 a
 דְּשִׁקָּא 46 e
 דְּשִׁירִי 67 v
 דְּשִׁעָה 90 i
 דְּשִׂאלָתֶיהָ 64 f
 דְּשִׁב 29 q, 72 y
 דְּשִׁבַּע 65 e
 דְּשִׁבְעָתָנָה (fem.) 59 h
 דְּשִׁבָּם x x 3 k
 דְּשִׁמוֹת 67 y
 דְּשִׁמָּם 67 cc
 דְּשַׁע 75 gg
 דְּשַׁעֲנִי 7 f
 דְּשִׁפּוֹת 35 d
 דְּשִׁתְחוּהָ 75 kk
 דְּתוֹ : 29 q, 67 v,
 72 dd
 דְּתַחְבְּרוֹת 54 k
 דְּתָנוּ 68 i
 דְּתַנְיָשָׁם ? 64 i
 דְּתַלְתָּ 67 dd

הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ ? 55 *g*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 67 *v*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 75 *gg*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 75 *gg*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 54 *l*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 54 *l*
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ פְּנִים 156 *c*¹
 הַתְּמַחֶמָהוּ 64 *d*

! as a vowel-letter 5 *b*¹, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs ע"י 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. ע"י 75 *a, b, k, k*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*

! pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*¹ (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; ! introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *g*, 159 *o* (*e*), *s* (*f*). 143 *d*; ! with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff--oo*, 143 *d*, 159 *o, s*. See also Wāw in Index I.

וְאֶבְרָךְ 23 *d*, 68 *k*
 וְאֶבְרָכְכֶם; 60 *d*
 וְאֶנְרֶשׁ 49 *e*
 וְאֶרְבִּי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*
 וְאֶזְרָה 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*
 וְאֶחָד 68 *e*
 וְאֶחָלָק 111 *w*¹
 וְאֶחָר 64 *k*, 68 *e*
 וְאֶחָרִי שָׁתָה 113 *e*³
 וְאֶחָשְׁבָה 49 *e*
 וְאֶחָלָה ? 49 *e*

וְאֶכַל 68 *e*
 וְאֶכְלָה 49 *e*
 וְאֶכְסֶן 49 *c*
 וְאֶל- = *rather than* 133 *b*²
 וְאֶלָּךְ 69 *p*
 וְאֶלֹהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*
 וְאֶסְכְּחָה (Moab.) 7 *c*
 וְאֶעֱיֶדָה ? 49 *e*
 וְאֶקִּים 49 *e*, 72 *t*
 וְאֶקְרָא ? 48 *d*
 וְאֶרַב 75 *gg*
 וְאֶרֶץ 29 *i*¹
 וְבָטָן 104 *g*
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*
 וְדִהֲאֻנִּיחָה 53 *g*
 וְדִבְרֵי 76 *h*
 וְהִנֵּלָה 75 *ee*
 וְהוֹשִׁבוּהֶם ? 72 *x*
 וְהוֹחַתֵּתִי 67 *dd*
 וְהוֹטַלְתִּי 72 *k, w*
 וְהִי in prophetic style 112 *y, z*
 וְהִיָּה 28 *b*
 וְהִיָּה 28 *b*
 וְהִיטְבֵּתִי 70 *e*
 וְהִיטְתֶּם 63 *g*, 104 *f*
 וְהִמְטִיתִי (Am 4⁷) 112 *h*³
 וְהִמְתִּי 72 *w*
 וְהִמְתִּיָּה 72 *w*
 וְהִמְתִּיָּה 72 *w*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה ? 72 *ee*
 וְהִנֵּפֶת 72 *w*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 71
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 67 *ee*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 76 *h*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 29 *l*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 72 *i*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 72 *i*²
 וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 54 *b*
 וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 16 *e*, 104 *e*
 וְהִיָּה 104 *g*
 וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם (Ex 5¹⁶) 74 *g*
 וְהִיָּה ? 76 *i*
 וְהִיָּה 76 *i*
 וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם 72 *m*
 וְהִיָּה 67 *k*
 וְהִיָּה with *ě* for *i* 28 *b*, 63 *g*, 104 *f*, in pause sometimes 75 *n*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 67 *ee*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 76 *d*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה (in Jb) 68 *e*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 68 *h*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 23 *b*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 23 *d*, 68 *e*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 23 *d*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 74 *l*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 75 *g*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 64 *g*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 69 *u*, 70 *e*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 69 *u*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 67 *p*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 7 *c*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 53 *n*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 69 *u*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 53 *n*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 102 *m*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 104 *f*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 16 *g*; as a narrative formula 111 *f-h*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה שָׁם 29 *g*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 67 *y*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה ? 68 *i*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 64 *b*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 74 *l*
 וְהִנֵּיחָה 75 *r*

וַיֵּן 75 r, 76 b
 וַיִּזְכֹּר 65 e
 וַיַּחֲזֹק בּוֹ 29 g
 וַיַּחֲמֹא 74 l
 וַיַּחֲיִי 16 g
 וַיַּחֲלֹא 75 rr
 וַיַּחֲלֹ (Ho 8¹⁰)? IIIIw¹
 וַיַּחֲלֹ 24 e
 וַיַּחֲלֹפָה (Moab.) 7 c
 וַיַּחֲלֹקֶם? 63 n
 וַיַּחֲמֹ 69 f
 וַיַּחֲמֹנָה 69 f
 וַיַּחֲזֵן 75 r
 וַיַּחֲזֵר 75 r
 וַיַּחֲזֵם 75 r
 וַיַּחֲמֹנִי 47 i
 וַיַּחֲלֵל 69 t
 וַיַּיָּף 76 f
 וַיַּיָּצֵר 71
 וַיַּיָּשֶׁם 53 u, 73 f
 וַיַּיָּבֹ 60 d
 וַיַּכְּסֵם-יָשָׁם 58 g
 וַיַּכְּנֹנִי 72 ee
 וַיַּכְּתֹ 67 g, y
 וַיַּלְדָּתָ? 80 d, 94 f
 וַיַּלְלָת 24 e
 וַיַּלֵּל 72 ee
 וַיַּמְלִאֵם 60 h
 וַיַּמֵּחַ 72 ee
 וַיַּסֵּב 67 y
 וַיַּסְבֹּ 67 g
 וַיַּסְדֵּ 67 p, 73 f
 וַיַּסְרִי 59 h
 וַיַּעַט 72 ff
 וַיַּעֲנו (Moab.) 75 b²
 וַיַּעַף 72 t
 וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי 63 m
 וַיַּעֲקֹשֵׁנִי? 53 n

וַיַּעֲרֹ 75 cc
 וַיַּפֵּר 67 w
 וַיַּפֵּחַ 75 q
 וַיַּצֵּלָה 65 f
 וַיַּצֵּק 71
 וַיַּצֵּק 71
 וַיַּקְדֵּ 67 g
 וַיַּקְדֵּ 67 g
 וַיַּחֲזֵן? 71
 וַיַּרְא 75 q
 וַיַּרְאוּ הַמּוֹרִאִים 75 rr
 וַיַּרְבֵּ 68 i
 וַיַּרְדֵּ 75 q
 וַיַּרְבִּין 49 d¹
 וַיַּרְם 27 o, 67 o;
 with accus. 121 d²
 וַיַּרְפֵּ 75 qq
 וַיַּרְפֹּ 23 f, 75 qq
 וַיַּרְשֹׁד 69 s
 וַיַּרְשִׁינָה 69 s
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּה 44 d
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּם 44 d
 וַיַּרְשֵׁב 26 p², 75 q
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּם 69 k
 וַיַּרְשִׁנוּ 60 d, 75 bb,
 131 m³
 וַיַּרְשִׁעֵם 65 f
 וַיַּרְשֵׁם 69 u
 וַיַּרְשִׁנָה 71
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּ 75 q
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּהוּ 75 k
 וַיַּרְחֵא 68 h
 וַיַּרְחִתוּ 75 bb
 וַיַּרְחִמָהּ 55 g
 וַיַּרְחִמוּ 67 g
 וַיַּכְּחֵשׁ בּוֹ 29 g
 וַיַּלֵּא 104 g
 וַיַּלְנָה 73 d

וַיַּלְנָה 73 d
 וַיַּלְנָה in perfect
 (rare) 44 l; in imperfect
 47 m, n; less frequent with
 wāw consec. 49 d¹. Cf.
 וַיַּלְנָה
 וַיַּנְאֵשָׁא 64 i
 וַיַּנְרִם? 69 r, 76 f
 וַיַּנְעַל 112 u¹
 וַיַּנְעִמֻד 49 e²
 וַיַּנְעִשָׁה 75 hh
 וַיַּנְשֹׁב 49 e²
 וַיַּנְשִׁים 67 y
 וַיַּנְשִׁפְחָת 44 f
 וַיַּנְשִׁקָה? 19 k²
 וַיַּנְשִׁתָּעָה 75 l
 וַיַּנְעֵר 28 b, 104 d
 וַיַּנְחֵר 104 g
 וַיַּנְשִׁתָּם 44 d
 וַיַּנְחִיתָ 75 qq
 וַיַּנְחִיחָה 104 g
 וַיַּנְחִי 8 k
 וַיַּנְחִיתָה 67 ee
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 75 n
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 75 rr
 וַיַּנְחִי 44 f, 72 o
 וַיַּנְחִי (ψ 23⁶)? 69 m¹
 וַיַּנְחִי nouns ending
 in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 72 k
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 76 k
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 48 d
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 47 l
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 72 k
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 69 r
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 75 ii
 וַיַּנְחִינָה for וַיַּנְחִי 23 f,
 68 k
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 74 l
 וַיַּנְחִי 23 f

וַתִּחַלֶּקֶם	63 <i>m</i>
וַתַּחֲשׁ	72 <i>ff</i>
וַתִּיפִי	76 <i>f</i>
וַתִּלְוֶשׁ	72 <i>l</i>
וַתִּמְדֹּנֶנּוּ	72 <i>cc</i>
וַתִּנְיָקֶהוּ	70 <i>e</i>
וַתַּעֲנֹב	63 <i>m</i>
וַתַּעֲטֵ	72 <i>ff</i>
וַתַּעֲצֹר	65 <i>e</i>
וַתִּצְפֹּנָה	60 <i>d</i>
וַתִּקְרָבָהּ ?	60 <i>a</i> ¹
וַתִּרְאֵ	75 <i>p</i>
וַתִּבְנֶן	27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>p</i>
וַתִּשְׁיִמֹנָה ?	58 <i>g</i>
וַתִּתְעַב	71
וְ (Moab.) for יְהוֹ	
	7 <i>d</i> ¹
זאת	34, use of 136
זֶה	34, use of 136;
enclitic	136 <i>c</i> , <i>d</i> ; = <i>here</i>
or <i>now</i>	136 <i>d</i> ; as a rela-
tive	138 <i>g</i>
זֶהָ	82
זֶה, זֹה	34 <i>b</i>
זֶה	demonst. pron.
34 <i>d</i> ; relat. pron.	138 <i>g</i>
זֶהָ	73 <i>d</i>
זִיקוֹת	20 <i>n</i>
זָכוּ	67 <i>ee</i>
זִמְמָתִי	67 <i>aa</i>
זִמְרָה	52 <i>p</i>
זִמְרָת ?	80 <i>g</i>
זִנְבוֹת	93 <i>ee</i>
זָעִיר	86 <i>g</i> ¹
זָעֵמָה	63 <i>p</i> , 64 <i>c</i>
זָעַת	95 <i>e</i>
זָרָה	67 <i>m</i>
זָרְמוֹ	55 <i>b</i>

ח with dageš f.	
implicitem	22 <i>c</i>
חָבִי	75 <i>qq</i>
חָבִלָהוּ	63 <i>l</i>
חָבִלָתָךְ	59 <i>g</i> ¹
חָבֵרְתוֹ	84 <i>b</i> <i>g</i>
חָנָא	95 <i>d</i>
חָנִי	93 <i>x</i>
חָנִי	67 <i>ff</i>
חָד (אָחָד)	96
חָדְלוּ	20 <i>i</i>
חָתָּחִים	93 <i>w</i>
חָטָא	75 <i>oo</i>
חָל ? חוֹל תַּחִיל	73 <i>d</i>
חֹמֹתִים	95 <i>o</i>
חִיָּךְ	27 <i>n</i>
חֹרִי	86 <i>i</i> , 87 <i>g</i>
חֹתָם	84 <i>a</i> <i>r</i>
חֹזָאֵל	23 <i>k</i> ¹
חֹהָה	(2S24 ¹¹)? 93 <i>rr</i>
חֹזִיר	84 <i>a</i> <i>o</i>
חֹזִיר	84 <i>a</i> <i>o</i>
חֹקֶהָ	45 <i>d</i>
חֹקִי	93 <i>ee</i>
חֹמָאִים	23 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>
חֹמוֹ	75 <i>qq</i>
חִי יְהוֹה, חִי נִפְשֶׁךְ	93 <i>aa</i> ¹ , 149 <i>a</i> ¹ , <i>c</i>
חִי אֲנִי	32 <i>c</i>
חִיָּה	what forms
take Metheg	16 <i>f</i> , pointing
of 63 <i>q</i> , shortened forms of	
in imperfect	75 <i>s</i> , perfect
forms as if from חִי	76 <i>i</i>
חִיצוֹן	27 <i>w</i>
חִית ? חִית	80 <i>f</i>
חִיתוֹ	90 <i>o</i>
חִבִּי	23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> , <i>hh</i>
חִבְמוֹת	86 <i>l</i>

חָלָב	93 <i>dd</i>
חָלֹנִי	87 <i>g</i>
חָלוֹתִי הִיא	67 <i>r</i>
חָלִילָה	105 <i>b</i>
חָלָל	67 <i>cc</i>
חָלָבָאִים ?	93 <i>x</i>
חָם	96
חָמָה	23 <i>f</i>
חָמוּטָל	90 <i>k</i>
חָמוּתִי	67 <i>ee</i>
חָמֶלָה, חָמֶלָה	45 <i>b</i>
חָמוּשִׁי	98 <i>a</i>
חָמוּשֶׁת	94 <i>f</i>
חָמִשֶׁת עֶשֶׂר	97 <i>e</i>
חָמִשְׁתִּי	91 <i>l</i>
חֲנוֹת	67 <i>r</i>
חָנָף	91 <i>e</i>
חָנָם	118 <i>q</i>
חָנִי	67 <i>a</i>
חָנְנִי	20 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>l</i> , 67 <i>cc</i>
חָסְרִי	93 <i>m</i>
חָסִידָה	82
חָצוֹ	91 <i>k</i>
חָצוּר	55 <i>e</i>
חָצוּרָה	55 <i>e</i> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>n</i>
חָצִיר	93 <i>bb</i>
חָקֶךְ	93 <i>bb</i>
חָקֶכֶם	93 <i>bb</i>
חָקֵמִי	10 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>
חָרְבוּ	46 <i>d</i>
חָרְבִי	63 <i>l</i>
חָרְדַת	95 <i>g</i>
חָרֹ	67 <i>ee</i>
חָרָשׁ	84 <i>b</i> <i>b</i>
חָשׁוּפִי ?	87 <i>g</i>
חָשָׁפִי	46 <i>d</i> , 63 <i>l</i>
חָשִׁים	72 <i>p</i>
חָשְׁמֶל	85 <i>s</i>

מֵאֵמָּה	55 <i>f</i>
מִבֵּחַ	65 <i>b</i>
מִבְּחַ	84 ^b <i>b</i>
מִזְבֵּחַ	72 <i>c, n, 78 b</i>
מִזְמוֹת	19 <i>o, 84^b o</i>
מִנָּא	22 <i>e</i>
מִנָּח	with impf., of past time 107 <i>c, of present</i> time 152 <i>r</i>
•	
' as a vowel-	
letter 5 <i>b</i> ¹ , 7 <i>b-g</i> , 8 <i>h-m</i> ,	
9 <i>g-m</i> , its changes 24, as	
initial vowel 47 <i>b</i> ¹ ; orig. '	
reappearing in poet. forms	
of verbs לָהּ 75 <i>u, v, dd, gg</i> .	
יִאֲבֹר	53 <i>n</i>
יִאֲזֹר	72 <i>h</i>
יִאֲחֹז	68 <i>b</i>
יִאֲחֹז	68 <i>b</i>
יִאֲחֹזֶה	64 <i>a</i>
יִאֲמִים	63 <i>m</i>
יִאֲכַלֵּן	68 <i>c</i>
יִאֲמֹר	68 <i>c</i>
יִאֲסֹף	68 <i>b, h</i>
יִאֲסֹר	26 <i>i, 63 e</i>
יִאֲרֹ	1 <i>i</i>
יִאֲשֹׁשׁ	64 <i>e</i>
יִאֲשֹׁמוּ	67 <i>p</i> ²
יִאֲתֹו	72 <i>h</i>
יִבֹּא	72 <i>h</i>
יִבֹּשׁ	72 <i>h</i>
יִבְעֹר־	53 <i>n</i>
יִבְשֹׁת	69 <i>n, 70 a n</i>
יִבִּיר	53 <i>n</i>
יִנְפֹא	75 <i>oo</i>
יִנֵּן	67 <i>p</i>
יִנֵּךְ	impf. of 78 <i>b</i>
יִנֵּךְ	67 <i>g</i> (Addit.)
יִנֵּךְ	93 <i>mm</i>

יִדֵּר	76 <i>a</i>
יִדֵּר	76 <i>a</i>
יִדֵּה	76 <i>f</i>
יִדֹו	69 <i>u</i>
יִדֹור	67 <i>cc, 76 a</i>
יִדֹון	72 <i>r</i>
יִדִּי	87 <i>f</i>
יִדְכֶם	91 <i>k</i>
יִדֵּל	67 <i>g</i> (Addit.)
יִדְמוּ	67 <i>g</i>
יִדְמוּ	67 <i>g</i>
יִדְעֵן	44 <i>l</i>
יִדְעֵן מִנֵּן	120 <i>b</i> ¹
יִדְעֵת	44 <i>i</i>
יִדְשֶׁה	48 <i>d</i>
יִחַב	69 <i>o</i>
יִחַהֵךְ	63 <i>m</i>
יִחַהֵךְ	63 <i>e</i>
יִהוּא	27 <i>w</i>
יִהוּא	23 <i>i, 75 s</i>
יִהוּהָה	53 <i>q</i>
יִהוּהָה	17 <i>e, its pro-</i> nunciation with prefixes 102 <i>m; יִצְבֹּאוֹת 125 h</i>
יִהוּבֵל	53 <i>q</i>
יִהוּשִׁיעַ	53 <i>q</i>
יִחִי	75 <i>s</i>
יִחִי	9 <i>f, 75 s</i>
יִחֵל	67 <i>p</i>
יִחֵל	68 <i>k</i>
יִחַהֵךְ	90 <i>f</i>
יִיֹאֵר	53 <i>u</i>
יִיֹדְעֵתִי	55 <i>b</i>
יִיֹדֵשׁ	53 <i>u</i>
יִיחֵל	53 <i>u</i>
יִיכֹחַ	65 <i>f</i>
יִיכֵל	53 <i>u, 69 r</i>
יִיגֵל	(ptep.) 52 <i>s</i>
יִיֹם	96
יִיֹמֶם	100 <i>g</i> ¹

יִיֹנָקוֹת	95 <i>q</i>
יִיֹסֶף	50 <i>e</i>
יִיֹצֵת	74 <i>z</i>
יִיֹקְשִׁים	(ptep.) 52 <i>s</i>
יִיֹרֵא	69 <i>w</i>
יִיֹרֵה	69 <i>r</i>
יִיֹשְׁבֵית	90 <i>n</i>
יִיֹשֶׁר	53 <i>u</i>
יִיֹשֶׁר	53 <i>u, 73 a</i>
יִיֹשֶׁת	53 <i>u, 73 a</i>
יִיֹבֶחַ	65 <i>e</i>
יִיֹמוּ	67 <i>dd</i>
יִיֹבֵלוּ	63 <i>g</i>
יִיֹבֵרֵךְ	60 <i>b, 63 m</i>
יִיֹבֵשׁ	63 <i>d</i>
יִיֹבֵשׁ	63 <i>d</i>
יִיֹחֵךְ	28 <i>e</i> ² , 75 <i>r</i>
יִיֹדֵךְ	91 <i>k, 93 l</i> 135 <i>r</i>
יִיֹחֹזֵן	47 <i>m</i>
יִיֹקְמֹאל	27 <i>q</i>
יִיֹקִי	63 <i>g</i>
יִיֹחִי	75 <i>s</i>
יִיֹחִי	75 <i>s</i>
יִיֹחִיתִן	20 <i>n, 60 d,</i> 67 <i>v</i>
יִיֹחֵלוּ	20 <i>i</i>
יִיֹחֵם	67 <i>g</i>
יִיֹחֲמֵנִי	64 <i>h</i>
יִיֹחֵן	53 <i>u</i>
יִיֹחֲנָךְ	60 <i>b, 67 n</i>
יִיֹחֵן	67 <i>cc</i>
יִיֹחֵם	72 <i>r</i>
יִיֹחֲפִין	29 <i>u</i>
יִיֹחֲבֵן	51 <i>m</i>
יִיֹחֲקִי	53 <i>u, 67 y</i>
יִיֹחֵת	66 <i>f</i>
יִיֹחֵהָה	63 <i>m</i>
יִיֹחֵהוּ	20 <i>i</i>
יִיֹפֹא	19 <i>d</i>

יִדַּע 69 <i>b</i> ¹ , <i>p</i>	יָנַח 66 <i>e</i>	יָקָדַעַם 21 <i>e</i> ¹
יִיטִיב 70 <i>d</i>	יָנִי 74 <i>k</i> , 76 <i>h</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>r</i>
יִיטִיב 70 <i>e</i>	יָנִיחַ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>t</i>
יִלְלִיל 70 <i>d</i>	יָנַחַר 66 <i>f</i>	יָקוּם 72 <i>h</i>
יִסָּף ? 73 <i>f</i>	יָנַחַה 75 <i>hh</i>	יָקוּחַ 53 <i>u</i>
יִיבֵר 69 <i>b</i> ¹	יָנֻשָׁא ? 23 <i>i</i> , 47 <i>n</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	יָקוּחַ 20 <i>m</i>
יִיטָרוּ 70 <i>b</i>	יָסַב (Addit.) 67 <i>g</i>	יָסַלְנָה 47 <i>k</i>
יָבֵלָה 75 <i>qq</i>	יָסַג 72 <i>dd</i>	יָסַם-קָן 29 <i>g</i>
יָבֵלְתִּי 44 <i>e</i>	יָסִיג 72 <i>ee</i>	יָסַם (juss.) 72 <i>t</i>
יָבִסִּימוּ 75 <i>mm</i>	יָסִית 72 <i>ee</i>	יָסַם 53 <i>u</i>
יָבִסִּימוּ 75 <i>dd</i>	יָסַפְרוּ 67 <i>o</i>	יָסַן forms of 78 <i>b</i>
יָבַח 53 <i>u</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , <i>y</i>	יָסַף 69 <i>h</i> ¹ , 78 <i>c</i>	יָסַר 93 <i>ww</i>
יָלַבֵּב 67 <i>cc</i>	יָסַף 68 <i>b</i>	יָסַר 84 <i>a</i> <i>n</i>
יָלַדְתִּיךָ 27 <i>s</i> , 44 <i>d</i>	יָסַרְהָ 52 <i>p</i>	יָסַרָה 75 <i>rr</i>
יָלֹד 27 <i>w</i> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>e</i>	יָסַרְךָ 61 <i>d</i>	יָסַרְאָהוּ 60 <i>c</i>
יָלוּנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָסַרְנִי 59 <i>f</i>	יָסַרְאוּ 60 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>e</i>
יָלִיוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעִבְרוּ 53 <i>n</i>	יָסַרְהָ 75 <i>rr</i>
יָלִין 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעִירְנוּ 72 <i>cc</i>	יָסַשׁוּן 72 <i>r</i>
יָלִין 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעִלְעוּ 55 <i>f</i>	יָקַתְאֵל 21 <i>e</i> ¹
יָלִינוּ 72 <i>ee</i>	יָעַן, יָעַן אֲשֶׁר 107 <i>q</i> ¹	יָרָא 76 <i>e</i>
יָלַף 69 <i>p</i>	יָעַן וְיָעַן 158 <i>b</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>hh</i>
יָלַדְנוּ ? 60 <i>e</i>	יָעֲרֹר ? 72 <i>cc</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>p</i> , <i>q</i>
יָלַטְמוֹן 27 <i>l</i>	יָעֲקֹב (verb) 63 <i>c</i>	יָרָא 75 <i>oo</i>
יָם ? (Siloam inscr.)	יָעֲרַם 63 <i>m</i>	יָרָא 93 <i>ii</i>
7 <i>f</i>	יָעֲשֶׂה 75 <i>hh</i>	יָרָאָה 74 <i>g</i>
יָמָה (Moab.) 7 <i>c</i>	יָפְגַשְׁךָ 10 <i>g</i> , 60 <i>b</i>	יָרָה 69 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>bb</i>
יָפַח 75 <i>y</i>	יָפַח forms of 76 <i>f</i>	יָרָה ? 63 <i>n</i>
יָמִים 132 <i>h</i> ²	יָפַחְתִּי 23 <i>k</i> ¹ , 84 <i>b</i> <i>n</i>	יָרָדְפוּ 60 <i>d</i>
יָפוּךְ 67 <i>g</i>	יָפַחַ 72 <i>dd</i>	יָרָדְפָה 10 <i>h</i>
יָפֹל 67 <i>g</i>	יָפַחְתִּי 55 <i>e</i>	יָרָה forms of 76 <i>f</i>
יָמַלָה 23 <i>e</i> , 75 <i>pp</i>	יָפַרְחַ 65 <i>e</i>	יָרָמוּ 72 <i>dd</i>
יָפֻצָה 75 <i>hh</i>	יָפַרְיָא 75 <i>rr</i>	יָרֹן 67 <i>p</i>
יָמַר 72 <i>dd</i>	יָצָא 76 <i>e</i>	יָרֹעַ 67 <i>t</i>
יָמַרְדָּה 68 <i>h</i>	יָצָא 75 <i>qq</i>	יָרִין 67 <i>p</i>
יָן — in 2nd sing.	יָצָא (אל-) 9 <i>l</i> , 69 <i>p</i>	יָרִישׁלָם 88 <i>c</i>
fem. imperf. 47 <i>o</i> ; Aram.	יָצַב 71	יָרִיחָה 52 <i>n</i>
plur. for יָם — 87 <i>e</i> .	יָצַחַק 64 <i>h</i>	יָרִיחִי 95 <i>i</i>
יָגִאן 73 <i>g</i>	יָצַר 71	יָרִמְיָה 23 <i>k</i>
יָגֵהַל 64 <i>d</i>	יָצַתִּי 23 <i>f</i>	יָרַע 67 <i>n</i>
	יָקָדַח 93 <i>k</i>	יָרַע 67 <i>n</i>

יָרַע 67 *dd*
 יָשָׁא 75 *rr*
 יָשָׁא 75 *q*
 יָשִׁיק 66 *e*
 יָשִׁימוּ 47 *n*
 יָשָׁר 47 *b*¹
 יָשׁ meaning 152 *i*;
 with suffixes 100 *o, p*;
 in hypothetical sentences
 116 *q* (with ptep.), וַיֵּשׁ
 hypoth. 159 *dd*; in ques-
 tions 141 *k* (with ptep.)
 יָשָׁא 74 *l*
 יָשִׁיב בְּשִׁבְתָּ 47 *b*¹
 יָשָׁרְךָם 20 *b, 67 ce*
 יָשָׁר 67 *p*
 יָשִׁי 47 *b*¹
 יָשִׁיעַ 27 *x*
 יָשִׁים 67 *y*
 יָשָׁף 67 *g*
 יָשָׁלַם 53 *n*
 יָשָׁם 67 *g* (Addit.)
 יָשָׁמַעְלָא 23 *c*
 יָשָׁא 75 *rr*
 יָשָׁא 75 *rr*
 יָשָׁנוּ its suffix 67 *o*¹;
 a doubtful form 100 *o*²
 יָשָׁמוּ 47 *g*
 יָשָׁרוּ 86 *g*
 יָשָׁרְתִּינֶךָ 60 *e*
 יָת nouns ending
 in 86 *l, 94 f, 95 t*
 יָתָא 75 *bb*
 יָתָאָרָה 64 *i*
 יָתָם 67 *g*
 יָתָם 67 *g*
 יָתָמוּ 67 *g*
 יָתָן 53 *u, 66 k*
 יָתָנָהם 27 *q, 29 v*
 יָתָמַר 54 *l*

יָתָן 53 *u*
 יָתָת 80 *g*
 כ for כִּי (Moab.)
 7 *d*¹
 כִּי its meaning
 102 *c*; with suff. 103 *h*;
 construction of 118 *s-a*,
 prepositions often omitted
 after 118 *s-w*; exception-
 ally with prep. 118 *s*²; כ
 veritatis 118 *x*; omitted in
 comparisons 141 *d*; not
 = בְּאִשָּׁר 155 *g*
 יָתָאָר 19 *k*²
 כִּי־אִשָּׁר 161 *b, c*
 כִּי־חָצִי 118 *s*²
 כִּי־ם 52 *l*
 כִּי־רָאֵה 118 *s*²
 כִּי־תִחַלֶּה 118 *s*²
 כִּי־דָר 21 *d*
 כִּי־הִים 35 *u*
 כִּי־נִדָּף? 51 *k, 66 f*
 כִּי־בָ 19 *o, 84 b o*
 כִּי for כִּי 24 *b*,
 cf. 93 *y*
 כִּי omitted in
 obj.-clause 157 *a*, intro-
 ducing obj.-clause 157 *b*,
 introducing direct narra-
 tion 157 *b*, causal 158 *b*,
 in conditional clauses
 159 *aa, bb*, asseverative
 159 *ee*, adversative and
 exceptive 163, temporal
 164 *d*, consecutive 107 *u*,
 166 *b*
 כִּי־אֵם 163 *a-d*
 כִּי־לִי 86 *i*
 כִּי־עַל־בֶּן 158 *b*¹
 כִּי־עֵינַיִם 35 *b*

כִּי־תָרֶן 24 *e*
 כִּבָּה 100 *i*
 כִּבְרִים 88 *b, 131 d*²
 כָּל (verb עָל) 73 *b*
 כָּל used abso-
 lutely 117 *e*, with a fol-
 lowing genitive 117 *c*,
 127 *b, c*; construction of
 its predicate, 146 *c*; with
 a participle absol. 116 *w*;
 with a negative 152 *b*
 כָּל־אֵתִי 75 *oo*
 כָּלֶה 91 *e*
 כָּלֶה מִקְלָלִי 61 *h*
 כָּלוּ (= כָּלָא) 75 *qq*
 כָּלִי 96
 כָּלֶל 72 *m*
 כָּלָנוּ 91 *f*
 כָּמוֹ 103 *k*
 כָּמוֹנִי 103 *h*^{5, k}
 כָּמִפְנֵי 118 *s*²
 כָּמִרִים? 84 *b m*
 כֹּן 100 *i*
 כָּדָהִיא 20 *g*
 כָּנֹלוֹת 20 *h, 53 q*
 כָּנָם 85 *t, 87 h*
 כָּנֹפֹת 93 *ee*
 כָּסִיל 84 *2 o*
 כָּעֵבֶד 35 *g*
 כָּעֹפֶרֶת 35 *g*
 כָּעַל 118 *s*²
 כָּעֶפֶר 35 *n*
 כָּפִימוֹ 103 *f*³
 כָּכָה 91 *e*
 כָּפִלִים 134 *r*²
 כָּרְמֶל 85 *s*
 כָּרַח 22 *s, 64 e*
 כָּרְתָה 64 *e*
 כָּרְתִי 44 *o*

כָּשִׁית 20 *g*
 כָּשַׁל forms of 78 *c*
 כָּתַב 25 *c*², a qitāl
 form 84^a *n*, the *d* un-
 changeable 93 *ww*
 כְּתוּבִים 91 *e*
 כְּתִיב־הַרְת 9 *u*
 כְּתִיבָה 95 *r*
 כְּתִיר 65 *e*

לְ preposition

45 *f, g*; pointed לְ 102 *f-i*,
 103 *e, f*; uses of 119 *r-u*;
 reflexive use 119 *s*; intro-
 ducing the object 117 *n*;
 denoting the genitive 129;
 with a passive and with
 passive ideas 121 *f*; לְ in-
 scriptionis 119 *u*; distri-
 tributive 123 *d*; with the
 infinitive 114 *f-s*, "ולְ with
 infin. 114 *p*; = *in respect*
to 143 *e*; perhaps = Arab.
lā, *surely* 143 *e*.

לֹא origin 100 *a*;
 in prohibitions 107 *o*;
 with the Jussive 109 *d*;
 as negative answer 150 *n*,
 uses of 152 *a-d, u*; nega-
 tiving a single idea 152 *a*¹;
 exceptional positions of for
 emphasis 152 *e*; וְלֹא = *in*
order that . . . not 165 *a*;
 וְלֹא forming hypothetical
 sentence 159 *dd*

לֹא written for לְ
 103 *g*

לְאָרִיב 53 *q*

לְאָרִיב 51 *l*, 72 *v*

לְאָמִי 72 *p*

לְאָמִי 23 *d*
 לְאָמִי 28 *b*
 לְבָר 119 *c*
 לְבוֹ 67 *n*
 לְבוֹר 67 *r*
 לְבִיא 53 *q*, 72 *z*
 לְבִיאָה 80 *h*
 לְבִיתִי with infin.
 114 *s*; with impf. 152 *x*

לְבָר 93 *dd*

לְבָעֵר קִוִּי 29 *f*

לְבָרִם 67 *p*

לְבָה 69 *e*

לְדָרְיוֹשׁ 45 *g*

לְהָ 23 *k*, 103 *g*

לְהוֹשִׁיבִי 90 *n*

לְהוֹיֹת 28 *b*

לְהָבִיל 68 *i*

לְהַנְפֹּה 72 *z*

לְהַנְתִּיחַ 66 *f*

לְהַפִּיר 67 *w*

לְהַפְרֹכֶם 67 *dd*

לְהַרְאוֹת 75 *c*

לְהַשׁוֹת 75 *qq*

לְהַשְׁמָעוֹת 53 *l*

לְ written for לֹא
 103 *g*

לְ in wishes, its
 construction 151 *e*; in con-
 ditional clauses 159 *l, m*,
x-z

לְוִיא 23 *i*

לְוִי 72 *p*

לְוִינִי 91 *k*

לְוִיָּה 86 *f*

לְוִיָּה formation

27 *w*, in conditional clauses
 159 *l, m, x-z*

לָחָה 91 *e*

לָחִטִּיא 53 *q*

לָחִיִּים 88 *b*

לָחִלָּה 53 *q*

לָחֶם 22 *h*

לָחֶם 28 *b*, 67 *cc*

לָחֶנְיָה 67 *cc*

לָחֶפֶז פִּירוֹת 84^b *n*

לָשֶׁעַת 66 *b*

לָהוֹנָה 102 *m*

לָלָה 90 *f*

לָפֹד 69 *n*, 71

לָרֹא 75 *rr*

לָרִשְׁנֹה 69 *m*

לָךְ imperative,

for לָכָה 48 *i*; as an inter-
 section 105 *b*

לָכָה pronoun, for

לָךְ 103 *g*

לָבו 105 *b*

לָלֹאוֹת 93 *x*

לָלָז 53 *q*

לָלָה (Moab.) for

לָלָה 7 *f*

לָלַת 19 *d*, 69 *m*

לָמָה, לָמָה, לָמָה its
 punctuation 49 *f, g*, 102 *l*;
 in requests or warnings,
 often nearly = *lest* 150 *e*

לָמוֹ 103 *f*³

לָמוֹ 103 *k*

לָמָחוֹת 53 *q*

לָמִינָהֶם 91 *k*

לָמוֹ 119 *e*²

לִמְעַן 119 c	לְשֹׁמֵד 53 q	uses 137; in exclamations 148
לְמִרּוֹת 53 q	לְשֹׁמֵעַ 53 q	מִהְיֹות 102 b
לְמִשְׁאֹחַ 45 e	לְשֹׁרֶת שָׁם 64 g	מִהֲלָכִים 53 o
לְנוֹעַ 66 b	לֵחַ 69 m	מִהֲבִכָּה followed by
לָנָה 80 i	לְחַת-הָרֶבֶב 102 f	אֵת 115 d, cf. 45 e
לְנִחוּם 53 q	לְחַתּוֹ 66 i	מִהֲקַצְעוֹת 53 q
לְנִפְלֹא 53 q, 66 f	מ as preforma-	מִהֵר (ptcp.) 52 s
לְנִפְשׁ 102 i	tive of participles 52 c,	מוֹ- verbal suffix
לְסִתּוֹר 53 q	sometimes dropped 52 s; of	58 g; noun suff. 91 f, l,
לְעִבִיר 53 q	infin. (rare) 45 e; of nouns	103 f ²
לְעוֹז 72 q	85 e-m	מוֹט 72 q
לְעִינִים 35 g	מִי, מִה־, מִי for מִה 20 d, 37	מוֹל 72 p
לְעִמּוֹת 100 b, 101 a	מִאֻמָּה 90 f	מוֹפֵד 71
לְעִנּוֹת 51 l	מֵאֵן (ptcp.) 52 s	מוֹסְרוֹת see Additions
לְעֵשֶׂר 53 k	מֵאֲכָכֶם 61 d	מוֹעֲדָת 52 s
לְפָנַי 119 c, 130 a ³	מֵאֲסָפָיו 52 p	מוֹצֵא 53 o
לְצָבָא 45 g	מֵאֵת שָׁמֶר 29 f	מוֹצֵא 75 oo
לְצִבּוֹת 53 q	מִבְּטָח 92 g	מוֹצֵאָה 95 p
לְצִחַק בָּנוּ 29 g	מִבִּי with final א	מוֹצֵאֵת 74 i, 94 f
לְצִצִּים 55 f	dropped 72 z, 74 k, 76 h	מוֹרִים 93 p p
לָקַח 66 g	מִבִּיאָה 91 k	מִוֶּתֶה 90 f
לָקַח 66 g	מִבִּית לִי 130 a ³	מִוִּין 68 i
לָקַח 52 s (ptcp.)	מִבְּלִי 119 c ²	מִוֶּתֶה וְהַפֶּד 113 h ²
לָקַח 10 h, 52 d	מִבְּלַעֲדִי 119 c ²	מִחוּץ 119 c
לָקַח 66 g	מִבְּעַתָּה 80 d	מִחְלָמִים 53 o
לָקַח 66 g	מִבְּצִיר for מִבִּי 20 m	מִחְנָה fem. 122 l ¹
לָקַח 65 g	מִגְבִּירָתָם 20 m	מִחְנֶה 93 ss
לָקַח 19 k, 74 h	מִגְדוֹן 85 v	מִחְסִי 13 b
לָרָא 69 n	מִגְדֹּל (Moab.) 91 k ²	מִחְצִירִים 53 o
לָרְאוֹת 51 l	מִגְנִי 85 f	מִחְרָשׁוֹת 95 q
לָרְאוֹתָם 53 q	מִגְרֵשׁ infin. 45 e	מִחְרָת 80 g
לָשְׁטֹנוּ 61 b	מִגְרֵשָׁה 91 k	מִטְחִיו 75 k k
לָשְׂאוֹל 10 g ³	מִדְּבָר 19 d, 54 c	מִי 37; its uses
לָשִׁבִית 53 q	מִדְּבָרָה 26 h, 67 o	137
לָשִׁלַּח 65 e	מִדָּה 91 e	מִי יִתֵּן in wishes
לָשִׁלַּח 134 o ¹	מִדּוֹ 27 s	• 151 a, d
	מִדּוּעַ 99 e	מִיחּוֹה 102 m
	מִי, מִה־, מִי 20 d, 37; its	מִים 88 d, 96
		מִימִינִים 24 f ² , 70 b

לִּי מִיָּמִין 130 <i>a</i> ³	133 <i>a, b</i> ; = <i>too much</i> or	מְקוֹם 85 <i>g</i>
מִיָּמִין ? (Siloam inscr.)	<i>too little</i> for 133 <i>c</i> ; preg-	מִנַּח (infin.) 45 <i>e</i>
7 <i>f</i>	nant use in comparisons	מִנְהָ 75 <i>qq</i>
מִיָּדָי 69 <i>m</i>	119 <i>ff</i> , 133 <i>e</i>	מִנְהִיךְ 93 <i>ss</i>
מִנְהָ 23 <i>f</i>	מִנְהוּא 103 <i>m</i>	מִנְהַנְתִּי 90 <i>n</i>
מִכְרָם 48 <i>i</i> , 61 <i>b</i>	מִן 37 <i>b</i>	מִנְהָ (infin.) 45 <i>e</i>
מִכְתָּה 91 <i>k</i>	מִנְחָן ? 55 <i>b</i>	מִנְהָ 75 <i>rr</i>
מִכְתָּה 91 <i>n</i>	מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ²	מִנְהֵיהֶם 93 <i>ss</i>
מִנָּא 75 <i>oo</i>	מִנְהוּ 103 <i>m</i>	מִנְחָיו 93 <i>ss</i>
מִנְחָא 74 <i>g</i>	מִנִּי plur. apoc. ?	מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>
מִנְחָות 74 <i>h</i>	87 <i>f</i> ; poet. for מִן 90 <i>m</i> ,	מִנְחָה 65 <i>d</i>
מִנְחָה 23 <i>c</i> , 85 <i>g</i>	102 <i>b</i> , for מִנְחָה 103 <i>i</i> (in	מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>
מִנְחָה 91 <i>e</i> , <i>l</i>	pause מִנִּי)	מִנְחָה 69 <i>m</i>
מִנְחָה 75 <i>qq</i>	מִנִּי twice poet. for	מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>
מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ²	מִן 102 <i>b</i>	מִנְחָה 102 <i>b</i>
מִנִּי 75 <i>qq</i>	מִסָּב 85 <i>h, k</i>	מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>
מִנְחָה 46 <i>e</i>	מִסְכָּה 3 <i>b</i>	מִנְחָה 85 <i>k</i>
מִנְחָה 55 <i>b</i> , 90 <i>m</i>	מִסְכָּה ? 67 <i>v</i>	מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>
מִנִּי 72 <i>ee</i>	מִסְכָּה 75 <i>rr</i>	מִנְחָה 75 <i>rr</i>
מִנְחָה 46 <i>d</i>	מִסְכָּה (infin.) 45 <i>e</i>	מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>
מִנְחָה 99 <i>e</i> , 119 <i>c</i> ²	מִסְכָּה 23 <i>f</i>	מִנְחָה, מִנְחָה (infin.) 45 <i>e</i> ,
מִנְחָה 68 <i>k</i>	מִעוֹ 85 <i>k</i>	74 <i>h</i>
מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i>	מִעוֹנִיהָ ? 20 <i>o</i>	מִנְחָה 85 <i>u</i>
מִנְחָה 64 <i>i</i>	מִעוֹנִים 53 <i>o</i>	מִנְחָה ? 80 <i>b</i> ²
מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>	מִעוֹנִי 90 <i>o</i>	מִנְחָה 46 <i>d</i>
מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ³	מִעוֹלִי 119 <i>c</i> ³	מִנְחָה (Inf.) 45 <i>e</i>
מִנְחָה 75 <i>dd</i> , 93 <i>ss</i>	מִעוֹלָה (infin.) 45 <i>d</i>	מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ²
מִנְחָה 103 <i>m</i> , 135 <i>o</i> ³	מִעוֹלִי 93 <i>ss</i>	מִנְחָה 67 <i>cc</i>
מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ²	מִעוֹת 133 <i>e</i> ⁴	מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>
מִנְחָה 85 <i>g</i>	מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i>	מִנְחָה 92 <i>g</i>
מִנְחָה 85 <i>g</i> ¹	מִנְחָה 74 <i>h</i>	מִנְחָה 80 <i>d</i> , 94 <i>f</i>
מן preposition	מִנְחָה 92 <i>g</i>	מִנְחָה 116 <i>g</i> ¹
101 <i>a</i> ; its punctuation	מִנְחָה 91 <i>n</i>	מִנְחָה 75 <i>kk</i>
102 <i>b</i> ; with suffixes	מִנְחָה 67 <i>v</i>	מִנְחָה 97 <i>b</i> ¹
103 <i>i, m</i> ; its meanings	מִנְחָה 130 <i>a</i> ³	מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>
119 <i>v-w</i> ; partitive 119 <i>w</i> ² ;	מִנְחָה 88 <i>c</i>	מִנְחָה 72 <i>c</i> ² , <i>n</i>
negative force of 119 <i>w-y</i> ;	מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>	מִנְחָה 90 <i>k</i>
with the comparative	מִנְחָה 93 <i>oo</i> ¹	מִנְחָה 90 <i>k</i>
	מִנְחָה 93 <i>qq</i>	מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> ²
		מִנְחָה ? 64 <i>i</i>

מָחַם 85 *k*
מָתַן 92 *g*

נ as preforma-
tive of nouns 85 *n*
נָא 105 *b*, em-
phasizing a cohortative
108 *b, c*, a jussive 109 *b, c*;
with an imperative 110 *d*
נָאדָר 23 *b*
נָאדָרִי ? 90 *l*
נָאחָה 75 *x*
נָאוּ 73 *g*, 75 *x*
נָאוֹת 72 *h*
נָאחֹז 68 *i*
נָאם 50 *a*¹
נָאף 64 *e*
נָאץ 52 *o*, 64 *e*
נָאצוּתִיךָ 84^b *e*
נָאָר 64 *e*
נָאָרִים 67 *u*
נָאָרְתָה 64 *e*
נָבָאִים 93 *oo*
נָבִיחָה 67 *dd*
נָבִיחַת 75 *qq*
נָבִלָה 67 *dd*
נָבִלָלוּ 51 *h*
נָבִיחָה 93 *i*
נָבִחוֹת 93 *r*
נָבִיחוֹתִי 86 *i*
נָבִיחַת ? 80 *f*
נָבִלָת 75 *x*
נָבִפוּ 61 *a*
נָבִש forms of 78 *c*
נָבִ ? 72 *n*
נָבִדָה 67 *cc*
נָבִדָהוּ 92 *b*¹
נָבִדָהי 20 *m*
נָבִדָהי 92 *b*¹
נָבִה 66 *c*

נָהָה 66 *c*
נָהָלָה 64 *d*
נָהָרִים 88 *c*, 93 *ee*
נָהָי 69 *t*
נָהָם 93 *ss*
נָהָ (inf. constr.)
72 *q*
נָהָם 93 *ss*
נָהָדָה 69 *t*
נָהָ (inf. constr.)
72 *q*
נָהָ forms of 76 *c*
נָהָלָה 67 *dd*
נָהָבָאִים 93 *oo*
נָהָבָה 63 *c*
נָהָבָה 75 *pp*
נָהָ forms of 78 *c*
נָהָ 66 *c*
נָהָ 91 *e*
נָהָל 67 *u*
נָהָלָה (from חָלָה)
63 *c*
נָהָלָה 90 *f*
נָהָלָת ? 80 *g*
נָהָם 66 *f*
נָהָמִים 67 *u*, *dd*
נָהָנִי 32 *d*
נָהָנָה 23 *f*¹
נָהָר 67 *u*
נָהָרִי 75 *x*
נָהָת 95 *k*
נָהָת 67 *u*
נָהָתִים 63 *c*
נָהָ forms of 76 *c*
נָהָ 66 *c*
נָהָת 75 *v*
נָהָי 75 *x*
נָהָמִים 93 *oo*
נָהָע 65 *d*
נָהָם 76 *f*

נָבִדָהוּ 121 *d*¹
נָבִה forms of 76 *c*
נָבִחָה 27 *w*
נָבִר 93-99
נָבִר שׁוּעַ 29 *g*
נָבִרוּ (imper.) 51 *o*
נָבִמְבָה 75 *y*
נָבִמוֹן 72 *v*
נָבִמֹל 72 *ee*
נָבִלָהם 67 *dd*
נָבִמְבָאִים 93 *oo*
נָבִר 72 *dd*
נָבִבָה 67 *dd*
נָבִה 76 *b*
נָבִסֹן 72 *r, v*
נָבִסֹן אָחֹר 29 *e*
נָבִבָהם 91 *k*
נָבִבָהם 60 *b*
נָבִעֹר 72 *ee, v*
נָבִעֹר 63 *c*
נָבִעֹרֹת 63 *c*
נָבִלָת 74 *g*
נָבִלָתָה 75 *oo*
נָבִלָה 61 *b*
נָבִלָל 55 *d*
נָבִפִּי 67 *dd*, 78 *b*
נָבִפָּה 67 *dd*
נָבִפִּשׁ שְׁנִים 132 *g*, 134 *e*¹
נָבִצַּב forms of 78 *b*
נָבִחָה 91 *e*
נָבִחִים 85 *u*¹
נָבִחָה 48 *i*
נָבִחָה (imper.) 51 *o*
נָבִחֹם 72 *h*
נָבִחָה 72 *dd*
נָבִחָה 72 *dd*
נָבִחָה 23 *i*
נָבִחָה 75 *x*
נָבִחָה 75 *rr*

נָרָא (Is 41 ²³ Keth.)	כָּפוּ 69 <i>h</i> ¹	uses of 119 <i>aa-dd</i> ; causal,
48 <i>g</i> ¹	כָּפוֹת (from נָכַף) ?	with perfect 158 <i>b</i> , with
נָרַד 26 <i>r</i>	69 <i>h</i> ¹	infin. 158 <i>c</i> ; concessive
נָרְפָא 75 <i>oo</i>	כָּפְרִים <i>a letter</i> 124 <i>b</i> ¹	160 <i>c</i>
נָרְפָתָה 75 <i>qq</i>	כָּרִים 84 ^b <i>f</i>	עָלִין 133 <i>g</i> ¹
נָשָׂא 66 <i>c</i> , 76 <i>b</i>	כָּרַר 67 <i>cc</i>	עָלִיָּה Is 23 ⁷ without
נָשָׂא forms of 76 <i>b</i>	כְּתוּמוֹם 60 <i>h</i>	article 126 <i>z</i> ²
נָשָׂאת 76 <i>b</i>	ע pronunciation	עָלִימוֹ 103 <i>f</i> ³
נָשָׂאת 74 <i>i</i> , 94 <i>f</i>	6 <i>c</i> ; with dages f. implici-	עָם its origin
נָשָׂאת 23 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	tum 22 <i>a-c</i>	101 <i>a</i> ; pointing, with suff.
נָשָׂי 75 <i>qq</i>	עָבְרִי 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	103 <i>c</i>
נָשָׂקָה 66 <i>e</i>	עָבַד 84 ^a <i>t</i>	עָמְדָךְ 61 <i>d</i>
נָשָׂא 75 <i>oo</i>	עָגוּל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָמְקָה ? 93 <i>kk</i>
נָשָׂאָר 48 <i>g</i> ¹	עָדֵיהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָפִי plur. apoc. ?
נָשָׂרְנוּ 67 <i>u</i>	עָר, poetic עָרִי 103 <i>o</i> ; with	87 <i>f</i>
נָשָׂרִי 52 <i>m</i>	imperf. of past time 107 <i>c</i>	עָמְמִים 93 <i>aa</i>
נָשָׂתָה ? 75 <i>x</i>	עָדוּתִי ? 91 <i>n</i>	עָנְבִי 20 <i>h</i>
נָשָׂתָעָה 75 <i>l</i>	עָדִיִּים 29 <i>e</i> ¹	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
נָתַךְ forms of 78 <i>c</i>	עָדִיכֶם 103 <i>o</i>	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
נָתַן 66 <i>h</i> , <i>i</i> ; with	עָדָר 72 <i>m</i>	עָפֹת 75 <i>aa</i>
accus. and infin. = <i>allow to</i>	עָוָה 67 <i>ff</i>	עָפְאִים 93 <i>z</i>
157 <i>b</i> ²	עָוִן 55 <i>c</i>	עֵץ 9 <i>l</i> , 26 <i>o</i> ¹
נָתַן 66 <i>i</i> , 69 <i>m</i> ²	עָלָה 93 <i>u</i>	עָצֹבֹן 93 <i>uu</i>
נָתַן 66 <i>h</i>	עָוֶכֶךְ 61 <i>h</i> , 91 <i>d</i>	עָצְפִי 61 <i>a</i>
נָתַנִּי 44 <i>o</i>	עָוֶנִי 91 <i>k</i>	עָקֵב 93 <i>hh</i>
נָתַתְּ 19 <i>c</i> , 20 <i>l</i>	עָוִרִי 72 <i>s</i>	עָקֵב 19 <i>m</i>
נָתַתָּה 44 <i>g</i> , 66 <i>h</i>	עָזָזֹל 30 <i>n</i>	עָרְבִיָּאִים 93 <i>x</i>
נָסָאָה ? 55 <i>f</i>	עָזְבוּנִיךְ 93 <i>uu</i>	עָרְפָּם 88 <i>c</i>
נָסָוֹת 67 <i>d</i> ¹	עָנָת 80 <i>g</i>	עָרִי 75 <i>cc</i>
נָסִיב 103 <i>o</i>	עָטָה 75 <i>v</i>	עָרוֹם 118 <i>n</i> , 146 <i>r</i> ¹
נָסִיב 50 <i>e</i>	עֵי 24 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>y</i>	עָרוּמִים 93 <i>pp</i>
נָסְלוּ 10 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>q</i>	עֵז 82	עָרוֹת (Hb 3 ¹³) 75 <i>n</i>
נָסִיג 72 <i>p</i>	עֵינֹת 93 <i>v</i>	עָרְכָה 48 <i>i</i>
נָסִיפָתָה 90 <i>f</i>	עֵיר 96	עָרְכִי 48 <i>i</i>
נָסִיגָה 72 <i>p</i>	עֵירָה 91 <i>e</i>	עָרְלָה 95 <i>d</i>
נָסִיגָה 91 <i>e</i>	עֵירוֹ 93 <i>v</i>	עָרְמָם 91 <i>e</i>
נָסִיגִי 24 <i>g</i> ¹	עֵירִים 27 <i>w</i>	עָשָׁבוֹת 20 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>o</i>
נָסָה 91 <i>e</i>	עַל 2 <i>f</i> ¹	עָשָׂה 69 <i>m</i> ²
נָסָר 6 <i>k</i>	עַל its origin	עָשָׂהָל 23 <i>k</i> ¹
נָסָם 85 <i>t</i> , 87 <i>h</i>	101 <i>a</i> ; poetic עָלִי 103 <i>o</i> ;	עָשָׂהוּ 75 <i>n</i>

עָשָׂה ptc. passive
24 *b*, 75 *v*
עֲשׂוֹת 75 *v*
עָשָׂה 80 *l*
עָשָׂה אֲלֵפִים 97 *g*
עָשָׂה 93 *l*, 97 *f*
עָשָׂה 93 *dd*
עָשָׂה 67 *cc*
עָשָׂה 67 *cc*
עָשָׂה 97 *e*¹
עָשָׂה 95 *g*¹
עָשָׂה 90 *h*
עָשָׂה 84 *b* *f*
עָשָׂה ? 116 *g*¹

פָּאָרָה 23 *c*
פָּאָרָה צִוִּי 23 *h*¹
פָּאָרָה 85 *t*
פָּאָרָה 96
פָּאָרָה 80 *f*
פָּאָרָה (Ne 5¹⁴) ? 91 *e*
פָּאָרָה 96
פָּאָרָה 91 *f*
פָּאָרָה 93 *h*
פָּאָרָה 22 *e*
פָּאָרָה 52 *n*

פָּאָרָה with imperf.
(twice perf.) 107 *g* and
note³, 152 *w* (end), after
ideas of fearing 152 *w*

פָּאָרָה 91 *e*
פָּאָרָה 90 *h*
פָּאָרָה 145 *h*
פָּאָרָה 103 *f*³
פָּאָרָה 39 *e*, 41 *d*
פָּאָרָה 93 *g*
פָּאָרָה 96
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *n*
פָּאָרָה 22 *e*

פָּאָרָה 75 *rr*
פָּאָרָה 1 *i*
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*
פָּאָרָה 9 *f*
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *f*
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *b*
פָּאָרָה 56
פָּאָרָה 93 *dd*
פָּאָרָה 80 *g*
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*

פָּאָרָה with 3rd fem.
pl. 132 *g*, 145 *e*

פָּאָרָה ? 123 *a*¹
פָּאָרָה 69 *m*
פָּאָרָה 95 *e*
פָּאָרָה 125 *h*
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*
פָּאָרָה 75 *qq*
פָּאָרָה 133 *b*²
פָּאָרָה 52 *p*
פָּאָרָה 88 *e*
פָּאָרָה (verb) 67 *n*
פָּאָרָה 72 *s*
פָּאָרָה 86 *g*
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *c*

פָּאָרָה, פָּאָרָה 93 *u*
פָּאָרָה 67 *cc*
פָּאָרָה 10 *g*
פָּאָרָה 30 *r*, 81 *d*²
פָּאָרָה 93 *gg*
פָּאָרָה 93 *gg*
פָּאָרָה 55 *d*
פָּאָרָה 46 *d*
פָּאָרָה passive ptc.
75 *v*
פָּאָרָה 81 *d*², 85 *w*
פָּאָרָה ? 44 *l*, 72 *o*

פָּאָרָה for קָם 9 *b*, 23 *g*,
analogous cases 72 *p*

קָם 80 *g*
קָם 9 *v*, 67 *o*
קָם the not com-
pensatory 20 *o*, for קָם
67 *o*, doubtful form 100 *o*²

קָם 52 *l*
קָם 85 *u*
קָם 9 *v*, 93 *r*
קָם 124 *h*
קָם 145 *h*
קָם = *hqq* !
146 *b*

קָם constr. st. 90 *n*
קָם 72 *s*
קָם 20 *g*
קָם 72 *p*
קָם 1 *i*
קָם 21 *c*
קָם for קָם 19 *i*,
66 *g*
קָם for קָם 19 *i*,
66 *g*
קָם 58 *g*, 61 *g*,
66 *g*

קָם 66 *g*, 93 *h*
קָם 93 *q*
קָם 26 *g*
קָם 19 *f*
קָם ? 93 *q*
קָם 52 *o*
קָם 76 *h*
קָם 76 *h*
קָם 84 *a* *u*
קָם 72 *m*
קָם 91 *f*
קָם 67 *ee*
קָם 72 *g*

קַמְּשֵׁנִים 85 *u*¹
 קִמַּת 44 *h*¹
 קִנְיָה 20 *g*
 קִנְמוֹן 93 *uu*
 קִסְמִי 46 *d*
 קִפּוֹד 27 *w*
 קִץ (Is 18⁶) 73 *b*
 קִצָּה 91 *e*
 קִצְוִי 93 *w*
 קִצְרָם 61 *d*
 קִרְאִים 75 *oo*
 קִרְאֹן 46 *f*
 קִרְאָן 74 *h*
 קִרְאָת 74 *g*
 קִרְב 52 *n*, 64 *h*
 קִרְב 84 *n*
 קִרְבָּה 48 *i*
 קִרְחָא 80 *h*
 קִרְן 82
 קִרְנִים 88 *b*, 93 *n*
 קִשְׁט 26 *r*, 93 *p*
 ק 6 *g*, *o*
 ק 22 *g*, *s*
 קָאָה 105 *b*
 קָאָא (א with Map-
 piq) 14 *d*, 64 *e*
 קָאָה 75 *n*
 קָאָה 75 *v*
 קָאָה? 72 *p*
 קָאָה 61 *h*, 75 *v*
 קָאָש 23 *g*, 72 *p*
 קָאָש 96
 קָאָשֶׁן 27 *w*
 קָבָה adverbial?
 132 *h*²
 קָבָה 48 *l*, 75 *cc*
 קָבָה 67 *ee*
 קָבָה 67 *m*
 קָבֹא 23 *i*

רַבְעִים 93 *qq*
 רַבָּת 73 *a*
 רַבְתִּי עִם 90 *l*
 רַבֵּע 65 *d*
 רַבְעִי 93 *ii*
 רַב 19 *i*, 69 *g*
 רַבָּה 69 *m*²
 רַבְּרִי 61 *c*
 רֹם 72 *q*
 רָחֵם 22 *h*
 רָחֶמָה 80 *k*
 רָחֻמִּים 93 *l*, 145 *h*
 רִי 24 *b*, cf. 93 *y*
 רִבּוֹת 73 *a*
 רִיב יָרִיב 73 *d*
 רִים 23 *e*
 רִבּוֹ 67 *ee*
 רִכְסִי 93 *r*
 רִפּוֹ 67 *m*
 רִפּוֹ 20 *i*
 רִפּוֹנִי? 87 *f*
 רִנִּי 67 *ff*
 רַעְבוֹן 85 *u*
 רַעָה 64 *d*
 רַעָה 84^a *i*, 93 *ll*
 רַעָה 67 *o*, *s*
 רַעָה 91 *k*
 רַעָה 91 *k*
 רַעָה 74 *h*
 רַפְּאִית 75 *oo*
 רַפָּה 75 *pp*
 רַצְאוֹ 113 *s*²
 רַק 153
 רַשָּׁה (Moab.) 7 *c*
 רַשָּׁה pronunciation
 6 *i*, *k*
 רַשָּׁה 76 *b*, 93 *t*
 רַשָּׁה, רַשִּׁי 84^a *f*, 93 *ll*

שְׁרִיד 93 *ss*
 שָׁה 96
 שְׁחָרוֹן 86 *g*
 שְׁחָמָה 73 *f*
 שְׁחָה 24 *d*, 93 *x*
 שְׁחָן without arti-
 cle 125 *f*, 126 *e*¹
 שְׁחָלֹת 6 *k*
 שְׁלַק 66 *e*
 שְׁמָאֵל 23 *c*
 שְׁעִיר 82
 שְׁעָר 93 *gg*
 שְׁעָרָה 82
 שְׁרִי (n. pr.) 80 *l*;
 in Ju 5¹⁵, 87 *g*
 שְׁ as preforma-
 tive of noun 85 *o*
 שְׁ, שְׁ, שְׁ, שְׁ (relative)
 36; uses of p. 485 note
 שְׁאָטִים 72 *p*
 שְׁאָטָךְ 23 *c*
 שְׁאָל 64 *e*
 שְׁאָלָה (Is 7¹¹) 29 *u*
 שְׁאָלָנִי 64 *f*
 שְׁאָלָךְ 64 *f*
 שְׁאָלָתִי 64 *f*
 שְׁאָלָתִי 44 *d*
 שְׁאָלָתִים 44 *d*, 64 *f*
 שְׁאָסִיךְ 67 *s*
 שְׁבִיטִים 86 *g*¹
 שְׁבִיטָה? 91 *e*
 שְׁבִטָה? 97 *c*
 שְׁבִרִי 61 *b*
 שְׁבִת 69 *c*
 שְׁדָרָה 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
 שְׁדָה form of the
 name 10 *b*¹
 שׁוֹב infin. abs., er-

ror for יָשׁוּב 19 *i*, 69 *g*; in-
fin. constr. (once) of שׁוּב 72 *g*
שׁוּבִי (imper.) 72 *s*
שׁוּבִי 72 *b*
שׁוֹשִׁי 75 *z*
שָׁחַד 22 *p*, 64 *a*
שָׁחַד 67 *ee*
שָׁחַד 67 *cc*
שָׁחַדָּה 64 *a*
שָׁחַת 95 *k*
שָׁלַח 85 *v*
שָׁחַת 93 *v*
שָׁכַב 45 *c*
שָׁכַבָּה 61 *c*, 93 *s*
שָׁכַחַת 65 *g*
שָׁכַח 44 *c*
שָׁכַנְתִּי 90 *n*
שָׁלַחַת 55 *i*, 85 *o*
שָׁלַח בָּהּ 21 *c*
שָׁלַח with accus.
121 *d*¹
שָׁלוֹם subst. and
adj. 141 *c*²
שָׁלַח 65 *a*
שָׁלַח 52 *o*
שָׁלַחַת 61 *h*, 65 *d*
שָׁלַחַת 21 *f*, 28 *e*²
שָׁלַח 129 *h*¹
שָׁלַח 84 *a* *g*
שָׁלַם 52 *o*
שָׁלַם 93 *q*
שָׁלַם 129 *h*¹
שָׁלַחַת 23 *f*
שָׁם 26 *o*¹, 96
שָׁמַיִל 90 *k*
שָׁמוֹת (inf.) 67 *r*
שָׁמַיִם 88 *d*, 96
שָׁמַיִם, see Additions

שָׁמַח עָשָׂר 97 *e*
שָׁמַע 46 *f*
שָׁמַעַת 80 *g*
שָׁמַח 48 *i*², 61 *f*¹
שָׁמַח 88 *c*
שָׁמַח 48 *i*², 61 *f*¹
שָׁמַח 23 *l*
שָׁמַח 75 *rr*
שָׁמַח (Phoen.) 7 *d*¹
שָׁמַח 95 *c*¹
שָׁמַח 97 *d*
שָׁמַח 80 *g*
שָׁמַח 65 *d*
שָׁמַח 135 *p*¹
שָׁמַח 29 *i*¹
שָׁמַח 86 *g*
שָׁמַח 10 *g*
שָׁמַח 80 *f*
שָׁמַח 84 *b* *m*
שָׁמַח 93 *o*
שָׁמַח 95 *f*
שָׁמַח 22 *s*
שָׁמַח 23 *f*
שָׁמַח 22 *s*
שָׁמַח 9 *v*, 93 *r*
שָׁמַח 55 *f*
שָׁמַח 9 *u*, 26 *o*¹
שָׁמַח (only Qal) 78 *b*
שָׁמַח 73 *d*
שָׁמַח 67 *ee*
שָׁמַח (inf. abs.) 75 *n*
שָׁמַח 73 *d*
שָׁמַח 97 *b*¹
שָׁמַח 97 *d*

ת as preforma-
tive of nouns 85 *p-r*

ת, ת original femi-
nine ending 80 *f, g*, 89 *e*

תָּאָהָבִי 63 *m*, 93 *t*¹

תָּאָחַר 65 *e*
תָּאָחַל 68 *c*
תָּאָחַלָּהּ 68 *f*
תָּאָחַלָּהּ 51 *m*
תָּאָחַלָּהּ 68 *h*
תָּאָחַר 93 *q*
תָּאָחַת 68 *f*
תָּאָחַת 75 *hh*
תָּאָחַת 72 *k*
תָּאָחַת 48 *d*
תָּאָחַת 48 *d*
תָּאָחַת 10 *g*³
תָּאָחַת as 3rd pl. fem.
47 *k*
תָּאָחַל 85 *p*
תָּאָחַל 75 *hh*
תָּאָחַר 53 *n*
תָּאָחַל 75 *hh*
תָּאָחַל 27 *l*
תָּאָחַל 52 *n*
תָּאָחַל 75 *oo*
תָּאָחַל 67 *i*
תָּאָחַל 75 *dd*
תָּאָחַל 53 *n*
תָּאָחַל 85 *r*
תָּאָחַל 75 *hh*
תָּאָחַל 72 *k*
תָּאָחַר 53 *n*
תָּאָחַל 69 *x*
תָּאָחַל 80 *g*
תָּאָחַל 53 *q*
תָּאָחַל 75 *gg*
תָּאָחַל 84 *a* *r*
תָּאָחַל 50 *e*
תָּאָחַל 23 *f*
תָּאָחַל 26 *r*, 69 *v*
תָּאָחַר 51 *g*
תָּאָחַר 47 *k*
תָּאָחַל 72 *r*

תַּחֲנוּתִי 91 n	תַּמְקִנָּה 67 dd	תֵּבֶר 69 p
תַּחַת 103 o	תַּאֲלֵה־מִמּוֹר 67 y	תֵּבֶר־מָוָה 85 q
תַּחַת 66 f	תַּנְדֵּף ? 66 f	תֵּרוֹמִם (Jb 17 ¹) 72 co
תַּחֲתֶיךָ 103 d	תַּנְשֵׂא 19 d	תֵּרֶנָּה 47 k
תַּחֲתֵי 103 d	תַּנְתַּחן אֶת־ 121 b ¹	תֵּרֶנָּה 44 o
תַּטְעִי (Is 17 ¹⁰) ? 20 m ³	תַּסְבִּינָה 67 d ¹	תֵּרְפִים 124 h, 132 h ²
תַּטְעִי 70 e	תַּעֲבֹדֶם 60 b	תֵּרְפִינָה 75 q
תַּיִבִּי 27 w	תַּעֲבֹרִי 47 g	תֵּרְצֶחֻי ? 52 q
תַּיִבִּי 27 w	תַּעֲנֶנָּה 51 m	תֵּשָׁאֲנִיהָ (Ez 23 ⁴⁹) ? 76 b
תַּיִעֲשֶׂה 63 h	תַּעֲנֶנָּה 58 k	תֵּשָׁנָה (Ru 1 ¹⁴) 74 k, 76 b
תַּיִרָאוּ (Jb 6 ²¹ +) 75 t	תַּעֲלוּ 75 y	תֵּשָׁבֶן 72 k
תַּיִשְׁמֶנָה (Ez 6 ⁶) ? 67 p ² , dd	תַּעֲנֶנָּה (Ju 5 ²⁰) 75 w	תֵּשָׁבֶנָה 72 k
תַּיִכְבֶּדְךָ 60 f	תַּעֲפָה 48 d	תֵּשִׁי ? 75 s
תַּיִבִּי 19 d	תַּעֲשֶׂה 75 hh	תֵּשֶׁל־חֲנָה (anomalously) 47 k
תַּיִבִּים 1 i	תַּעֲשֶׂר־נָה 60 g	תֵּשְׁמֹרֶם 47 g
תַּכֶּלֶח 77 rr	תַּפּוֹצוֹתֵיכֶם ? 91 l	תֵּשְׁתַּע 75 bb
תַּל־ 20 g	תַּצְלִינָה 67 p	תַּחֲטֹא 75 bb
תַּלְאֹמֶם 75 rr	תַּצְלִנָה 67 g	תַּחֲטֹא ? 75 bb ¹
תַּלְאִים 75 rr	תַּצִּירִי 67 dd	תַּחֲבֹר 67 l
תַּלְבָּשׁוֹן 47 l	תַּקְבִּנִי 67 g	תַּחֲנֹר 75 bb
תַּלְוִנִי 72 ee	תַּקְבִּנִי 67 g	תַּחַה 19 i, 66 k
תַּלִּי 29 q, 73 e	תַּתְקֹן אֶמְיָךְ 72 co	תַּחַם 67 y
תַּלְעֵג 10 g ³	תַּקְטֹל 47 k	תַּחַם 67 p
תַּמּוֹתֶנָּה 72 k	תַּקִּימָנָה ? 72 k	תַּחֲצֹו 20 m
תַּל־תַּמְחִי ? 75 ii	תַּקְרֹאנָה 47 k, 75 rr	תַּחֲשׁ 53 u
תַּלְחִין 10 g ³	תַּרְא 75 p	
תַּמְנוֹ 67 e, dd	תַּרְאָה 75 h	
תַּמְנוֹ (Lam 3 ²²) ? 20 o	תַּרְאִינָה 75 w	
תַּמָּם 85 p		

III

INDEX OF PASSAGES

The references are to the sections and their marginal letters, except where otherwise indicated. N. = note.

Genesis

- 1 1. 5*n*, 21*b*, 117*a*,
123*f*, 142*g*, 145*h*
2. 141*c* N., 142*c*
3. 109*b*, 145*h*
4. 53*n*, 117*h*
5. 29*e*, 98*a*, 111*c*
6. 102*h*, 116*r*
7. 16*b*, 21*b*, 138*b*
8. 126*w*
9 75*t*, 107*n*, 109*a* N.
11. 16*h*, 20*f*, 117*r*
12. 20*f*, 91*d*
14 112*g*, 145*c*, 145*s*
16. 133*f*
20. 15*m*, 117*z*
21. 91*c*, 91*k*, 117*c*,
126*x*
22. 64*g*
24. 90*o*
26 75*l*, 119*h*, 122*s*,
124*g* N.
27. 117*kk*, 122*g*
28. 110*c*
29 16*a*, 106*m*, 141*n*
31. 126*w*, 131*q*
2 1. 111*k*
2. 106*f*, 138*a*
3. 114*o*, 126*w*
4. 5*n*, 20*f*, 114*g*
5 106*f*, 107*c*, 142*a*,
152*k*, 152*r*
6 107*b*, 107*d*, 112*e*,
142*b*
7. 70*a*, 117*hh*
9. 115*d*, 127*b*
10 107*d*, 112*e*, 141*a*
11 98*a*, 117*g*, 126*k*,
134*k*, 141*n*
12. 10*g*, 141*b*
13. 26*o* N.
14. 118*g*
15. 122*l*
16. 26*o* N., 113*p*
17 61*d*, 113*n*, 114*b*,
135*c* N., 143*c*
18. 75*l*, 114*a*
19 70*a*, 107*k*, 131*n*
N., 145*m*

Genesis

- 2 21. 103*d*
23 10*h*, 20*c*, 52*d*,
102*g*, 125*i*, 126*b*,
141*a*
24. 107*g*, 112*m*
25. 9*o*, 72*m*, 85*t*,
93*pp*, 107*b*, 111*d*,
134*d*
3 1 111*a*, 119*w*, 142*c*,
152*b*
2. 107*s*
3. 72*u*
4. 72*u*, 113*v*
5 61*d*, 112*oo*, 116*n*
6. 35*g*, 116*e*, 131*t*
7. 85*t*, 93*pp*
8. 118*p*, 146*f*
10. 142*f*
11. 114*s*, 150*e*
12. 44*g*, 68*e*, 135*c*
13. 136*c*, 142*a*, 148*b*
14 116*r* N., 118*k*,
119*w*
15. 117*ll*
16. 154*a* N.
17. 10*g*
19. 29*e*, 95*e*, 141*l*
21. 60*g*, 108*o*
22 76*i*, 96 (מח),
107*g*, 112*p*, 114*o*,
124*g* N., 130*a*,
152*w*
24. 128*h*
4 2. 131*h*, 142*d*
4 91*c*, 106*d*, 154*a*
N.
6. 20*f*, 144*b*
7. 145*u*
9. 106*g*, 150*d*
10. 146*b*, 148*b*
12 109*d*, 114*m*, 164*d*
13 76*b*, 133*c*, 141*m*
14. 112*p*, 116*g*
15 97*h*, 114*s*, 115*k*,
116*w*, 117*e*, 134*r*
16. 118*g*
17. 29*e*
18. 121*b*

Genesis

- 4 20. 117*bb*
22. 127*b*
23. 44*o*, 46*f*
24 29*g*, 134*r*, 159*bb*,
159*dd*
25 9*u*, 16*f*, 26*o* N.,
157*b*
26 107*c*, 135*h*, 144*k*
5 1 115*i*, 119*h*, 125*f*
3. 134*d*
5. 146*c*
20. 134*h*
23. 145*g*, 146*c*
24. 152*m*
6 1. 164*d*
2 117*h*, 119*w* N.,
128*v*
3. 67*p*, 72*r*
4 107*e*, 112*e*, 128*t*
5. 157*b*
8. 142*b*
9. 16*b*
11. 117*z*
13. 117*z*
14 112*r*, 117*ii*, 126*m*
17 112*t*, 116*p*, 131*k*
N., 158*a*
18. 49*l*, 72*w*
19. 35*f*
21. 107*g*
22. 117*b*
7 1. 117*e*, 117*h*
2. 138*b*
4 112*t*, 116*p*, 118*k*,
141*a*, 141*f*
5. 117*b*
6. 164*a*
7. 146*f*
9. 134*g*
11 126*y*, 129*f*, 134*o*
13. 97*e*, 104*g*, 139*g*
15. 127*c*
19. 106*d*, 133*k*
20. 118*h*
21. 119*i*
22. 119*w* N.
23. 51*u*, 75*o*
8 3. 63*f*, 113*u*

Genesis

- 8 4 124 o
 5 129 f, 134 p
 7 70 a N., 113 s,
 126 r, 126 t
 8 150 i
 9 135 i
 12 69 t
 13 . 15 l, 72 t, 72 aa
 14 129 f
 17 . 69 v, 70 b, 119 i
 18 15 g, 146 f
 21 72 aa
 22 104 g, 146 d
 9 2 135 m
 3 117 c, 138 b
 4 119 n, 131 k
 5 139 c
 6 116 w, 121 f, 143 b
 9 143 a
 10 116 h, 119 i, 143 e
 11 121 f, 152 b
 14 52 d, 112 y, 117 r
 15 159 g
 16 131 t
 19 67 dd, 134 k
 20 120 b
 21 75 bb, 91 e
 22 117 f
 23 117 f, 141 e, 146 f
 24 70 a, 133 g
 25 133 i
 26 116 r N.
 27 75 gg
 10 5 139 b
 9 107 g
 11 118 f
 17 35 g
 19 91 d, 144 h
 21 135 h
 26 35 m
 11 1 141 d
 3 69 o, 117 r
 4 107 g, 152 w
 5 114 g
 6 67 w, 67 dd, 133 d,
 147 b
 7 67 dd, 107 g, 124 g
 N., 165 b
 8 63 f
 9 144 d
 10 118 i
 28 125 h
 29 146 f
 30 152 o
 31 20 f
 12 1 119 s, 121 c
 2 63 g, 110 i, 141 d
 3 116 g
 4 134 h
 7 116 o

Genesis

- 12 8 91 e, 156 c
 9 113 u
 11 111 g, 114 m
 12 112 c, 112 y, 112 hh,
 164 d
 13 110 d, 112 p, 141 l,
 157 a, 165 b
 14 111 g, 117 h, 118 u
 15 118 f
 16 145 o
 17 117 g
 19 111 m, 117 f, 147 b
 13 2 126 m
 3 138 c, 154 a N.
 5 145 o
 8 131 b
 9 51 n, 56, 159 dd
 10 144 h
 11 139 e
 12 142 c
 13 140 a
 14 104 g
 15 142 g, 143 c
 16 166 b
 17 120 g
 14 4 118 i, 134 o
 5 134 o
 6 93 aa, 131 f
 9 134 k
 10 27 q, 90 c, 90 i,
 93 aa, 123 e, 130 e
 13 . 2 b, 126 r, 128 u
 17 115 a
 18 129 c
 19 121 f, 128 a
 22 106 i
 23 102 b, 109 g, 135 a,
 149 c, 154 a N.
 24 135 c
 15 1 126 r, 131 q
 2 116 n, 118 n, 128 v,
 141 e
 5 150 i
 6 112 ss, 122 q, 135 p
 7 . 29 f, 66 i, 138 d
 10 139 b, 139 c
 11 126 r
 12 114 i
 13 113 o, 135 p, 155 e
 14 119 n
 15 135 a
 16 118 q
 17 111 g
 18 106 m, 136 b
 16 1 142 b, 156 b
 2 . 51 g, 51 p, 119 g
 3 102 f
 4 67 p
 5 5 n, 103 o, 135 a,
 135 m

Genesis

- 16 7 60 d, 127 e
 8 10 k, 76 g, 107 h,
 116 n
 10 166 a
 11 . 80 d, 94 f, 116 n
 12 127 c, 128 l, 156 b
 16 115 f
 17 1 110 f
 4 143 a
 5 117 ii, 121 b, 163 a
 8 128 p
 9 142 f N.
 10 113 gg
 11 67 dd, 112 aa, 121 d,
 144 b
 14 29 g, 67 v, 112 mm,
 158 a, 167 b N.
 15 143 b
 17 96, 100 l, 107 t,
 134 d, 150 g
 19 49 l
 20 106 m, 112 s
 21 154 a
 26 72 ee
 18 1 116 o, 118 g, 141 e
 5 158 b N.
 6 . 90 c, 90 i, 131 d
 7 117 f, 126 r
 9 147 b
 10 118 u
 11 116 d, 146 d
 12 106 n, 139 f, 141 e,
 150 a, 150 b
 13 106 g, 136 c
 14 133 c, 139 d, 141 m
 15 106 b, 163 a
 17 100 l
 18 75 n, 142 d
 19 114 o, 165 c
 20 128 h, 148 d, 159 ee
 21 100 l, 108 b, 135 m,
 138 k
 24 117 g, 122 l
 25 112 v, 115 b, 161 c
 26 112 ff
 27 141 e
 28 47 m, 117 aa,
 119 p, 134 l, 159 n
 N., 159 r
 29 134 k
 19 1 116 o, 141 e, 141 f,
 156 c
 2 17 e, 20 d, 20 g,
 100 o, 135 q, 142 g,
 150 n, 152 c
 4 15 l, 107 c, 152 r,
 154 a N., 164 c
 5 29 f
 6 93 i
 8 34 b, 103 b, 139 d

Genesis

19 9 . . . 66c, 113r
 11 . . . 120n
 12 . . . 150b
 14 . . . 20g, 116d
 15 . . . 152w
 16 15f, 45d, 55g,
 115f
 17 . . . 107p
 18 . . . 152g
 19 60d, 72n, 107f,
 152w, 154a
 20 . . . 109f
 21 . . . 61a
 22 . . . 120g
 23 . . . 164b
 28 . . . 126o
 29 . . . 115a, 124o
 30 . . . 126r
 31 . . . 133f, 152o
 32 . . . 69x, 117cc
 33 5n, 47l, 61c, 93s,
 126y
 34 . . . 126b
 20 1 . . . 90c
 5 . . . 32l
 6 66b, 75q, 114m,
 157b N.
 7 . . . 63q, 110i
 9 . . . 107w
 10 . . . 107v, 166b
 11 . . . 112x, 153
 12 . . . 152d
 13 119u, 124h N.,
 127e, 141f, 145i,
 167b
 16 . . . 116s, 134n
 17 . . . 145u
 18 . . . 106f, 113n
 21 3 . . . 138k
 5 . . . 121b, 128v
 6 . . . 10g, 64h, 114c
 7 106p, 124o, 142f,
 151a
 8 . . . 51m
 9 . . . 52n
 11 . . . 67p
 13 . . . 143c
 14 95l, 128q, 156d
 N⁴
 16 75kk, 108b, 113h,
 119k, 119s
 17 . . . 138e
 19 . . . 117cc
 20 . . . 131b
 23 . . . 20f, 151o
 24 . . . 51p, 135a
 25 . . . 112rr
 26 . . . 162b
 28 . . . 91c, 127e
 29 . . . 91f, 126x

Genesis

21 30 . . . 117d, 157b
 32 . . . 138f, 146h
 22 1 . . . 111g
 3 . . . 135i
 4 . . . 111b
 5 . . . 119s
 7 . . . 147b
 12 . . . 116g, 158a
 14 . . . 130d N²
 17 . . . 75ff
 23 . . . 134k
 24 . . . 111h, 147e
 23 1 . . . 134d, 134h
 3 . . . 122f
 4 . . . 52f, 128m
 5 . . . 110e
 6 75qq, 119x, 128r,
 142f N², 152b
 8 . . . 61g
 9 . . . 119p
 10 116h, 141b, 143e
 11 . . . 106m, 152c
 13 . . . 110e
 20 . . . 111k
 24 3 . . . 128a, 165b
 5 . . . 100n, 113q
 6 . . . 51n, 152w
 7 . . . 138a
 8 . . . 75x, 109d, 126y
 9 . . . 16h
 14 112bb, 135p,
 167c
 15 106f, 107c, 152r
 18 . . . 120d
 19 . . . 106o, 164b
 20 . . . 75bb
 21 . . . 130a, 150i
 22 . . . 134n, 156b
 23 . . . 37a, 118g
 26 . . . 67g
 27 . . . 75ll, 135e, 143b
 29 . . . 156b
 30 . . . 115e N., 116s
 31 . . . 116l
 33 . . . 73f
 35 . . . 154a N.
 37 . . . 149c
 41 95n, 117f, 164d
 42 . . . 159v, 167c
 43 . . . 112t
 44 . . . 154a N., 162b
 45 . . . 135a
 48 . . . 75t
 49 . . . 159v
 51 . . . 109f, 117f
 55 . . . 139h, 146f
 56 . . . 142d
 58 . . . 150n
 60 . . . 63q, 97g, 134g
 61 . . . 146g, 146h

Genesis

24 63 . . . 114f N.
 65 . . . 34f
 67 . . . 127f
 25 1 . . . 120d
 5 . . . 16a
 16 . . . 336d
 21 . . . 51n, 121f
 23 . . . 119ff
 24 . . . 23f
 26 115a, 115c, 115e
 N.
 31 . . . 35n, 48i
 34 . . . 75o
 26 7 144p N., 147a N.
 9 148b, 152w, 157b
 10 . . . 49l, 106p
 13 . . . 113w, 164f
 15 . . . 60h, 135o
 16 . . . 133c
 18 . . . 60h, 111g, 120d
 23 . . . 118f
 25 . . . 76c
 28 . . . 75n, 103p N.
 29 . . . 65h, 75hh
 27 1 111g, 114d, 119y
 3 . . . 118f, 122t
 4 . . . 20b, 106g, 108d
 7 . . . 58g
 9 . . . 117ii
 12 . . . 49l, 112p
 13 . . . 10g, 141f
 19 . . . 60d
 20 114n N., 136c,
 148b
 21 . . . 67r, 136d
 24 . . . 150a
 26 . . . 10g
 28 . . . 20m
 29 . . . 145l
 30 . . . 113n, 164b N.
 31 . . . 72t
 33 107c, 116d, 117q,
 150l, 153
 34 111h N., 113m,
 117q, 135e
 36 63m, 136d, 150s
 37 103g, 117ff, 117ii,
 142g, 150l
 38 . . . 10g, 16g, 100l
 39 . . . 20m, 119c
 41 . . . 63f
 42 . . . 61a, 121a
 43 . . . 112r, 119s
 45 114d, 114r,
 117aa, 118i,
 150v, 154a N.
 28 2 . . . 16h, 90i
 3 . . . 75ll
 4 . . . 95g, 114g
 6 . . . 167c

Genesis

28 8 111 d
 9 119 aa N.
 11 126 r
 15 106 o, 147 b
 16 106 g
 18 71
 29 2 111 e, 144 f
 6 150 n
 7 126 i, 152 d
 9 116 u, 129 h
 10 . 67 p, 75 gg, 106 f
 14 131 d
 15 112 ce, 150 e
 17 145 n
 19 133 a
 21 69 o, 165 a
 25 142 g
 26 107 g
 27 121 b
 30 133 b
 32 60 d
 30 3 51 g
 6 26 g, 59 f
 8 85 n, 117 g, 154 a
 N.
 13 106 n
 15 114 a
 16 126 y
 18 17 c, 135 m
 19 96
 20 117 bb, 117 ff
 23 135 m
 27 111 h N., 120 f,
 159 dd
 29 157 c
 31 120 g, 120 h
 32 112 mm
 34 109 b, 151 e
 37 117 r, 123 b
 38 10 g, 47 k, 76 g,
 95 f, 138 c, 145 c
 39 69 f, 145 p
 40 . 119 aa N., 142 f
 41 91 f, 112 ee
 43 132 g
 31 2 138 f
 6 32 i
 7 67 w, 112 h
 8 145 u, 159 r, 159 s
 9 135 o
 13 127 f
 14 146 g, 146 h
 15 113 r
 19 67 cc
 23 118 h
 27 63 c, 111 m, 114 n
 N.
 28 75 n
 29 152 i
 30 51 t, 113 p

Genesis

31 32 59 g, 138 f
 34 111 g, 124 h N.,
 132 h N.
 35 106 l
 36 20 d, 37 d
 39 23 f, 74 h, 75 oo,
 75 gg, 90 l, 107 e
 40 67 cc, 76 a, 104 g,
 143 a N., 167 b N.
 41 136 d
 42 106 p
 44 69 x
 45 117 ii
 47 1 c
 52 149 c, 167 b
 53 145 i
 32 1 103 b, 122 g
 3 136 b
 5 64 h, 68 f
 6 . 49 e, 104 g, 123 b
 7 116 s
 8 67 p, 144 b
 9 112 p, 145 u
 10 116 o
 11 106 g, 119 n, 133 c
 12 119 aa N., 152 w,
 156 c
 13 107 w
 15 134 c
 16 28 b, 122 d, 132 e,
 135 o
 17 123 d
 18 9 v, 10 g, 60 b, 64 f,
 137 b
 19 124 i
 20 . 52 n, 61 d, 74 h
 25 51 n
 27 . 60 f, 65 h, 163 c
 30 20 f, 107 h
 31 90 k, 111 e, 156 c,
 157 b
 33 2 146 e N.
 3 66 b
 4 5 n
 5 37 a, 67 a, 117 ff,
 137 a
 7 146 h
 8 147 a N.
 10 . 112 gg, 158 b N.
 11 74 g
 13 60 h, 104 g, 122 d,
 126 i, 135 o
 18 118 n
 19 134 g
 34 5 112 ss
 7 45 c, 45 g
 8 140 d
 9 117 w
 15 72 h, 119 p
 16 44 o, 49 k

Genesis

34 19 64 d
 22 72 ee
 23 143 a
 24 145 d
 25 118 g, 131 g
 27 144 g
 30 128 n, 141 d
 31 107 t, 118 v
 35 1 65 a
 3 116 d
 7 124 h N., 145 i
 8 126 d, 144 d
 11 145 f
 13 142 g
 14 138 c
 22 15 p, 45 g
 26 121 b
 36 7 133 c
 37 2 126 c
 3 112 h, 133 b
 4 115 c
 7 47 l, 116 o
 8 113 g, 150 h
 15 107 f, 116 s
 16 142 f N.
 17 117 f
 18 117 w
 19 128 u
 21 117 u
 23 117 cc
 29 152 l
 30 116 p, 143 a
 32 150 i
 33 60 d, 113 w
 35 118 n
 38 5 112 uu
 9 . 13 c, 66 i, 112 gg
 11 118 g, 152 w
 17 159 dd
 21 126 y
 24 20 m, 97 c, 116 s,
 119 y N.
 25 32 l, 74 i, 116 c,
 142 e
 26 133 b N.
 28 144 d
 29 164 g
 39 1 142 b
 4 130 d, 155 d, 155 n
 5 145 g
 6 128 x
 8 137 c
 9 107 t, 112 p
 10 123 c
 11 35 n, 126 s
 14 2 b, 29 g, 64 g
 16 72 ee
 18 114 r
 20 130 c
 22 116 s

Genesis

39 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l
40 4 139 h
5 129 h
7 84^b f, 87 t
8 152 o
9 143 d
10 91 e, 164 g
13 72 w
14 105^b N., 106 n N.,
163 d
15 2 b
16 135 f
20 69 w, 71, 121 b
22 144 n
41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d
6 116 l
8 64 b, 122 i
11 49 e
12 139 c
15 152 o, 157 a
21 91 f, 93 ss
25 116 d
26 126 x, 141 h
28 53 p
29 156 c
30 112 x
33 75 p, 75 h h
39 115 a
40 118 h
42 117 cc
43 85 h, 113 z, 129 h
49 75 f
51 52 m
57 145 e
42 1 54 f
2 109 g
4 75 rr
6 126 k
7 122 q
9 114 g
10 163 a
11 32 d, 91 f
13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m
16 110 c
18 110 f
19 134 d
23 126 r
25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,
139 c
28 119 gg
30 124 i, 126 p
33 134 d
35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c
36 91 f, 135 p
37 159 r
43 3 113 n, 163 c
5 116 q, 159 v
6 150 i N.
7 107 k, 107 t, 113 g,
150 d

Genesis

43 9 159 o
10 106 p, 159 x
12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,
131 e
14 29 u, 106 o
15 20 c, 131 q
16 65 b
17 90 c
18 116 d
21 49 e
26 14 d
27 141 c N.
28 67 g
29 67 n
33 119 gg
34 134 r, 144 n
44 1 47 m, 138 c
2 135 n N.
3 142 e, 144 c
4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b
5 119 m N.
9 112 ii, 138 f
10 153
12 156 d
16 20 d, 58 k
22 159 g
23 137 b
28 113 w
29 112 k k
31 112 oo
33 69 p, 109 b
34 152 w
45 4 138 d
7 117 n
8 119 h h
14 93 pp
23 102 g
46 2 124 e, 126 r
3 69 m
4 113 w
22 121 b
27 121 b, 132 g
30 108 b
34 127 e
47 3 145 r
6 120 e
9 128 a
11 69 v
17 93 ss
19 67 p
21 139 e N., 143 c
22 112 l
24 145 u
48 1 144 d
2 144 d N²
9 58 g, 60 d, 61 g
11 75 n, 115 b
14 141 e, 156 d
22 96, 106 m, 130 g
49 1 75 rr

Genesis

49 3 29 u
4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,
147 c
8 135 e
10 20 h, 164 f
11 7 c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,
93 v, 96, 106 k,
116 x, 118 p
12 93 d d
13 95 i
15 117 b N.
17 20 h, 109 k
18 106 g
21 126 b
22 44 m, 80 g, 96,
145 k
23 67 m, 112 rr
25 117 f, 119 c
27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,
155 f
30 138 b N.
50 13 138 b N.
15 117 f, 159 y
18 58 k
20 75 n
23 128 v
25 116 v
26 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 49 b N.
7 117 z, 121 d, 133 k
10 47 k, 75 rr, 112 y
12 107 e
14 119 o
16 67 k, 72 w, 76 i
18 47 l
19 47 l, 112 oo
20 47 l
21 135 o
22 127 b N.
2 1 117 d
2 117 h
3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,
126 m
4 69 m, 71
6 131 m
9 69 x, 70 e, 135 m
10 111 d
15 126 r
16 75 w
17 60 d, 60 h, 135 o
20 46 f, 154 b
3 2 52 s, 119 i, 126 r
3 108 b, 126 v
8 128 x
9 117 r
10 110 i
11 107 u

Exodus

3	13	. . . . .	112 t
	15	. . . . .	133 l
	18	. . . . .	49 l
	19	. . . . .	69 x, 157 b N.
	20	. . . . .	63 m
	21	. . . . .	164 d
	22	. . . . .	95 k, 139 b
4	1	. . . . .	107 i
	2	. . . . .	37 c
	4	. . . . .	29 g, 64 c
	10	. . . . .	61 e, 128 t, 152 d
	12	. . . . .	75 ee
	13	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	14	. . . . .	159 g
	21	. . . . .	112 mm, 143 d
5	2	. . . . .	107 u
	5	. . . . .	112 cc
	7	. . . . .	68 h
	10	. . . . .	152 m
	11	. . . . .	138 e
	16	. . . . .	74 g, 116 t, 152 o
	18	. . . . .	163 a
	19	. . . . .	57 N, 135 k
	20	. . . . .	126 r
	21	. . . . .	66 i, 102 f
	23	. . . . .	113 v
6	3	. . . . .	119 g, 144 l N.
	6	. . . . .	112 x
	10	. . . . .	20 c N.
	14	. . . . .	124 r
	28	. . . . .	52 o, 130 d
7	9	. . . . .	109 h, 159 d
	11	. . . . .	131 l
	20	. . . . .	119 g
	27	. . . . .	52 s
8	1	. . . . .	20 m, 75 gg
	4	. . . . .	63 o
	10	. . . . .	123 e
	17	. . . . .	117 z
	20	. . . . .	107 b
	22	. . . . .	150 a, 159 w
9	4	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	9	. . . . .	117 z
	15	. . . . .	106 p
	16	. . . . .	115 e N.
	18	. . . . .	91 e, 127 f
	23	. . . . .	63 n, 69 x
	27	. . . . .	126 k
	30	. . . . .	107 c
	31	. . . . .	141 d
10	1	. . . . .	126 y
	3	. . . . .	51 l, 106 h
	4	. . . . .	65 e
	6	. . . . .	161 b
	7	. . . . .	107 c, 152 r
	8	. . . . .	137 a
	9	. . . . .	91 k, 127 e
	10	. . . . .	154 a N.
	11	. . . . .	135 p
	22	. . . . .	133 i

Exodus

10	28	. . . . .	69 v
11	6	. . . . .	135 o
	8	. . . . .	9 v
12	4	. . . . .	133 c, 139 c
	5	. . . . .	128 v
	6	. . . . .	88 c
	8	. . . . .	154 a N.
	12	. . . . .	124 g
	13	. . . . .	159 g
	14	. . . . .	67 n
	15	. . . . .	20 g, 112 mm, 116 w, 126 w
	16	. . . . .	146 c, 152 b
	18	. . . . .	134 o
	21	. . . . .	46 d
	23	. . . . .	126 l N.
	27	. . . . .	61 a
	31	. . . . .	20 g
	34	. . . . .	107 c
	39	. . . . .	117 ii
	43	. . . . .	119 m
	48	. . . . .	113 gg
	49	. . . . .	145 u
13	2	. . . . .	52 n
	3	. . . . .	113 bb
	7	. . . . .	118 k, 121 b
	8	. . . . .	138 h
	18	. . . . .	67 y
	21	. . . . .	53 q
14	2	. . . . .	93 q
	11	. . . . .	61 c, 152 y
	20	. . . . .	139 e N.
15	1	. . . . .	20 e, 107 c, 146 f
	2	. . . . .	58 k, 80 g, 117 b
	4	. . . . .	128 r
	5	. . . . .	58 g, 75 dd, 91 l
	6	. . . . .	90 l
	7	. . . . .	116 i
	8	. . . . .	15 c
	9	. . . . .	117 z, 120 g N, 154 a N.
	10	. . . . .	35 g
	11	. . . . .	20 e, 20 g
	12	. . . . .	107 d
	13	. . . . .	20 e, 64 d, 138 g
	14	. . . . .	47 m
	15	. . . . .	107 c
	16	. . . . .	20 e, 67 g, 90 g, 132 c, 138 g, 164 f
	17	. . . . .	20 h, 155 h
	20	. . . . .	47 l, 146 c
	21	. . . . .	20 e
	24	. . . . .	20 c
	26	. . . . .	113 o
16	2	. . . . .	72 ee
	6	. . . . .	112 oo
	7	. . . . .	32 d, 72 ee, 141 l N.
	8	. . . . .	72 ee
	12	. . . . .	88 c
	14	. . . . .	55 k

Exodus

16	16	. . . . .	118 h
20	27	. . . . .	o, 67 n, 121 d
		. . . . .	N., 139 h N.
21	. . . . .	123 c, 159 g	
22	. . . . .	134 e	
23	. . . . .	63 i, 76 d	
29	. . . . .	9 l, 69 p, 139 d	
32	. . . . .	117 cc	
33	. . . . .	125 b	
17	1	. . . . .	115 f
	2	. . . . .	47 m
	3	. . . . .	72 ee, 117 e
	4	. . . . .	112 x
	6	. . . . .	49 k
	7	. . . . .	152 k
	12	. . . . .	141 d, 145 n
	14	. . . . .	126 s
18	4	. . . . .	119 i
	5	. . . . .	118 g
	9	. . . . .	75 r
	14	. . . . .	102 b
	18	. . . . .	75 n, 133 c
	20	. . . . .	155 d, 155 i
	21	. . . . .	97 h
	22	. . . . .	127 b
	23	. . . . .	49 i
	26	. . . . .	47 g, 112 g
	27	. . . . .	119 s
19	1	. . . . .	102 f
	3	. . . . .	53 n
	5	. . . . .	113 o
	8	. . . . .	135 r
	13	. . . . .	69 t
	15	. . . . .	134 o N.
	18	. . . . .	93 dd
	19	. . . . .	113 u
	23	. . . . .	72 w, 72 x
20	2	. . . . .	15 p, 138 d
	3	. . . . .	107 o, 132 h
	5	. . . . .	60 b, 129 e
	8	. . . . .	113 bb
	9	. . . . .	118 k
	15	. . . . .	107 o
	18	. . . . .	116 o
	20	. . . . .	135 m, 152 x
	24	. . . . .	127 e
	25	. . . . .	72 k, 117 kk
21	2	. . . . .	159 bb
	4	. . . . .	145 h, 146 e
	5	. . . . .	113 o
	8	. . . . .	61 b, 75 ee, 103 g
	12	. . . . .	104 g, 112 n, 116 w
	13	. . . . .	112 ii
	18	. . . . .	47 m
	20	. . . . .	126 r
	28	. . . . .	117 d, 121 b
	29	. . . . .	124 i
	31	. . . . .	29 i N.
	35	. . . . .	135 m
	36	. . . . .	159 cc

Exodus

21	37	47 <i>f</i> , 123 <i>a</i>
22	1	124 <i>n</i>
	3	51 <i>k</i> , 113 <i>o</i>
	4	53 <i>n</i>
	5	117 <i>g</i>
	8	138 <i>e</i>
	11	113 <i>o</i>
	17	94 <i>d</i>
	22	113 <i>m</i> , 163 <i>c</i> N.
	25	135 <i>o</i>
	29	60 <i>d</i>
	30	131 <i>k</i>
23	4	21 <i>h</i>
	8	107 <i>g</i>
	9	158 <i>a</i>
	16	61 <i>a</i>
	21	51 <i>n</i> , 67 <i>y</i>
	22	113 <i>o</i>
	24	60 <i>b</i>
	26	94 <i>d</i>
	27	117 <i>i</i> N.
	28	126 <i>t</i>
	30	123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i>
	31	58 <i>g</i>
24	3	118 <i>g</i>
	4	134 <i>f</i>
	10	139 <i>g</i>
	12	154 <i>a</i> N.
25	5	52 <i>q</i>
	11	49 <i>l</i>
	15	135 <i>o</i> N.
	18	117 <i>hh</i>
	28	117 <i>hh</i>
	29	20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>hh</i>
	31	63 <i>h</i>
	33	123 <i>d</i>
	35	123 <i>d</i>
	40	121 <i>c</i>
26	2	134 <i>n</i>
	3	123 <i>d</i> , 139 <i>e</i>
	19	123 <i>d</i>
	33	49 <i>h</i> , 53 <i>r</i> , 133 <i>i</i>
27	11	134 <i>n</i>
28	9	117 <i>d</i>
	10	134 <i>c</i> N.
	17	131 <i>d</i>
	20	117 <i>y</i>
	21	139 <i>c</i>
	32	165 <i>a</i>
	43	165 <i>a</i>
29	1	66 <i>g</i>
	2	126 <i>m</i>
	12	119 <i>w</i> N.
	31	128 <i>p</i>
	35	103 <i>b</i>
30	4	103 <i>g</i>
	20	117 <i>y</i> N.
	32	73 <i>f</i>
31	4	63 <i>i</i>
	13	60 <i>f</i>

Exodus

31	17	51 <i>m</i>
	18	124 <i>g</i>
32	1	126 <i>aa</i> , 137 <i>c</i>
	3	54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>
	4	72 <i>t</i> , 145 <i>i</i>
	6	52 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>e</i>
	12	150 <i>e</i>
	25	5 <i>n</i> , 58 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>i</i>
	26	137 <i>c</i>
	29	114 <i>p</i>
	30	108 <i>h</i>
	32	159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>
	33	137 <i>c</i>
	34	112 <i>oo</i>
33	3	27 <i>q</i>
	6	54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>
	7	107 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>e</i> , 113 <i>h</i>
	10	112 <i>kk</i>
	11	156 <i>c</i>
	12	75 <i>gg</i>
	13	69 <i>b</i> N., 91 <i>k</i>
	14	150 <i>a</i>
	19	67 <i>ee</i>
	20	60 <i>d</i> , 159 <i>gg</i>
	23	124 <i>b</i>
34	1	124 <i>q</i>
	10	122 <i>q</i>
	13	47 <i>m</i>
	19	51 <i>g</i>
	24	51 <i>l</i>
	34	159 <i>k</i>
36	1	103 <i>g</i>
	29	112 <i>ss</i>
38	3	117 <i>hh</i>
	5	95 <i>n</i>
39	17	131 <i>d</i>
	18	60 <i>h</i>
	23	165 <i>a</i>

Leviticus

1	1	49 <i>b</i> N.
	17	156 <i>f</i>
2	1	139 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>t</i>
	2	85 <i>b</i>
	8	144 <i>p</i> N.
4	2	119 <i>w</i> N., 139 <i>d</i>
	23	69 <i>w</i>
5	9	75 <i>hh</i>
	11	131 <i>d</i>
	13	119 <i>w</i> N.
	15	128 <i>d</i>
6	2	91 <i>e</i>
	3	128 <i>d</i>
	7	113 <i>gg</i>
	8	118 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>o</i> N.
	9	118 <i>g</i>
	13	131 <i>c</i>
7	8	117 <i>d</i>
	35	53 <i>l</i> , 155 <i>l</i>

Leviticus

8	11	76 <i>c</i>
	16	91 <i>c</i>
9	6	107 <i>q</i> , 120 <i>c</i>
10	6	109 <i>g</i>
	10	114 <i>p</i>
	19	75 <i>rr</i> , 100 <i>k</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
11	7	67 <i>g</i>
	23	88 <i>f</i>
	35	53 <i>u</i>
	42	5 <i>n</i>
	43	74 <i>k</i>
	44	54 <i>k</i>
13	4	91 <i>e</i>
	19	131 <i>i</i>
	34	127 <i>e</i>
	55	54 <i>h</i>
14	34	101 <i>a</i>
	43	53 <i>l</i>
	46	53 <i>l</i>
	55	54 <i>h</i>
15	29	53 <i>r</i>
16	8	30 <i>n</i>
17	14	145 <i>l</i>
18	7	75 <i>hh</i>
	21	95 <i>q</i> N.
	25	76 <i>h</i>
	27	34 <i>b</i> N.
	28	116 <i>s</i>
19	9	61 <i>d</i> , 142 <i>f</i> N.
	16	118 <i>q</i>
	20	113 <i>w</i>
	28	102 <i>i</i>
20	7	54 <i>k</i>
	10	117 <i>d</i>
	14	117 <i>d</i>
	19	75 <i>hh</i>
21	4	67 <i>t</i>
	9	67 <i>t</i> , 164 <i>d</i>
	21	142 <i>f</i> N.
23	17	14 <i>d</i>
	22	61 <i>d</i>
	39	61 <i>a</i>
	42	126 <i>r</i>
24	5	49 <i>l</i> , 117 <i>ii</i>
	22	134 <i>d</i>
25	5	20 <i>h</i>
	10	134 <i>o</i> N.
	20	159 <i>w</i>
	21	49 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
	33	145 <i>u</i> N.
	36	76 <i>i</i>
	48	130 <i>d</i>
26	15	67 <i>dd</i>
	18	52 <i>p</i>
	25	49 <i>l</i>
	33	52 <i>n</i>
	34	67 <i>y</i> , 75 <i>m</i>
	37	118 <i>s</i> N.
	42	128 <i>d</i> , 131 <i>r</i>
	43	67 <i>y</i>

Leviticus

27 2 128 *d*
 23 127 *i*

Numbers

1 2 49 *b* N.
 2 124 *r*
 47 54 *l*
 2 33 54 *l*
 3 1 52 *o*, 130 *d*
 9 123 *e*
 26 117 *l*
 46 117 *m*, 134 *k*
 49 85 *t*
 4 2 113 *bb*
 23 45 *g*
 27 128 *v*
 5 2 102 *i*
 3 119 *e*
 10 117 *m*, 139 *c*
 17 128 *p*
 19 110 *i*
 20 167 *a*
 22 53 *g*, 66 *f*
 23 126 *s*
 27 112 *y*
 6 7 74 *b*, 96
 9 133 *k* N., 144 *e*
 26 109 *b*
 7 2 5 *n*
 11 123 *d*
 8 7 27 *g*, 64 *d*
 24 45 *g*
 9 20 131 *e*
 10 3 145 *c*
 4 134 *r* N.
 29 138 *b*
 35 5 *n*
 36 118 *f*
 11 4 35 *a*, 151 *a* N.
 5 106 *g*
 7 93 *h*
 10 117 *h*
 11 74 *k*
 12 69 *s*, 122 *f* N.
 15 32 *g*
 16 48 *i*
 17 119 *m*
 20 80 *h*
 25 23 *d*, 68 *f*, 72 *g*,
 120 *d* N., 126 *x*
 27 126 *r*
 29 154 *b*
 12 1 146 *g*
 2 133 *k* N.
 4 97 *i*
 6 128 *d*
 13 105 *b* N.
 14 154 *b*
 13 21 102 *f*

Numbers

13 27 118 *f*
 32 72 *l*
 14 2 106 *p*, 151 *e*
 16 69 *n*, 114 *s*
 17 5 *n*
 21 167 *b*
 24 119 *gg*
 27 72 *ee*
 31 76 *h*
 33 91 *l*
 34 123 *d*
 35 67 *g*
 40 58 *k*
 41 135 *p*
 15 15 161 *c*
 24 119 *w*
 29 143 *c*
 31 51 *k*
 35 113 *gg*
 16 13 54 *e*
 15 117 *d*
 22 100 *m*, 150 *m*
 29 121 *b*, 159 *c* N.,
 159 *g*
 17 6 72 *w*
 10 67 *t*, 72 *dd*
 17 139 *e*
 20 72 *ee*
 25 128 *v*
 27 106 *n*
 28 67 *e*, 67 *dd*, 150 *g*
 N.
 18 8 143 *e*
 26 72 *i*
 19 12 74 *b*
 20 3 65 *a*, 154 *b*
 5 59 *a*, 152 *a* N.
 18 152 *w*
 21 66 *i*
 21 1 75 *g*
 5 59 *a*
 9 117 *d*
 14 127 *f*
 15 112 *pp*
 17 63 *l*
 20 112 *ss*
 23 157 *b* N.
 24 112 *pp*
 27 54 *c*, 75 *hh*
 30 67 *g*, 69 *r*, 76 *f*
 35 164 *d*
 22 1 125 *h*
 6 20 *c*, 53 *u*, 67 *o*,
 120 *c*, 138 *e*
 12 103 *c*
 13 69 *x*, 115 *c*
 17 67 *o*
 19 109 *d*, *i*
 29 151 *e* N.
 33 103 *b*, 117 *e*

Numbers

22 38 114 *m*
 23 3 130 *d*, 137 *c*
 6 64 *c*, 67 *o*, 93 *aa*
 8 58 *g*
 10 151 *a*
 13 20 *o*, 48 *i*, 67 *o* N.,
 69 *x*, 100 *o* N.,
 152 *b*
 14 118 *f*
 15 51 *p*
 18 90 *o*, 96
 19 27 *g*, 64 *d*, 109 *i*,
 166 *a*
 20 159 *g*
 24 124 *n*
 25 10 *h*, 67 *g*
 24 1 123 *c*
 3 90 *o*, 96
 4 116 *k*
 5 148 *b*
 6 75 *x*
 7 54 *c*, 93 *e*
 10 113 *r*
 17 55 *f*
 22 29 *f*
 23 115 *k*
 24 93 *y*
 25 12 *5* *n*, 128 *d*, 131 *r* N.
 26 62 54 *l*
 27 7 135 *o*
 29 39 93 *m*
 31 28 134 *d*
 32 6 150 *m*
 14 69 *h*
 17 72 *p*
 20 159 *c* N., 167 *b*
 23 47 *m*, 159 *g*
 30 68 *i*
 32 32 *d*
 42 103 *g*
 34 2 131 *f*
 7 75 *bb* N.
 14 23 *c*
 36 6 135 *o*

Deuteronomy

1 1 101 *a*
 1 118 *g*, 134 *f*
 3 134 *o*
 5 120 *g*, 120 *h*
 7 119 *s*
 13 119 *s*
 16 75 *t*, 112 *u*
 17 47 *m*, 53 *r*, 133 *c*,
 161 *c*
 18 117 *gg*
 19 118 *h*, 126 *v*
 21 69 *f*
 23 134 *f*

Deuteronomy

1	24	120 <i>h</i>
	27	115 <i>c</i> , 115 <i>f</i>
	28	124 <i>q</i>
	33	53 <i>g</i>
	34	65 <i>e</i> , 149 <i>b</i>
	40	119 <i>s</i>
	41	135 <i>n</i>
	44	67 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>y</i> , 107 <i>g</i>
	46	138 <i>c</i>
2	9	75 <i>bb</i> , 148 <i>q</i>
	13	119 <i>s</i>
	14	134 <i>h</i>
	23	75 <i>cc</i>
	24 23 <i>g</i> , 69 <i>f</i> , 120 <i>g</i> , <i>h</i>	
	27 108 <i>c</i> , 123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i> , 156 <i>d</i>	
	28	49 <i>m</i>
	31	67 <i>w</i> , 69 <i>f</i>
3	3	164 <i>d</i>
	5	128 <i>c</i>
	11	100 <i>i</i>
	13	125 <i>d N.</i>
	21	126 <i>k</i>
	26	69 <i>v</i>
4	1	44 <i>d</i> , 69 <i>s</i>
	8	128 <i>p</i>
	10	115 <i>d</i> , 165 <i>b</i>
	15	52 <i>o</i> , 130 <i>d</i>
	20	74 <i>l</i>
	21	54 <i>k</i>
	26	51 <i>k</i>
	36	61 <i>d</i>
	39	72 <i>w</i>
	41	90 <i>c</i>
5	3	135 <i>g</i>
	6	15 <i>p</i> , 138 <i>d</i>
	9	60 <i>b</i>
	12	113 <i>bb</i>
	19	120 <i>d N.</i>
	23	132 <i>h</i>
	24	32 <i>h</i>
	26	151 <i>c</i>
6	3	118 <i>g</i> , 165 <i>b</i>
	7	119 <i>l</i>
	11	49 <i>m</i> , 96
	17	58 <i>g</i>
7	5	52 <i>n</i>
	15	60 <i>d</i>
	16	72 <i>r</i> , 109 <i>d</i>
	24	53 <i>l</i>
	25	127 <i>e</i>
8	3	44 <i>l</i> , 72 <i>o</i>
	5	61 <i>h</i>
	9	93 <i>aa</i>
	13	75 <i>u</i>
	14	116 <i>f</i>
	15	127 <i>i</i>
	16	44 <i>l</i> , 72 <i>o</i>
	19	106 <i>i</i>

Deuteronomy

9	7	138 <i>c</i>
	8	54 <i>k</i>
	18	54 <i>k</i>
10	5	29 <i>g</i>
	17 102 <i>m</i> , 126 <i>v</i> , 133 <i>i</i>	
	19	112 <i>aa</i>
	22	119 <i>i</i>
11	2	117 <i>l</i>
	15	49 <i>m</i>
	30	150 <i>e</i>
12	3	52 <i>n</i>
	14	61 <i>h</i>
13	1	109 <i>d</i>
	3	60 <i>b</i>
	6	116 <i>f</i>
	9	109 <i>d</i>
14	17	80 <i>k</i>
15	2	113 <i>gg</i>
	7	119 <i>w N.</i> , 139 <i>d</i>
	14	93 <i>k</i>
	18	128 <i>c</i> , 133 <i>k</i>
16	6	119 <i>g</i>
	13	93 <i>k</i>
	20	133 <i>k</i>
17	2	167 <i>b</i>
	5	124 <i>o</i>
	6	144 <i>e</i>
	8	102 <i>h</i>
	14	44 <i>d</i> , 49 <i>m</i>
	17	109 <i>g</i>
18	1	68 <i>c</i> , 131 <i>h</i>
	16	109 <i>d</i>
20	2	61 <i>d</i>
	5	137 <i>c</i>
	8	121 <i>b</i>
	14	128 <i>h</i>
21	3	121 <i>a</i> , 145 <i>g</i>
	4	121 <i>a</i>
	7	44 <i>m</i> , 145 <i>k</i>
	8	55 <i>k</i>
	10	135 <i>p</i> , 145 <i>m</i>
	11	49 <i>m</i> , 96, 130 <i>e</i>
	13	101 <i>a</i>
22	1	159 <i>gg</i>
	19	17 <i>c</i> , 127 <i>e</i>
	23	131 <i>b</i>
23	5	61 <i>d</i> , 130 <i>c N</i> ¹
	11	20 <i>h</i>
	15	93 <i>ss</i> , 128 <i>p</i>
	25	96
24	1	167 <i>b</i>
	4	54 <i>h</i>
	8	51 <i>n</i>
	10	23 <i>d</i>
	13	58 <i>i</i>
25	2	96, 128 <i>v</i>
	12	67 <i>ee</i>
	13	123 <i>f</i>
26	5	119 <i>i</i>
	12	53 <i>k</i>

Deuteronomy

27	2	72 <i>w</i>
	6	117 <i>hh</i>
	9	16 <i>b</i>
28	24	58 <i>g</i>
	36	131 <i>d</i>
	43	133 <i>k</i>
	48	53 <i>l</i> , 145 <i>m</i>
	49	155 <i>d</i>
	52	67 <i>v</i>
	56	113 <i>d</i> , 142 <i>f N.</i>
	57	74 <i>i</i>
	59	91 <i>n</i>
	62	119 <i>i</i>
	66	75 <i>rr</i>
	67	151 <i>b</i>
29	14	100 <i>o N.</i>
	15	157 <i>c</i>
	18	69 <i>h N.</i>
	21	167 <i>b</i>
	28	5 <i>n</i>
30	4	92 <i>b N.</i>
31	12	120 <i>e</i>
	16	93 <i>gg</i>
	21	164 <i>d</i>
	29	74 <i>g</i>
32	1	2 <i>r</i> , 91 <i>l</i> , 117 <i>b</i>
	3	69 <i>o</i>
	4	126 <i>c</i>
	5	13 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>e</i>
	6 20 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>ll</i> , 100 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>a N.</i>	
	7	60 <i>f</i> , 87 <i>n</i> , 123 <i>c</i>
	8	53 <i>k</i> , 109 <i>k</i>
	10	58 <i>i</i> , 58 <i>k</i>
	11	52 <i>n</i> , 155 <i>g</i>
	15 20 <i>g</i> , 144 <i>p</i> , 154 <i>N (a)</i>	
	17 144 <i>p</i> , 152 <i>a N.</i> , 155 <i>e</i> , 155 <i>f</i> , 155 <i>h</i>	
	18	75 <i>s</i> , 109 <i>k</i>
	20	108 <i>a</i>
	21	152 <i>a N.</i>
	22	69 <i>f</i>
	24	116 <i>h</i> , 116 <i>i</i>
	26	58 <i>a N.</i> , 75 <i>mm</i>
	27	139 <i>y</i>
	28 50 <i>e</i> , 93 <i>aa</i> , 124 <i>e</i>	
	29	159 <i>x</i>
	30	134 <i>s</i>
	31	156 <i>b N.</i>
	32	20 <i>h</i>
	35 52 <i>o</i> , 145 <i>o</i> , 155 <i>l</i>	
	36	29 <i>v</i> , 44 <i>f</i> , 152 <i>s</i>
	37	29 <i>t</i> , 75 <i>u</i>
	39	141 <i>h N</i> ²
	40	93 <i>aa N.</i>
	41	159 <i>n</i>
	46	117 <i>gg</i> , 165 <i>b</i>
	50	110 <i>c</i>
33	2	112 <i>pp</i>

Deuteronomy

83	3	116 s
	4	131 s
	9	19 c, 117 b N.
	11	116 i, 117 l, 165 b
	12	44 c
	16	48 d, 90 l, 90 m
	19	130 f, 133 h
	21	68 h, 76 d
	23	48 i, 69 f
	24	119 w, 126 m
	26	91 l
	27	131 s
34	8	67 g
	9	116 f

Joshua

1	1	49 b N.
	2	131 n
	5	106 c
	7	107 p, 135 o N.
	8	91 k
	12	125 d N.
2	2	63 i
	4	60 d, 135 p
	5	114 k
	6	59 g
	10	117 c, 157 c
	13	63 q, 96
	15	126 r
	16	63 c, 72 g, 74 k
	17	34 a N., 59 h
	18	59 h
	20	126 y
3	5	54 k
	7	115 c
	9	66 c
	11	128 c
	12	134 g
	14	127 g
	16	120 g
4	3	72 z
	4	134 k
	6	47 m
	7	9 v
	14	52 l
	24	74 g
5	2	120 g, 124 g
	8	63 g
6	8	134 l
	9	113 u
	13	112 i, 113 t
	17	75 oo
	22	134 l
7	7	63 p, 113 x, 120 e, 154 b
	9	75 hh
	15	121 b
	21	127 i, 134 g
	24	154 a N.

Joshua

7	25	117 ee
8	11	127 g
	25	146 c
	28	20 g, 117 ii
	33	127 f, 127 i
9	2	118 g
	8	137 a
	12	54 f, 72 m, 112 ss, 126 aa
	20	113 z
	24	75 hh
10	13	107 c, 135 n, 150 e
	17	93 oo
	24	23 i, 138 i
	36	90 e
11	8	126 y
	14	53 l
12	9	2 r
13	5	127 f
	7	125 d N.
	14	145 u N.
14	1	64 d
	7	72 aa, 115 i
	8	75 ii
	11	115 k, 161 c
15	3	112 ss
	5	90 d
	12	90 f
	14	134 l
	18	16 f
	19	117 x, 117 ff, 126 y
	21	90 e
	38	21 e N.
	56	21 e N.
16	2	112 ss
	3	126 y
17	11	97 c, 117 l
18	12	90 i, 112 ss
	13	126 y
	20	47 f
19	11	112 ss
	13	90 i
21	11	91 k
22	3	112 ss
	9	68 i
	17	117 aa
	20	150 m
	25	130 o N.
23	5	60 a
	15	103 b
24	7	145 m
	14	75 oo
	19	124 h, 145 i

Judges

1	1	49 b N.
	2	106 m
	3	49 h
	6	93 r

Judges

1	7	116 k, 121 d, 141 i, 156 b
	12	112 ii
	15	59 h, 126 y
	19	114 l
	22	145 c
	28	113 n, 164 d
2	1	107 b
	18	112 hh
	19	112 e, 112 ee
3	23	112 tt
	24	67 v, 164 b
	25	116 d
	28	129 e
4	4	131 b
	6	150 e
	8	49 m
	18	72 s, 72 t, 126 r
	19	74 k
	20	58 g, 64 f, 110 k, 147 c, 150 n, 152 k
	21	72 p, 72 t
	24	113 h N., 113 u
5	1	2 r, 73 e, 117 b, 146 g
	4	117 z
	5	67 dd, 136 d N.
	7	20 i, 36, 44 h N.
	8	107 b, 149 e
	10	87 e, 130 a
	12	10 g, 72 s
	13	69 g
	14	93 aa
	15	10 g, 87 g, 93 bb
	17	117 bb
	21	118 g
	22	20 h, 123 e
	24	119 w
	26	47 k
	27	154 a N.
	28	64 h
	29	75 w, 128 i, 133 h
6	9	49 c, 49 e
	10	49 e
	11	127 d
	13	159 dd
	14	126 y
	16	49 l
	17	36
	18	114 g, 135 a
	19	53 n, 156 d
	20	34 f
	25	126 w, 128 c
	28	63 p
	31	73 e, 100 m
	36	116 g, 159 v
	39	109 a N.
7	3	137 c
	4	136 b
	6	93 n

Judges

7	8	131 s
12		36
13		112 g
19		113 z
20		147 c
23		102 b
25		124 r
8	1	74 h, 155 d, 155 h
	2	20 m
	4	118 n
	10	97 e
	11	130 a N.
	18	126 o, 161 c
	19	63 q, 159 x
	32	125 h, 128 c
9	8	113 o
	9	63 k, 100 n, 106 n
	10	46 d, 46 e
	15	159 v
	16	167 a
	17	119 bb
	28	137 a
	29	48 l, 76 e, 151 b, 154 b
	39	69 p
	41	35 d
	45	117 ee
	48	157 a
	53	27 o, 67 p, 125 b
	55	145 d
10	4	96
	11	167 b
	18	137 c
11	5	21 b
	10	159 n N.
	18	47 m
	20	157 b N.
	25	51 i, 133 a N.
	29	118 f
	33	134 e
	34	135 o, 135 o N.
	35	119 i
	36	124 e
	39	144 b
12	5	100 m, 112 ee
	6	2 w
	7	124 o
13	2	125 b
	5	80 d
	6	44 d, 64 f, 127 e
	8	52 s
	12	135 m
	16	119 m
	21	75 y
	23	90 h N.
	25	61 c
14	2	90 e
	3	135 a
	4	122 q, 135 p
	6	152 p

Judges

14	15	9 v, 69 n, 150 g
		N.
	17	134 m
	18	37 d, 90 f, 93 x, 133 a
15	1	119 n
	7	163 e, 163 d N.
	12	152 w
	13	113 p
	14	164 b
16	5	66 h
	9	126 o
	10	67 dd
	11	113 b
	13	28 c N.
	14	127 g
	15	141 e
	16	10 g, 52 d, 60 d, 164 d
	18	112 tt
	20	123 c
	25	52 n
	26	67 v
	27	126 x
	28	34 a N., 88 f, 97 b N.
	30	72 r
17	2	32 h, 121 f
	3	154 N.
18	3	142 e
	19	20 g, 150 g
	23	67 g, 67 y
	29	52 q
	30	5 n
19	1	131 b
	2	75 t
	5	9 u, 64 c N., 117 ff
	6	110 h, 120 d
	8	64 c
	9	91 k
	11	19 i
	13	69 x, 73 d
	18	118 e N.
	20	29 g, 73 e
	22	54 c, 130 e
	30	112 ee, 00, 116 w
20	2	29 f
	15	54 l, 155 d
	16	90 i N.
	31	66 f
	32	20 h
	38	75 gg
	39	118 u
	43	22 s
	44	117 m
21	7	131 n
	9	54 l
	16	123 b
	21	145 p

1 Samuel

1	1	49 b N., 125 b, 125 h, 156 b
	2	134 l, 145 o
	3	112 dd, 123 c
	4	112 g, 126 s
	6	20 h, 22 s, 59 g, 117 p
	7	107 e, 123 c
	8	37 e, 102 l
	9	91 e, 113 e N., 141 e
	10	128 y
	11	113 o
	12	112 uu, 114 n N., 164 d
	13	20 g
	14	47 o
	16	128 v
	17	23 f, 95 h
	20	44 d, 64 f
	22	112 oo
	24	135 i
	27	95 h
	28	64 f
2	1	2 r, 106 g
	3	103 g, 120 g, 124 e, 133 k, 152 z
	4	146 a
	6	111 u, 116 x
	8	107 g, 116 x, 135 p
	9	67 g
	13	112 oo, 116 w, 131 c, 159 i, 164 a
	14	131 h, 132 g
	15	112 oo
	16	23 e, 103 g, 106 m, 112 u, 113 w, 159 f, 159 dd
	18	116 k, 118 q, 121 d
	19	112 e
	20	145 u
	22	112 k
	23	126 y
	24	116 s
	25	117 x
	26	113 u
	27	113 g, 114 e, 150 e
	28	49 e, 113 z, 119 w
	29	133 b
	30	113 p, 116 g, 149 a
	31	112 x, 116 d
	33	53 q, 118 q, 145 e
3	2	107 b, 120 b
	3	107 c, 152 r
	5	46 c, 120 g, 120 h
	7	107 c
	10	54 k, 118 u, 123 c
	11	67 g, 67 p, 116 w, 155 d
	12	113 h

1 Samuel

3	13	112 <i>qq</i> , 130 <i>c</i> N., 119 <i>p</i>
14		149 <i>c</i>
17		149 <i>d</i>
21		75 <i>y</i>
4	1	131 <i>c</i> , 145 <i>c</i>
3		127 <i>g</i>
5		72 <i>h</i> , 145 <i>c</i>
6		37 <i>f</i>
7		125 <i>e</i>
8	132 <i>h</i> , 136 <i>d</i> , 147 <i>d</i>	
10		124 <i>b</i> , 145 <i>o</i>
12		127 <i>e</i>
15	44 <i>m</i> , 145 <i>k</i> , 145 <i>n</i>	
16		126 <i>k</i>
19		69 <i>m</i> , 112 <i>tt</i>
21		152 <i>q</i>
5	3	116 <i>d</i>
7		112 <i>rr</i>
8		116 <i>w</i>
9	67 <i>v</i> , 130 <i>d</i> , 164 <i>d</i>	
10		115 <i>c</i> , 145 <i>m</i>
11		117 <i>e</i>
6	4	118 <i>h</i> , 135 <i>r</i>
7		135 <i>o</i>
9	155 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>f</i> , 159 <i>q</i>	
10		60 <i>h</i> , 75 <i>qq</i>
11		154 <i>a</i> N.
12	47 <i>k</i> , 71, 75 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>s</i>	
14		127 <i>d</i>
18		126 <i>x</i>
19		119 <i>k</i>
7	9	131 <i>k</i>
10		116 <i>u</i>
11		119 <i>c</i>
12		111 <i>d</i>
14		72 <i>k</i>
16		112 <i>f</i>
17		29 <i>i</i> N.
8	11	72 <i>l</i>
12		114 <i>p</i>
19		20 <i>g</i> , 163 <i>a</i>
9	2	133 <i>a</i>
3	96, 117 <i>d</i> , 130 <i>g</i>	
4		104 <i>g</i> , 152 <i>k</i>
7		159 <i>w</i> N.
9		107 <i>e</i>
10		120 <i>g</i>
11		116 <i>u</i>
13		35 <i>n</i> , 47 <i>m</i>
17		138 <i>b</i>
20	73 <i>e</i> , 134 <i>m</i> , 143 <i>c</i>	
21		133 <i>g</i>
24		138 <i>t</i> , 138 <i>k</i>
10	3	97 <i>c</i>
4		134 <i>n</i>
5	29 <i>g</i> , 101 <i>a</i> , 109 <i>k</i> , 112 <i>s</i>	
6		75 <i>qq</i>

1 Samuel

10	8	112 <i>v</i>
9		112 <i>uu</i>
11	20 <i>h</i> , 111 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>s</i> , 116 <i>w</i> , 136 <i>c</i>	
12		154 <i>b</i>
13		75 <i>qq</i>
14		152 <i>k</i>
16		113 <i>o</i>
18		135 <i>a</i>
23		133 <i>b</i>
24		22 <i>s</i> , 100 <i>l</i>
25		126 <i>s</i>
27		136 <i>b</i>
11	1	125 <i>h</i>
2		135 <i>p</i>
5		107 <i>v</i>
11		111 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>w</i>
12		150 <i>a</i>
12	3	137 <i>b</i>
7		51 <i>p</i>
13		44 <i>d</i> , 64 <i>f</i>
14		167 <i>a</i>
17		114 <i>o</i>
19		107 <i>p</i>
20		135 <i>a</i>
23		126 <i>x</i> , 135 <i>g</i>
24		75 <i>oo</i>
25		29 <i>o</i> , 113 <i>o</i>
13	3	2 <i>b</i>
6		93 <i>w</i>
7		119 <i>gg</i>
8		69 <i>t</i>
11		67 <i>dd</i>
12		54 <i>k</i>
13		159 <i>dd</i>
15		93 <i>oo</i> , 132 <i>g</i>
17	118 <i>g</i> , 126 <i>l</i> , 126 <i>z</i> , 134 <i>l</i>	
19		152 <i>w</i>
20		118 <i>e</i>
21	35 <i>n</i> , 96, 112 <i>dd</i>	
22		112 <i>ee</i>
23		92 <i>g</i>
14	1	126 <i>s</i>
13		72 <i>m</i>
14		118 <i>s</i> N.
15		95 <i>g</i>
16		129 <i>b</i>
19	111 <i>h</i> , 113 <i>u</i> , 164 <i>d</i>	
21		2 <i>b</i>
22		53 <i>n</i>
24		76 <i>d</i> , 112 <i>w</i>
27		72 <i>k</i>
28		72 <i>t</i>
29		126 <i>x</i>
30	106 <i>p</i> , 113 <i>o</i> , 159 <i>x</i>	
33	23 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>t</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	
34		96
36	48 <i>g</i> N., 67 <i>dd</i> , 109 <i>d</i>	
38		66 <i>c</i>

1 Samuel

14	39	100 <i>o</i> N., 149 <i>c</i>
43		113 <i>p</i>
44		149 <i>d</i>
45		119 <i>w</i> N.
49		47 <i>h</i>
52		112 <i>u</i>
15	1	9 <i>v</i>
2		106 <i>g</i>
4		93 <i>x</i>
5		68 <i>i</i>
6	20 <i>g</i> , 22 <i>s</i> , 60 <i>f</i> , 68 <i>h</i> , 154 <i>a</i> N.	
9	67 <i>t</i> , 75 <i>y</i> , 132 <i>d</i> , 135 <i>c</i>	
13		121 <i>f</i>
14		37 <i>f</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
16		165 <i>a</i>
19		72 <i>ff</i>
20		157 <i>c</i>
23	29 <i>g</i> , 53 <i>l</i> , 111 <i>h</i> , 119 <i>x</i>	
32		118 <i>q</i>
33		119 <i>w</i>
16	1	65 <i>h</i> , 127 <i>d</i>
2		114 <i>g</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
3		138 <i>e</i>
4	141 <i>n</i> , 145 <i>u</i> , 150 <i>a</i>	
7		35 <i>g</i> , 132 <i>c</i>
8		125 <i>i</i>
11		133 <i>g</i>
12		128 <i>x</i>
14		112 <i>h</i>
16	120 <i>b</i> N., 124 <i>i</i>	
18		128 <i>t</i> , 129 <i>c</i>
20		128 <i>q</i>
23	112 <i>ee</i> , 112 <i>oo</i> , 126 <i>x</i>	
17	5	121 <i>d</i> , 131 <i>q</i>
12		126 <i>x</i>
14		133 <i>g</i> , 134 <i>l</i>
15		113 <i>u</i> , 118 <i>g</i>
16		113 <i>k</i>
17		126 <i>x</i> , 134 <i>n</i>
20		112 <i>rr</i>
21		122 <i>i</i>
24		111 <i>h</i>
25	22 <i>s</i> , 53 <i>n</i> , 60 <i>g</i> , 100 <i>l</i> , 114 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>s</i>	
26		34 <i>f</i> , 132 <i>h</i>
28		136 <i>c</i>
32		112 <i>p</i>
34	112 <i>kk</i> , 126 <i>r</i> , 154 <i>a</i> N.	
38		112 <i>tt</i>
40		132 <i>c</i>
41		113 <i>u</i>
43		124 <i>o</i>
46		145 <i>e</i>
47		53 <i>g</i> , 145 <i>c</i>
48		112 <i>uu</i>

1 Samuel

17 50 111 k
 55 . 126 aa, 136 c,
 137 b
 58 . . . 126 e, 126 f
 18 1 60 d
 9 55 c
 10 . . . 54 e, 118 u
 15 157 c
 18 137 a
 19 . 114 g, 115 e, N.
 21 134 r
 22 59 c
 23 114 a
 28 . . . 59 g, 59 i
 29 . . . 68 h, 69 n
 19 1 115 a
 2 . . . 51 n, 63 c
 3 119 l
 10 126 y
 13 . 124 h, 132 h N.
 17 . . . 59 h, 150 e
 22 126 x
 23 . . . 113 t, 135 g
 20 1 . . . 37 d, 116 s
 2 . . . 103 p, 156 f
 3 . 118 x, 149 a N.
 6 51 e, 51 i, 113 n,
 159 s
 8 142 g
 9 150 a
 10 . . . 150 i, 151 a
 11 118 f
 13 . 117 l N., 149 d
 16 117 g
 19 120 c
 20 127 e
 23 143 a
 26 152 d
 27 80 g N.
 31 . . . 128 v, 138 c
 33 115 c
 37 150 e
 40 72 y
 42 . . . 134 d, 135 f
 21 2 90 i, 119 gg, 152 o
 3 . . . 55 b, 137 c
 5 . . . 119 e N.
 6 123 b
 8 129 h
 9 . . . 150 c N.
 10 . . . 102 g, 126 r
 14 60 d, 75 bb, 131 m
 N.
 16 150 b
 22 2 75 oo
 5 119 s
 7 117 n, 124 p, 153
 9 90 i
 13 113 e
 15 . . . 67 w, 150 b

1 Samuel

28 1 93 r
 7 128 a
 10 . . . 113 o, 117 n
 11 . 150 g N., 150 n
 15 90 e
 19 150 e
 21 121 f
 22 63 n, 135 b, 144 d
 N.
 23 100 o N.
 28 22 s
 24 5 138 b
 6 117 d
 11 9 v, 112 rr, 144 o
 12 114 r, 154 N. (c)
 18 117 ff
 19 . 112 hh N., 117 c
 25 1 21 d
 2 67 cc
 5 . . . 44 d, 64 f
 7 53 p
 8 . 72 o, 74 k, 76 g
 10 . . . 67 ee, 126 w
 11 112 cc
 14 72 ff
 15 130 d
 18 . 24 b, 75 v, 132 g
 20 . . . 47 k, 112 uu
 22 149 b
 24 135 g
 25 107 p
 26 65 f, 113 e, 113 gg,
 144 l N., 149 a N.
 27 143 d, 145 o, 145 o
 N.
 28 119 w N.
 29 143 c
 31 114 p
 33 75 qq
 34 76 h, 106 p, 149 d
 26 9 . . . 112 h, 151 a
 12 . . . 87 s, 152 l
 13 156 c
 14 155 m
 16 . 117 l, 117 m N.
 19 72 aa
 20 117 d
 22 127 f
 27 9 . . . 112 e, 112 dd
 10 150 a N.
 28 3 . . . 106 f, 154 a N.
 7 52 d, 96, 128 u,
 130 e
 8 10 h, 46 e
 10 20 h
 13 . . . 132 h N. 1
 15 48 d, 59 f, 75 ll,
 102 l
 24 68 h
 29 6 149 c

1 Samuel

29 8 . . . 49 m, 130 c
 10 144 c
 30 2 156 f
 6 144 b
 8 . 150 a N., 154 a
 13 . . . 134 o N.
 24 161 c
 26 91 k
 28 10 g
 31 2 53 n
 7 103 g
 9 124 r

2 Samuel

1 4 157 c
 6 . . . 75 rr, 113 o
 9 . . . 72 m, 128 e
 10 49 c, 61 b, 107 b N.
 18 150 e
 21 126 m, 130 a, 152 g
 23 . . . 44 c, 154 a N.
 24 116 f
 25 148 b
 26 75 oo
 2 5 121 f
 16 144 d
 20 136 d
 21 . . . 64 c, 119 s
 22 . . . 102 l, 150 e
 23 . . . 111 g, 116 w
 26 44 g
 27 159 ee
 32 . . . 72 r, 118 g
 3 1 . . . 113 u, 145 c
 2 129 g
 8 . . . 75 qq, 111 e
 10 114 o
 11 115 d
 16 113 u
 18 . . . 113 dd N.
 25 117 h
 27 117 ll
 30 117 n
 33 107 t
 34 . . . 152 d, 152 e
 39 141 e
 4 1 145 p
 2 128 c
 4 128 h
 7 141 e
 10 . 111 h, 114 l N.
 11 117 d
 5 2 74 k
 6 . . . 35 g, 106 m
 8 . . . 35 g, 167 a
 10 125 h
 21 146 f
 24 109 k, 112 z, 117 d
 6 1 68 h

2 Samuel		2 Samuel		2 Samuel	
6	2 125 c	14	7 73 b	19	19 53 g
3	. . . . . 126 z	10	. . . . . 116 w	20	. . . . . 115 g
6	. . . . . 117 g	11	75 ff, 119 w N.	25	. . . . . 52 l, 127 f
16	. . . . . 112 w	13	. . . . . 92 b, 115 i	27	. . . . . 122 f
20	. . . . . 75 y, 148 b	19	. . . . . 47 b N., 70 c	30	. . . . . 106 i
7	5 112 r, 150 d	21	. . . . . 106 m	43	. . . . . 76 b
14	. . . . . 112 mm	26	. . . . . 118 h, 134 g	44	. . . . . 67 w
29	. . . . . 120 d	30	. . . . . 71	20	1 147 c
8	2 126 m	31	. . . . . 102 l	5	. . . . . 68 i
3	. . . . . 17 b	15	2 111 g, 127 b N.	8	. . . . . 142 e
4	. . . . . 69 v	4	. . . . . 112 p, 151 a	9	. . . . . 68 h, 141 c
8	. . . . . 131 e	5	. . . . . 10 g N ^s	11	. . . . . 137 c
9	1 165 a	7	. . . . . 10 g	12	. . . . . 112 oo, 116 e
3	. . . . . 128 y, 152 s	12	. . . . . 113 u	13	. . . . . 69 w
10	7 131 b	16	. . . . . 117 d	14	. . . . . 125 h
9	. . . . . 145 h, 146 a	20	. . . . . 150 a	18	. . . . . 113 w
12	. . . . . 54 k	21	93 aa N., 130 c,	19	. . . . . 130 f N.
11	1 23 g	163 d		20	. . . . . 149 a, 149 e
4	. . . . . 141 e	23	. . . . . 117 t	21	. . . . . 53 s, 155 e
11	. . . . . 149 a N.	25	. . . . . 117 e	23	. . . . . 16 b, 127 f
19	. . . . . 142 f N ²	27	. . . . . 72 s	21	2 74 h
20	. . . . . 157 c	32	. . . . . 116 k, 121 d	3	. . . . . 110 i
24	. . . . . 69 r, 75 rr	33	. . . . . 49 l, 75 w	4	. . . . . 120 c
25	. . . . . 117 l	34	. . . . . 67 dd, 143 d	9	. . . . . 118 i
27	. . . . . 60 d	37	. . . . . 93 ll	11	. . . . . 121 a
12	1 72 p	16	1 134 n	12	. . . . . 75 rr
2	126 d, 126 x, 146 f	5	. . . . . 112 th, 113 t	15	. . . . . 72 t
3	. . . . . 152 p	7	. . . . . 128 t	20	. . . . . 35 u
6	. . . . . 97 h	13	. . . . . 93 gg, 112 f	22	. . . . . 121 b
9	. . . . . 144 n	17	5 135 f	22	1 2 s, 53 l, 130 d
10	. . . . . 114 g	8	. . . . . 117 h	24	. . . . . 49 e
14	. . . . . 52 o	9	. . . . . 144 c	27	. . . . . 67 l
15	. . . . . 51 m	10	. . . . . 67 t	33	. . . . . 35 d, 131 r
16	. . . . . 112 f, 117 q	11	. . . . . 106 i	37	. . . . . 103 d
17	. . . . . 75 rr	12	. . . . . 109 d, 122 l	38	. . . . . 108 e
28	61 f, 135 a, 150 m	13	. . . . . 106 o	40	. . . . . 68 k
N.		15	. . . . . 135 a	41	. . . . . 19 i, 116 w
30	. . . . . 127 e	16	. . . . . 121 a	44	. . . . . 87 f
13	4 P. 457 N ¹	17	. . . . . 112 k, 126 r	23	1 2 s, 29 g
5	. . . . . 75 cc	22	. . . . . 96, 130 g	3	. . . . . 116 w
8	. . . . . 72 t	23	. . . . . 51 m	4	. . . . . 152 u
12	. . . . . 75 hh, 107 g	26	. . . . . 118 g	5	135 m, 150 a N.
14	. . . . . 117 u	18	3 63 i, 97 g	6	. . . . . 91 f, 143 a
15	. . . . . 117 q	11	114 l, 119 aa, 154 b,	7	. . . . . 113 w
17	. . . . . 64 c	159 w N.		8	. . . . . 47 b, 87 f
18	47 l, 112 tt N., 156 b	12	. . . . . 137 c, 154 b	11	. . . . . 127 e
19	. . . . . 113 t	13	. . . . . 159 cc	13	. . . . . 134 k
20	. 84 a s, 118 p,	14	. . . . . 108 c, 156 c	17	. . . . . 167 a
154 a N.		16	. . . . . 22 s	19	. . . . . 150 d
23	. . . . . 131 d	18	. . . . . 117 d	24	3 145 n, 154 b
25	. . . . . 152 g, 165 a	19	. . . . . 119 ff	6	. . . . . 90 i
26	. . . . . 159 dd	22	. . . . . 74 i	11	. . . . . 93 rr
28	. . . . . 72 w, 159 g	23	. . . . . 110 b	13	. . . . . 145 h
31	. . . . . 116 k	29	. . . . . 114 f, 150 a	16	. . . . . 142 f
32	. . . . . 73 f	33	. . . . . 133 l N.	21	. . . . . 165 a
39	. . . . . 131 g, 144 o	19	1 135 f, 151 b	22	. . . . . 93 pp
14	2 75 m, 136 d	6	. . . . . 70 c, 128 a	23	. . . . . 106 m
3	. . . . . 76 g	13	. . . . . 112 i	24	. . . . . 75 n, 113 p
4	. . . . . 126 e	14	. . . . . 68 h		
6	. . . . . 60 d	18	. . . . . 97 e, 112 tt		

1 Kings

1	1	49 <i>b</i> , 67 <i>g</i>
	2	131 <i>b</i> , 144 <i>f</i>
	5	116 <i>o</i>
	6	119 <i>w N</i> .
	12	117 <i>p</i>
	14	116 <i>u</i>
	15	80 <i>d</i> , 90 <i>c</i>
	20	135 <i>g</i>
	21	146 <i>d</i>
	24	150 <i>a</i> , 150 <i>b</i>
	26	135 <i>g</i>
	27	150 <i>f</i>
	31	156 <i>c</i>
	40	117 <i>g</i> , 145 <i>c</i>
	41	146 <i>a</i>
	47	70 <i>e</i>
	52	119 <i>w N</i> .
2	2	116 <i>p</i>
	3	114 <i>o</i>
	6	95 <i>u</i> , 109 <i>d</i>
	7	116 <i>h</i>
	17	131 <i>g</i>
	18	135 <i>a</i>
	21	121 <i>b</i>
	22	110 <i>a</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
	23	149 <i>d</i>
	26	75 <i>z</i> , 93 <i>ss</i> , 118 <i>f</i> , 128 <i>t</i>
	30	75 <i>u</i>
	31	128 <i>w</i>
	36	80 <i>i</i> , 90 <i>i</i>
	40	90 <i>i</i>
	42	72 <i>aa</i>
	43	128 <i>h</i>
3	4	107 <i>b</i>
	7	114 <i>c</i>
	8	166 <i>b</i>
	11	112 <i>tt</i>
	12	166 <i>b</i>
	15	71
	16	107 <i>c</i>
	18	128 <i>f</i> , 135 <i>r</i>
	26	46 <i>e</i>
4	5	93 <i>l</i>
	7	112 <i>l</i>
	12	90 <i>i</i>
	13	128 <i>c</i>
	14	90 <i>d</i>
5	1	144 <i>i</i>
	3	131 <i>c</i>
	7	112 <i>dd</i>
	9	131 <i>e</i>
	12	134 <i>g</i>
	17	117 <i>h</i>
	20	68 <i>c</i>
	25	23 <i>f</i> , 107 <i>e</i>
	29	131 <i>b</i>
6	1	134 <i>h</i> , 134 <i>o</i>
	6	63 <i>i</i>
	7	131 <i>c</i>

1 Kings

6	16	117 <i>d</i>
	19	66 <i>i</i>
7	6	92 <i>g</i>
	7	118 <i>p</i> , 126 <i>w</i>
	8	118 <i>g</i>
	14	41 <i>o</i> , 131 <i>b</i>
	15	117 <i>hh</i>
	27	134 <i>l</i>
	28	20 <i>m</i>
	37	91 <i>f</i>
8	1	107 <i>c</i> , 109 <i>h</i>
	5	119 <i>z</i> , 145 <i>c</i>
	12	138 <i>e</i>
	13	118 <i>k</i>
	29	91 <i>k</i>
	30	119 <i>g</i> , 159 <i>g</i>
	31	145 <i>o</i>
	32	118 <i>g</i>
	33	158 <i>d</i>
	44	75 <i>w</i>
	46	49 <i>m</i>
	48	44 <i>i</i>
	64	133 <i>c</i>
9	3	75 <i>w</i>
	8	67 <i>g</i>
	11	75 <i>oo</i>
	17	126 <i>y</i>
	25	112 <i>dd</i> , 113 <i>z</i>
	26	122 <i>t</i>
10	9	115 <i>d</i>
	11	35 <i>m</i>
	12	117 <i>ii</i>
	21	152 <i>y N</i> .
	22	74 <i>i</i>
	23	119 <i>u</i>
	24	164 <i>b N</i> .
	27	126 <i>p</i>
	29	75 <i>t</i>
11	1	10 <i>h</i>
	3	145 <i>o</i> , 145 <i>p</i>
	5	122 <i>f</i>
	8	131 <i>h N</i> .
	9	138 <i>k</i>
	12	135 <i>p</i>
	15	52 <i>f</i>
	16	53 <i>l</i>
	19	54 <i>k</i>
	21	165 <i>a</i>
	25	117 <i>m N</i> .
	30	117 <i>ii</i>
	31	134 <i>l</i>
	33	87 <i>e</i>
	34	117 <i>ii</i>
	39	23 <i>d</i>
	41	150 <i>e</i>
12	2	138 <i>d</i>
	6	64 <i>b</i> , 117 <i>gg</i>
	8	116 <i>g</i> , 118 <i>g</i>
	10	93 <i>g</i>
	12	74 <i>k</i>

1 Kings

12	15	115 <i>a</i>
	28	133 <i>c</i>
	31	117 <i>d</i>
	32	21 <i>d</i> , 65 <i>e</i> , 122 <i>pp</i>
13	3	112 <i>tt</i>
	7	10 <i>h</i>
	11	125 <i>b</i>
	12	155 <i>d</i>
	14	126 <i>r</i>
	18	156 <i>d</i>
	30	147 <i>d</i>
	33	109 <i>f</i> , 109 <i>g</i>
14	2	32 <i>h</i>
	3	65 <i>g</i>
	5	94 <i>d</i> , 112 <i>z</i>
	6	118 <i>p</i> , 121 <i>d N</i> ¹
	10	64 <i>d</i>
	12	72 <i>r N</i> .
	13	129 <i>g</i>
	14	136 <i>d N</i> .
	15	91 <i>n</i>
	16	23 <i>c</i>
	17	116 <i>u</i>
	19	129 <i>d</i> , 150 <i>e</i>
	21	10 <i>g</i>
	24	127 <i>g</i>
15	13	119 <i>x</i>
	23	118 <i>g</i>
	25	134 <i>p</i>
16	2	74 <i>l</i>
	10	134 <i>o</i>
	24	29 <i>f</i> , 88 <i>b</i>
	25	67 <i>x</i>
	31	150 <i>d</i>
17	1	93 <i>pp</i>
	3	119 <i>s</i>
	9	90 <i>i</i>
	11	66 <i>g</i>
	13	75 <i>m</i>
	14	66 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>rr</i>
	15	32 <i>l</i>
	16	146 <i>a</i>
18	5	119 <i>w N</i> .
	10	107 <i>e</i>
	27	53 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>y</i>
	32	117 <i>ii</i> , 117 <i>kk</i>
	43	152 <i>p</i>
	44	58 <i>g</i>
19	4	157 <i>c</i>
	9	126 <i>r</i>
	11	132 <i>d</i>
	15	26 <i>h</i> , 90 <i>c</i> , 90 <i>i</i>
	19	134 <i>o</i>
	20	20 <i>m</i>
	21	131 <i>m</i>
20	14	137 <i>b</i>
	20	145 <i>c</i>
	21	112 <i>tt</i>
	22	54 <i>k</i>
	25	103 <i>b</i>

1 Kings

20	27	54 l
33		53 n
35	75 mm,	128 v
39		51 k
40		116 g N.
21		34 c
8		124 b N.
10		104 g
11	116 g,	118 q
12		112 gg
13		119 c
15		69 f
19	74 k,	135 f
21	74 k,	74 l
25		72 w
22	3	150 e
4		161 c
7		108 b
10		121 d
12		110 f
15		150 c
16	102 k,	134 r
23		126 y
25		75 pp
27		131 c
28	135 r,	144 p,
30	104 g,	113 dd N.
35		71
49		44 m

2 Kings

1	1	49 b
2		126 y
3		152 y
7		37 f
9		97 i
10		154 b
11		120 d
2	1	10 h,
9		107 c
10	52 s,	114 n N.
16	93 u,	107 q N ^s
20		72 aa
21		75 oo
22		75 qa
24		122 e
3		135 p
4	2 d,	112 h,
8		155 d
15		112 uu
16	113 bb,	123 e
23		113 w
24		75 ff
25		112 e
27		107 k
4	1	125 b
3	91 l,	133 c N.
8		126 s
13	114 k,	117 r

2 Kings

4	14	154 b
16	32 h,	116 p
23		90 n
24		66 c
25		34 f
27		63 e
31		29 k
41		69 f
43		113 ee
5	2	118 q
3		151 e
9		129 d
10	110 i,	113 bb,
11		112 p
12		107 t
13	110 f,	142 f,
17	104 g,	159 dd
18		75 kk
20	112 gg,	163 d
22		136 d
23	72 t,	88 b,
26		150 a N ¹
6	5	117 m N.
8		91 n
9		51 n
10		134 r
11		36
19	34 b N ^s ,	52 n
22		p. 457 N ¹
27	109 h,	150 g
29		74 l
32		22 s,
7	1	131 d
4		112 ff
8		47 i
10		135 p N ¹
13		127 f
18		10 h
8	1	32 h
6	53 m,	72 y,
8		126 y
16		52 l
17		134 e
21		50 e
9	2	72 w,
4		127 g
17		80 f
18	32 n,	103 o,
19		150 a N ¹
27		147 c
31		144 p
33		76 c
35		119 m
37		75 m
10	1	124 b N.,
6		131 h N.
15		159 cc
21		102 h
23		152 w
29		93 o

2 Kings

11	1	112 pp
2		116 e
4	75 gg,	75 q,
5		116 h
12		74 l
13		87 e
15	113 cc,	119 e
12	9	72 h,
12		112 pp N ^s
13	6	74 k
17		69 r,
19		114 k,
21		111 g
14	7	21 e,
8		156 o
14	93 oo,	112 pp,
124 q		112 tt
15	16	76 c,
29		80 k
16	4	65 e
7		72 p
14		127 h
17		127 h
18		80 k
17	4	118 u
6		134 p
11		53 p
15		103 l
29		124 r
18	1	134 p
4		112 tt
17		128 w N.
20		44 i
26		2 a
28		2 a
29		74 l
30		121 b N.
36		112 tt
19	2	131 h N.
4		132 h
14		124 b N.
21		72 l
25		23 f,
20	1	49 a
19		126 x,
21	11	74 l
12		67 g
13		113 h N.
15		112 tt
26		144 d N.
22	1	134 e
13		138 b
20		61 h,
23	3	127 c
4	75 v,	112 pp,
N.		112 pp
8		112 pp N.
10		112 pp,
12		112 rr,
14		112 pp N.

2 Kings

23	15	. . . . .	67 v
	17	. . . . .	127 f, 127 g
	20	. . . . .	117 d
	35	. . . . .	139 c
24	7	. . . . .	144 b
	14	. . . . .	97 g, 122 tt
25	9	. . . . .	117 d
	15	. . . . .	123 e
	16	. . . . .	126 z, 134 l
	17	. . . . .	134 e
	18	. . . . .	131 b
	19	. . . . .	127 f
	28	. . . . .	122 g
	29	. . . . .	75 rr

Isaiah

1	2	. . . . .	126 e
	3	. . . . .	124 i
	4	. . . . .	128 l, x, 147 d
	5	. . . . .	37 e, 127 c, 137 b, 156 d
	6	. . . . .	67 m, 126 m, 144 b, 152 o
	7	. . . . .	116 l, 116 n, 118 x, 143 a
	9	. . . . .	106 p, 118 x, 159 x
	11	. . . . .	106 g, 107 f, 117 z
	12	. . . . .	51 l, 106 g, 164 d
	14	. . . . .	66 b, 76 b, 102 h, 114 c, 119 aa
	15	. . . . .	60 f, 61 e, 117 z, 124 n, 145 n
	16	. . . . .	54 d, 128 r
	17	. . . . .	113 d, 117 u
	18	. . . . .	126 o, 160 a
	19	. . . . .	120 e
	20	. . . . .	52 e, 121 c
	21	. . . . .	90 l, 95 h, 107 b, 148 b
	22	. . . . .	126 m
	23	. . . . .	107 g, 124 f
	24	. . . . .	51 p
	25	. . . . .	118 w, 124 l
	26	. . . . .	118 s N., 135 m
	27	. . . . .	116 i
	28	. . . . .	147 c
	29	. . . . .	144 p
	30	. . . . .	91 d, 116 i, 152 o
	31	. . . . .	93 g
2	1	. . . . .	154 a N.
	2	. . . . .	116 r
	4	. . . . .	91 n
	6	. . . . .	44 g
	7	. . . . .	117 z
	8	. . . . .	145 m
	9	. . . . .	109 e, 117 g
	11	. . . . .	112 s, 146 a
	17	. . . . .	145 o
	18	. . . . .	15 f

Isaiah

2	20	. . . . .	63 i, 84 ^b n, 135 n, 145 m
	22	. . . . .	116 e, 119 s
3	1	. . . . .	116 p, 122 v
	3	. . . . .	116 k
	6	. . . . .	103 g, 118 g
	7	. . . . .	117 g, 117 ii, 156 b
	8	. . . . .	53 g, 122 i
	9	. . . . .	135 i, 156 g
	12	. . . . .	124 k, 145 l
	13	. . . . .	115 b
	14	. . . . .	128 h, 154 b
	15	. . . . .	37 c
	16	. . . . .	52 n, 75 v, 111 r, 112 m, 113 u, 135 o
	17	. . . . .	91 c, 91 f, 142 f
	22	. . . . .	35 f
	24	. . . . .	131 b
4	4	. . . . .	106 o, 107 l, 113 e, 159 n N.
5	1	. . . . .	87 f N., 108 b, 128 v
	2	. . . . .	114 m, 117 ee
	3	. . . . .	110 a
	4	. . . . .	75 z, 114 k, 150 m
	5	. . . . .	112 u, 113 d, 113 f, 114 k N., 116 d, 116 p
	6	. . . . .	117 z, 117 ii, 119 y
	8	. . . . .	112 w, 116 x, 144 p, 147 d
	9	. . . . .	149 e, 152 y
	10	. . . . .	93 m
	11	. . . . .	112 m, 120 c, 130 a, 156 d
	12	. . . . .	93 ss, 106 l, 141 d
	13	. . . . .	106 n, 128 t
	14	. . . . .	20 f, 112 s
	15	. . . . .	111 w
	17	. . . . .	118 t, 142 f
	19	. . . . .	48 d, 108 d
	23	. . . . .	116 x, 145 m
	24	. . . . .	114 r, 115 k
	25	. . . . .	136 b
	26	. . . . .	133 k N., 145 m
	28	. . . . .	20 h, 117 z
	29	. . . . .	152 l
	30	. . . . .	136 b
6	1	. . . . .	111 b
	2	. . . . .	88 f, 119 cc, 134 g
	3	. . . . .	112 k, 133 k, 139 e N., 141 l
	4	. . . . .	107 b, 107 d, 117 z
	5	. . . . .	106 n, 128 y, 147 d
	6	. . . . .	94 b, 155 h, 156 b
	7	. . . . .	112 x
	8	. . . . .	61 g, 117 c, 124 g N., 137 b
	9	. . . . .	75 n, 113 r
	10	. . . . .	67 v, 136 b

Isaiah

6	11	. . . . .	106 o, 121 d, 144 d, 152 y
	12	. . . . .	67 k
	13	. . . . .	52 p, 112 mm, 114 k N., 120 d
7	2	. . . . .	72 q, 122 i
	3	. . . . .	95 s
	4	. . . . .	113 bb
	6	. . . . .	122 i
	7	. . . . .	122 q, 144 b
	8	. . . . .	119 y
	9	. . . . .	148 d, 159 ce
	11	. . . . .	29 u
	13	. . . . .	114 a, 133 c
	14	. . . . .	74 g, 112 i, 113 k, 126 r, 135 a N., 135 c
	15	. . . . .	113 f
	17	. . . . .	49 a
	18	. . . . .	124 e
	20	. . . . .	126 x
	23	. . . . .	134 n
	25	. . . . .	118 l, 144 h
8	1	. . . . .	29 l, 52 s, 119 u
	2	. . . . .	49 e, 96
	4	. . . . .	144 d
	6	. . . . .	2 d N., 130 a
	7	. . . . .	154 b
	8	. . . . .	145 o
	9	. . . . .	110 f
	11	. . . . .	45 d, 59 h
	12	. . . . .	47 m, 117 r
	16	. . . . .	67 n
	17	. . . . .	75 z
	19	. . . . .	164 d
	20	. . . . .	145 m
	21	. . . . .	54 k, 118 n
	23	. . . . .	67 v, 90 f, 128 h
9	1	. . . . .	106 n, 130 a, 132 g
	2	. . . . .	103 g, 130 a
	3	. . . . .	10 h, 20 h, 67 w, 93 g, 118 u, 135 n
	4	. . . . .	112 mm, 124 n, 143 d, 146 e
	5	. . . . .	93 k, 144 d
	6	. . . . .	5 n, 152 u
	8	. . . . .	127 c, 145 c
	11	. . . . .	127 c
	12	. . . . .	116 f
	18	. . . . .	145 o
10	1	. . . . .	10 g, 93 bb
	2	. . . . .	114 r
	4	. . . . .	163 c
	5	. . . . .	152 a
	9	. . . . .	21 d
	10	. . . . .	133 e
	12	. . . . .	47 b, 127 a
	13	. . . . .	23 d, 75 z, 107 b N.
	14	. . . . .	118 w, 126 o, 132 e
	15	. . . . .	115 i, 124 k, 150 h

Isaiah		Isaiah		Isaiah	
10	16 69f	17	8 . 35f, 154 a N. (b)	23	12 . 35 b, 46 e, 118 f,
17	. . . . . 93 v	10	. . . . . 20 m N., 47 k		130 e, 132 b
18	. . . . . 67 cc	11	. . . . . 72 n	13	. . . . . 136 d N.
22	. . . . . 117 z	12	. . . . . 47 m, 75 u	15	. 44 f, 116 p, 118 t
24	. 58 i, 119 o, 156 d	18	1 124 e	17	. . . . . 72 l, 91 e
30	. . . . . 132 b, 144 m	2	. . . . . 52 s, 103 m	24	2 . 35 g, 116 s, 127 i
32	. . . . . 114 k, 119 o	3	. . . . . 66 b	3	. . . . . 67 t
33	. . . . . 23 t	4	. . . . . 10 h	10	. . . . . 119 x
11	2 128 a	5	29 g, 67 v, 72 dd,	12	. . . . . 121 d
7	. . . . . 122 e		142 f, 145 q	16	. . . . . 117 q
8	. . . . . 142 f	6	. . . . . 73 b	19	. . 67 o, 113 w
9	106 u, 114 c, 115 d,	19	1 72 l	22	. . . . . 117 q
	116 f N., 117 n,	3	. . . . . 67 dd	25	6 75 dd, 93 ss
	126 z	4	. . . . . 124 i, 132 h	7	. . . . . 72 p
10	. . . . . 119 gg	6	. 53 g, 53 p, 124 e	10	. . . . . 72 v
12	. . . . . 20 m	9	. . . . . 86 i	26	4 119 i N.
14	. . . . . 93 hh	10	. . . . . 128 y	9	. . . . . 144 m
12	1 109 k	11	. . . . . 133 h	10	. . . . . 159 c
2	. . . . . 80 g	12	. . . . . 109 f	11	. . . . . 47 m
5	. . . . . 116 e	13	. . . . . 142 f	16	. . . . . 44 l, 72 o
6	. . . . . 122 s	17	. 80 h, 95 d, 143 b	18	. . . . . 124 e
13	3 135 n	18	. . . . . 2 a	19	. . . . . 95 h, 122 s
4	. . . . . 146 b, 147 c	22	. . . . . 113 s	20	. . . . . 75 qq
6	. . . . . 118 x	20	1 115 k	27	3 60 a
8	. . . . . 47 m, 119 gg	2	. . . . . 113 t, 118 n	4	10 h, 65 b, 71,
18	. . . . . 52 n	4	. . . . . 87 g, 118 o		117 x, 151 b
19	. . . . . 115 d	21	1 114 o	5	. . . . . 162 a
20	. . . . . 68 k	2	. 44 o, 72 s, 121 b	8	. . . . . 55 f
22	. . . . . 145 o	7	. . . . . 93 dd, 117 q	9	. . . . . 156 f
14	2 54 f, 57 N ² , 117 w	8	. . . . . 118 r	11	. . 70 a N., 124 e
3	22 s, 102 b, 115 g,	9	. . . . . 136 d	18	. . . . . 152 x
	121 b, 121 f	11	. 90 f, 93 w, 116 t	28	1 124 e, 128 c
4	. 49 k, 49 m, 148 b	12	29 t, 75 u, 75 rr,	2	. . . . . 125 c
6	. . . . . 117 g, 130 a		76 d	3	. . . . . 47 k
9	. . . . . 145 t	14	. . . . . 76 d	4	91 e, 128 w, 135 n,
11	. . . . . 93 ss, 145 o	17	127 a, 128 a,		144 e
14	. . . . . 87 s		146 a	6	. . . . . 90 i, 119 hh
17	. . . . . 116 x, 117 o	22	1 91 e, 150 l	7	. . . . . 72 l, 118 g
19	. 29 f, 126 p, 130 a	2	. 75 v, 91 e, 117 z,	8	. . . . . 127 c
23	. . . . . 55 f, 113 e		126 e, 128 x, 152 d	9	. . . . . 130 a
24	. . . . . 144 b, 149 b	3	. . . . . 119 w	10	. . . . . 102 h, 147 c
27	. . . . . 116 g, 126 k	5	. . . . . 128 a, 133 l	11	. . . . . 116 b
30	. . . . . 72 w, 133 h	7	. . . . . 128 r	12	. . 23 t, 114 m N.
31	. . . . . 72 v, 113 bb	10	. . . . . 20 m	16	71, 119 f, 130 f
15	2 70 d, 96	11	. . . . . 95 o, 124 k		N., 155 f
5	. . . . . 72 cc	13	. 75 n, 113 d, 113 f,	17	. . . . . 29 u, 142 f
7	. . . . . 155 h		113 dd	18	. . . . . 145 o
8	. . . . . 119 hh	14	. 107 c, 112 ss, 149 b,	20	. . . . . 133 c
16	2 126 p		149 e	21	. . . . . 118 t, 132 b
4	. . . . . 145 d	16	. . . . . 90 m, 144 p	24	. . . . . 144 e
6	. . . . . 122 v	17	. . . . . 113 r	26	. . . . . 112 rr
7	. . . . . 70 d	18	. . . . . 118 r	27	. . . . . 152 z
8	. . . . . 75 m, 145 u	19	. . . . . 144 p	28	112 m, 113 w N.
9	. . . . . 75 dd	24	. . . . . 128 w, 133 h		150 a
10	. 72 bb, 121 a, b, 144 e	23	1 110 k, 119 y	29	1 19 e, 66 f, 69 h N.,
17	1 119 x, 121 b	4	. . . . . 152 z		130 d
4	. . . . . 128 r	5	. . . . . 118 u, 128 h	4	. . . . . 120 g
5	. . . . . 122 n	7	. . . . . 126 z N.	5	. . 126 p, 133 k N.
6	. 118 u, 131 n N ¹ ,	8	. . . . . 93 pp	6	. . . . . 84 s, 144 b
	134 s	11	. . . . . 20 o, 53 q	7	. 75 qq, 116 i, 118 t

Isaiah

29 8 116 s
 9 55 g, 72 l
 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d
 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f
 15 53 g, 112 n
 16 147 c, 150 f
 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h
 23 131 o
 30 1 69 h N.
 2 63 i, 72 q
 5 78 b
 6 135 p
 8 61 f, 135 p
 11 102 b
 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d,
 114 r
 13 116 d
 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g
 18 67 cc, 130 a
 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 u
 20 131 c, 145 n
 21 56
 22 135 n, 145 m
 23 93 ss
 24 52 s
 25 74 i
 26 114 r, 134 r
 28 72 z
 31 156 d
 33 32 l
 31 2 141 f
 3 75 u
 5 67 p, 113 t
 6 . 138 f N., 144 p
 8 125 c, 152 a
 32 1 143 e
 7 154 a N.
 9 44 o
 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k
 12 116 s, 144 i
 13 128 c
 17 113 c
 18 124 e
 33 1 20 h, 53 g, 53 u,
 67 v, 120 b, 156 f
 3 67 dd
 4 85 h
 5 116 s
 6 130 b
 7 75 u
 9 29 q, 145 t
 10 54 c, 133 l
 12 20 i
 14 . . 84^a s, 117 bb
 15 117 r N., 119 z,
 124 e
 16 124 b
 20 152 t
 34 4 67 t, 126 o
 5 52 k

Isaiah

34 6 54 h
 10 102 i
 11 21 c, 80 g
 13 117 z
 17 59 g
 35 1 47 n
 2 117 q, 130 b
 4 65 f
 7 135 p
 9 84^b f, 132 c
 36 2 128 w N.
 8 127 f
 9 119 s, 119 u
 11 2 a
 14 74 l
 16 110 f, 127 f
 17 114 r
 37 3 69 m, 152 k
 11 150 a
 14 124 b N.
 17 10 g
 19 113 f, 113 z
 22 130 e
 24 128 r
 25 124 e
 26 75 qq, 114 k, 117 ii
 28 114 c
 29 112 nn
 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b
 38 3 16 f N., 157 c
 5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f
 9 114 r
 10 108 g, 121 d
 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.
 15 55 g
 16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p
 17 119 ff
 18 116 h, 152 z
 20 86 i, 114 i
 39 1 124 b N.
 2 15 e N., 126 x
 40 1 107 f
 3 146 b
 4 93 v
 6 112 qq, 127 c
 9 119 s
 10 119 i
 11 93 x
 14 124 e
 18 15 c, 75 dd
 19 119 hh
 20 155 f, 156 g
 22 126 b
 25 150 m
 26 124 e
 29 152 v
 30 69 q
 31 8 k
 41 1 119 gg
 2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n

Isaiah

41 3 118 q
 4 135 a N.
 5 75 u
 7 29 f
 8 138 d
 10 75 bb
 12 135 n
 15 96
 17 20 i
 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v,
 109 d
 24 155 n
 25 23 d, 76 d
 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d
 42 4 67 q
 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k
 6 . 107 b N., 109 k
 13 126 p
 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f
 20 75 n, 144 p
 21 120 c
 22 29 q, 72 y, 119 hh,
 124 q
 24 113 d, 114 m N.,
 138 g
 25 131 k
 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d
 2 . . 159 dd, 159 ff
 6 122 v
 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l
 9 . 51 o, 106 n N.
 10 135 a N.
 25 141 h
 44 3 71
 9 5 n
 13 64 i
 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N.
 16 67 ee
 19 150 a
 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x
 24 65 d
 28 53 n, 114 p
 45 1 67 p
 2 70 b
 4 . 111 b N., 131 g
 9 152 u
 10 47 o
 14 10 g
 46 5 75 dd
 47 1 120 c
 2 46 d, 63 l
 5 . 100 g N., 118 o
 7 94 g
 8 90 l, 144 p
 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v,
 116 f
 12 138 f
 14 28 b, 67 cc
 48 8 52 k, 157 a
 9 119 hh

Isaiah

48	11	. . . . .	67 t
	14	. . . . .	119 hh
	17	. . . . .	61 h, 93 q
	18	. . . . .	111 z, 151 e
49	6	67 t, 115 a, 142 f	
		N ²	
	7	. . . . .	111 q
	11	. . . . .	145 u
	13	. . . . .	126 o
	15	. . . . .	160 b
	18	. . . . .	32 c
	19	. . . . .	67 dd
	21	. . . . .	72 p
	23	. . . . .	122 f N, 156 c
	26	. . . . .	135 l
50	2	133 c, 150 m, 152 y	
	8	. . . . .	15 c, 20 f
	9	. . . . .	136 c
	10	. . . . .	137 c
	11	. . . . .	20 n
51	1	. . . . .	155 k
	2	. . . . .	107 b N.
	3	. . . . .	146 e
	9	72 s, 118 u, 124 q	
	10	. . . . .	93 pp, 138 k
	12	. . . . .	61 h, 111 m
	13	. . . . .	52 k
	15	. . . . .	65 d
	17	. . . . .	128 q
	19	. . . . .	47 b, 122 q
	21	. . . . .	50 f, 130 b
52	1	. . . . .	120 c
	5	. . . . .	55 b
	7	. . . . .	75 x, 106 g
	8	. . . . .	117 a N ² , 146 b
	11	. . . . .	67 t
	12	. . . . .	61 h
	14	. . . . .	93 q
53	1	. . . . .	151 a
	2	. . . . .	166 a
	3	. . . . .	96, 128 q
	4	. . . . .	116 l, 117 ii
	5	. . . . .	121 a, 128 q
	8	. . . . .	103 f N.
	9	. . . . .	160 c
	10	. . . . .	74 k, 75 ii
	11	117 n, 120 h, 132 b	
54	1	67 ff, 144 p, 155 f	
	4	. . . . .	91 l
	5	. . . . .	124 k, 124 k N.
	6	. . . . .	58 g
	10	. . . . .	103 b
	11	. . . . .	152 a N.
	12	. . . . .	21 d
	14	. . . . .	54 c, 119 c
	15	. . . . .	137 c, 159 w
55	2	. . . . .	152 a N.
	3	. . . . .	93 m
	9	. . . . .	161 b
56	3	. . . . .	138 k

Isaiah

56	4	. . . . .	138 f
	5	. . . . .	112 mm
	8	. . . . .	20 m
	9	. . . . .	29 t
	12	. . . . .	29 t
57	4	. . . . .	93 m
	5	. . . . .	67 u
	6	. . . . .	20 h
	8	. . . . .	47 k
	17	. . . . .	113 h
	20	. . . . .	113 d
58	3	19 c, 20 h, 150 m	
	9	. . . . .	115 b
	13	. . . . .	119 hh
59	3	. . . . .	51 h
	5	. . . . .	73 d, 80 i
	9	. . . . .	93 r
	10	. . . . .	152 v
	12	. . . . .	67 k
	13	. 52 e, 75 n, 113 d	
	14	. . . . .	72 ee
	21	. . . . .	143 a
60	3	. . . . .	107 b N.
	4	. . . . .	51 m, 122 v
	7	. . . . .	60 e
	9	. . . . .	58 g
	14	. . . . .	118 q, 125 h
61	1	. . . . .	84 b n
	7	. . . . .	119 hh
62	2	. . . . .	16 f
	9	. . . . .	20 m, 52 p
	12	. . . . .	152 a N.
63	3	. . . . .	53 p, 76 c
	11	. . . . .	128 c
	16	. . . . .	60 d
	19	. . . . .	151 e, 155 m
64	3	. . . . .	75 hh
	6	. . . . .	72 cc
65	1	. . . . .	51 c, 155 n
	2	. . . . .	126 z
	5	. . . . .	117 x
	11	. . . . .	35 g
	14	. . . . .	70 d
	17	. 29 i N., 51 m	
	18	. . . . .	110 c
	20	. . . . .	75 oo
	24	. . . . .	107 c
66	13	. . . . .	155 d
	15	. . . . .	119 i
	18	. . . . .	167 b

Jeremiah

1	10	. . . . .	45 g
	13	. . . . .	90 e
2	2	. . . . .	49 k
	8	. . . . .	155 n
	11	. . . . .	72 e, 155 n
	12	. . . . .	46 d
	15	. . . . .	44 m

Jeremiah

2	16	. . . . .	117 u
	17	. . . . .	116 g N.
	19	. . . . .	60 a
	20	. . . . .	44 h N.
	21	. . . . .	126 z
	24	. . . . .	60 e, 122 d
	27	. . . . .	59 h, 69 s
	31	. . . . .	85 h
	33	. . . . .	44 h
	35	. . . . .	114 d
	36	. . . . .	68 h
3	1	. . . . .	113 ee, 159 w
	5	. . . . .	47 k, 66 f, 69 r
	6	. . . . .	75 ii, 132 b
	7	. . . . .	84 a k
	8	. . . . .	91 l
	9	. . . . .	112 ss
	15	. . . . .	113 k
	22	. . . . .	75 pp, 75 rr
4	1	. . . . .	143 d
	2	. . . . .	10 g
	5	. . . . .	120 h
	7	. . . . .	20 h, 93 t
	11	. . . . .	67 v
	13	. . . . .	67 ee
	18	. . . . .	75 n
	19	44 h, 108 g, 133 l	
		N.	
	30	. . . . .	145 t
5	6	. . . . .	20 b, 67 cc
	7	. . . . .	65 b
	13	. . . . .	52 o, 138 i
	22	. . . . .	58 i, 58 k, 60 e
	26	. . . . .	67 p
6	5	. . . . .	10 g
	8	. . . . .	51 c, 152 a N.
	10	. . . . .	108 g
	17	. . . . .	112 dd
	20	. . . . .	126 x
	28	. . . . .	133 i
	29	. . . . .	67 u
7	4	. . . . .	133 l N.
	9	. . . . .	112 o, 113 ee
	19	. . . . .	57 N ⁴ , 135 k
8	4	. . . . .	150 m
	5	. . . . .	128 c
	11	. . . . .	75 qq, 133 l
	13	. . . . .	72 aa, 113 v
	14	. . . . .	67 dd
	19	. . . . .	100 m, 102 m
9	1	. . . . .	108 f, 151 b
	2	. . . . .	53 n, 119 u
	3	. . . . .	63 c
	4	. . . . .	53 q, 113 d
	11	. . . . .	109 i
	12	. . . . .	114 r
	17	. . . . .	74 k
	23	113 d, 113 g, 144 e	
10	3	. . . . .	145 u N ³
	4	. . . . .	109 g

Jeremiah

10 5 23 t, 47 n, 75 oo,
113 b
11 I c
17 46 d, 90 m
18 67 ee
19 63 c, 126 y
22 146 b
23 72 z
11 7 113 k
15 53 n, 90 g, 91 e
16 84 a a
19 45 g
12 4 145 k
5 55 h
9 68 i
13 10 52 s
14 127 e
16 144 c
17 69 p
19 75 m, 118 q
20 145 m
21 64 a
14 1 138 e N.
16 103 g
18 155 h, 159 p
15 10 61 h, 91 c N.
18 50 f, 102 l
16 16 73 b, 132 b
17 2 28 a, 45 g
7 93 oo
11 161 a
17 75 hh
18 53 m, 72 y, 74 l
18 7 45 g
16 119 q
23 75 ii
19 5 144 b
11 75 qq
15 74 k
20 9 21 d, 112 kh, 132 d
15 59 f
17 111 l, 122 n N.
21 1 115 t
13 66 f
22 14 87 g
15 10 g, 55 h, 142 g
16 144 p
19 113 h
20 10 h, 46 d
22 22 s
23 23 f N., 80 d, 90 n
24 58 i
26 72 k
28 10 g
29 133 l N.
23 6 20 d, 60 c, 74 e
9 126 p
14 113 h N², 152 x
32 52 s
33 117 m N.

Jeremiah

23 37 58 g, 75 u
39 23 l
24 7 115 c
25 3 53 k
15 131 k
26 127 g
27 76 h
34 91 l
36 24 c
26 5 113 k
6 8 k, 37 b
9 75 qq
27 16 90 e
18 72 o, 76 g
20 53 q
29 1 53 p
8 53 o
17 132 e
23 64 e
25 124 b N.
30 11 113 n
16 67 s
26 134 m
31 1 75 hh
2 113 dd
3 117 x
8 119 q
15 145 m
18 51 c
21 44 h, 126 y
22 47 o
28 45 g
32 63 o, 138 b N.
33 60 a
38 17 b
40 127 g
32 4 51 k
10 126 s
12 127 h
14 124 b N.
35 74 k
33 20 128 d, 131 r
22 116 g
34 9 132 d
36 33 117 l
37 3 53 q
11 112 uu
12 53 q
15 112 tt
16 87 i
38 4 75 rr
6 127 f
9 111 l
11 8 k
12 93 x
14 126 w
16 17 b
23 144 i
26 115 a
28 112 qq

Jeremiah

39 7 53 q, 72 z
12 22 s
14 115 c
40 3 12 qg
4 35 d
5 72 s
16 75 hh
41 6 113 u
12 119 g
42 2 75 f
6 17 a, 32 d
10 19 i
16 112 y
44 7 114 o
8 8 k
18 67 e
19 53 k, 58 g, 144 u
21 52 o
23 74 g
25 72 k, 146 g
46 1 138 e N.
5 117 q
8 68 i
16 126 w
20 84 b n
47 4 45 g, 67 cc
48 2 67 t
11 72 dd
15 145 u
31 70 d
32 127 f
36 80 g
44 131 n N¹
45 119 w
49 3 54 b
8 46 a N²
10 75 pp
11 47 k, 60 a N.
12 141 h
16 90 l, 147 c
25 80 g
28 20 b, 67 cc
30 20 g
36 20 m
37 67 aa
50 5 51 o
11 80 h
34 53 l, 73 d
51 3 17 b, 152 h N.
9 75 qq
13 90 n
14 163 d
29 111 w N.
33 53 l
56 20 h, 52 k
58 20 i
59 134 p
52 12 155 d
20 128 d

Ezekiel	Ezekiel	Ezekiel
1 6 87 t, 88 f	16 50 47 l	26 2 67 t
11 91 l	51 96	10 130 b
14 113 s N.	52 52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96	14 47 k
20 123 d N ²	53 91 e, 91 f	15 51 l
2 3 126 x	54 103 b	17 52 s, 138 k
19 19 h	55 72 k	21 10 g
3 3 49 e	57 72 p	27 3 90 m
15 67 cc, 154 a N. (b)	59 44 i	7 121 b
4 9 87 e	17 5 19 i, 66 g	19 20 i
12 58 k, 95 e	7 52 d	31 80 h
5 11 72 r, 109 d	9 45 e, 93 m, 150 a	32 23 k
12 52 n, 75 hh	N ¹	34 116 g N.
13 54 c	15 29 i, 93 rr	35 117 q
16 109 d	19 67 v	28 4 32 g
6 3 93 v	21 117 m	16 23 d, 68 k, 75 qq,
6 67 p N., 67 dd	18 6 131 c	111 w N.
8 91 l	7 131 r	17 75 n
9 72 dd	10 139 d	23 55 d
10 119 ii	14 103 l	24 72 p
11 128 c	28 75 t	29 3 117 x, 124 e
12 91 e	29 145 u	7 127 c
14 133 l	32 139 d	30 9 93 y
7 7 127 g	19 1 124 e	12 124 e
14 72 z, 113 s N.	2 80 h	16 73 d
24 93 oo	12 53 u	31 3 67 v
8 2 90 f	20 9 67 t	5 44 f
3 75 qq	16 117 m	7 76 f
16 75 kk	22 112 tt	16 128 a N ¹
9 2 116 k	37 23 f	32 12 51 n
3 116 k, 121 d N ¹	38 145 u	19 46 a N ²
7 112 tt	41 119 i	30 20 m, 72 n
8 64 i	21 12 67 t	32 53 s
11 116 k	15 75 n	33 17 143 a N ³
10 3 131 n, 131 n N ²	18 64 d	26 44 k
15 72 dd	21 73 a	34 2 57 N ⁴
17 72 q, 72 dd	22 124 o	8 57 N ⁴
11 3 150 a N ¹	29 53 l	10 57 N ⁴ , 149 c, 167 b
13 150 a N ¹	31 113 bb N ³	21 103 b
24 90 c	32 133 l	31 32 i
13 2 93 oo	33 45 c, 68 i	35 6 10 h
3 152 x, 155 n	35 72 y	9 72 k
11 35 m	22 4 47 k	10 117 m
18 87 f, 103 f N ²	20 66 f	12 84 l e
19 72 k, 93 r	23 5 63 m	36 3 67 r, 75 y, 113 g
20 32 i, 91 l	20 48 d	5 91 e
14 3 51 k, 51 p	28 91 e, 138 e	11 70 e
14 112 ll	32 47 k	12 69 s
22 117 l, 126 w	42 21 c	25 34 f
16 4 22 s, 52 q, 53 s,	44 96	32 152 d
64 e, 71	45 103 b	37 2 112 mp
5 71	47 103 b	7 60 a N.
6 123 d N ²	48 55 k, 91 f	8 9 u, 29 i
10 49 c	49 74 k, 76 b, 144 a	11 116 t, 119 s
27 131 r	24 11 67 q	16 66 g, 119 u
31 91 l	19 75 m	17 52 n, 64 h
32 117 d	26 53 e, 54 k	19 117 m N.
33 20 l, 64 c	25 3 67 u	38 21 49 l
34 121 a	4 91 e	23 54 k
45 96	6 23 c, 74 e	39 2 55 f
47 103 m	15 117 q	9 66 e

Ezekiel

39	26	75 <i>qg</i>
40	3	74 <i>l</i>
	4	74 <i>d</i>
	5	134 <i>n</i>
	16	91 <i>l</i>
	17	121 <i>d</i>
	19	80 <i>k</i>
	27	134 <i>g</i>
	28	126 <i>w</i>
	31	93 <i>ss</i>
	43	20 <i>m</i>
	45	136 <i>d N.</i>
	48	92 <i>g</i>
41	7	67 <i>dd</i>
	15	91 <i>l</i>
	18	121 <i>d</i>
	20	5 <i>n</i>
	22	141 <i>b</i>
	25	131 <i>n N</i> ¹
42	5	68 <i>h</i> , 131 <i>n</i>
43	7	117 <i>m</i>
	17	103 <i>o</i>
	27	75 <i>rr</i>
44	3	117 <i>m</i>
	8	58 <i>g</i>
	9	93 <i>hh</i> , 143 <i>e</i>
	12	112 <i>e N.</i>
45	2	65 <i>d</i>
	12	97 <i>e</i>
	16	127 <i>g</i>
46	6	132 <i>g N.</i>
	9	93 <i>q</i>
	17	72 <i>o</i>
	19	127 <i>f</i>
	22	53 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>s</i>
	23	121 <i>d</i>
	24	124 <i>r</i>
47	3	128 <i>n</i>
	4	131 <i>e</i>
	7	91 <i>e</i>
	8	75 <i>oo</i>
	15	127 <i>f</i> and <i>N.</i>
	17	117 <i>m</i>
48	14	72 <i>dd</i>

Hosea

1	2	52 <i>o</i> , 130 <i>d</i>
	6	120 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>a N.</i>
	7	119 <i>o</i>
2	1	130 <i>c</i>
	3	96
	5	72 <i>w</i>
	6	52 <i>n</i>
	11	120 <i>e</i>
	14	91 <i>e</i>
	21	133 <i>l</i>
	25	152 <i>a N.</i>
3	1	125 <i>c</i>
	2	20 <i>h</i>

Hosea

3	5	2 <i>v N.</i>
4	2	113 <i>f</i>
	3	119 <i>i</i>
	8	145 <i>m</i>
	14	155 <i>f</i>
	15	145 <i>m</i>
	16	150 <i>a</i>
	18	55 <i>e</i>
5	2	64 <i>a</i>
	3	135 <i>a</i>
	8	147 <i>c</i>
	15	60 <i>e</i>
6	1	109 <i>k</i>
	2	119 <i>y N.</i> , 134 <i>s</i>
	3	155 <i>g</i>
	4	120 <i>g</i>
	6	119 <i>w</i> , 133 <i>b</i>
	9	23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> , 93 <i>s</i>
	10	114 <i>l</i>
7	2	157 <i>a</i>
	4	80 <i>k</i>
	5	93 <i>ss</i>
	6	91 <i>c</i>
	12	24 <i>f</i> , 70 <i>b</i>
	14	70 <i>d</i>
	16	34 <i>b N.</i>
8	3	60 <i>d</i>
	4	67 <i>v</i>
	7	90 <i>f</i>
	9	119 <i>s</i>
	10	20 <i>g</i> , 111 <i>w N.</i>
9	6	130 <i>a</i>
	9	120 <i>g</i>
	11	69 <i>m</i>
	12	159 <i>m</i>
	15	109 <i>d</i>
10	4	75 <i>n</i>
	6	121 <i>w</i>
	10	60 <i>a</i> , 71
	11	90 <i>l</i>
	14 <i>g b</i> , 23 <i>g</i> , 53 <i>u</i> , 72 <i>p</i> , 156 <i>c</i>	
	15	133 <i>i</i>
11	1	68 <i>f</i>
	3	19 <i>i</i> , 55 <i>h</i> , 66 <i>g</i>
	4	68 <i>c</i>
	7	75 <i>rr</i>
	12	124 <i>h</i>
	1	58 <i>k</i>
	11	112 <i>dd</i>
	14	118 <i>q</i>
13	2	91 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>l</i>
	3	120 <i>g</i>
	8	122 <i>c</i>
	10	150 <i>l</i>
	14	93 <i>q</i>
	15	75 <i>rr</i>
14	1	84 <i>a</i> , 145 <i>u</i>
	3	128 <i>e</i>
	4	68 <i>f</i>

Hosea

14	5	118 <i>q</i>
	10	69 <i>b</i> , 166 <i>a N.</i>

Joel

1	2	100 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>e</i> , 150 <i>g</i>
	4	. . . . . 49 <i>m</i>
	5	. . . . . 126 <i>e</i>
	6	. . . . . 152 <i>v</i>
	7	. . . . . 113 <i>n</i>
	8	. . . . . 63 <i>l</i> , 116 <i>k</i>
	12	. . . . . 102 <i>b</i>
	15	. . . . . 147 <i>d</i>
	17	. . . . . 20 <i>h</i>
	18	. . . . . 148 <i>a</i>
	20	. . . . . 145 <i>k</i>
2	2	. . . . . 109 <i>d</i>
	4	. . . . . 72 <i>u</i> , 126 <i>p</i>
	6	. . . . . 23 <i>d</i>
	13	. . . . . 152 <i>g</i>
	16	. . . . . 128 <i>y</i>
	17	. . . . . 150 <i>e</i>
	21	. . . . . 46 <i>e</i>
	22	. . . . . 144 <i>a</i>
	24	. . . . . 93 <i>r</i>
	26	. . . . . 114 <i>o</i>
4	1	. . . . . 125 <i>k</i>
	3	. . . . . 69 <i>u</i>
	4	. . . . . 133 <i>k</i>
	11	. . . . . 51 <i>o</i> , 64 <i>h</i>
	14	. . . . . 123 <i>e</i> , 147 <i>c</i>
	18	. . . . . 117 <i>s</i>
	21	. . . . . 49 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>s</i>

Amos

1	3	134 <i>s</i> , 158 <i>c</i>
	5	145 <i>c</i>
	8	145 <i>e</i>
	9	114 <i>r</i> , 158 <i>c</i>
	11	58 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>i</i> , 114 <i>r</i>
2	6	61 <i>b</i>
	7	126 <i>b</i>
	9	53 <i>n</i>
	10	69 <i>x</i>
	12	51 <i>n</i>
	16	118 <i>n</i>
3	4	163 <i>c</i>
	5	113 <i>q</i>
	7	193 <i>c</i>
	8	159 <i>h</i>
	9	124 <i>e</i>
	11	67 <i>t</i> , 154 <i>a N.</i>
	12	88 <i>f</i> , 126 <i>r</i>
	13	125 <i>h</i>
4	1	35 <i>o</i> , 144 <i>a</i>
	2	75 <i>oo</i> , 112 <i>x</i>
	3	44 <i>k</i>
	4	113 <i>s</i>
	7	112 <i>h N.</i> , 144 <i>c</i>

Amos

- 4 8 134 s
 9 126 n
 10 154 a N.
 11 115 d
 13 . 29 e N., 116 g N.
 5 3 128 k
 3 117 z, 129 g
 4 110 f
 5 122 h
 7 126 b
 8 111 u, 117 ii
 11 61 e
 14 109 k, 152 g
 15 67 ce
 18 152 d
 19 112 m, 126 r
 21 20 h, 106 g, 154 a
 N.
 26 112 x, 112 rr
 6* 1 112 n
 2 125 h, 126 y
 6 63 c, 93 k, 119 m
 N.
 10 114 l, 145 m, 152 s
 12 . 123 a N., 144 d
 13 152 a N.
 14 125 c
 7 1 86 i, 147 b
 2 112 uu
 4 112 tt
 7 156 b
 14 128 v
 15 119 b
 8 4 53 q
 8 125 e
 9 49 l
 10 128 h, 135 p
 13 54 k, 146 g
 9 1 61 g, 144 e
 3 112 p
 7 150 e
 8 53 k, 113 n, 113 v
 11 116 d, 118 u
 13 54 k

Obadiah

- 3 90 l, 93 x
 10 128 h
 11 9 v, 61 f, 69 u
 13 47 k

Jonah

- 1 3 116 d, 122 t, 135 p
 5 5F m
 6 120 b
 7 150 k
 9 2 b
 10 117 q
 11 113 u, 165 a

Jonah

- 1 14 16 f
 15 61 c
 2 2 122 s
 4 117 r
 3 5 133 g
 4 1 117 q
 2 16 f, 114 n N.
 6 117 q
 9 113 k
 10 96, 128 v
 11 20 m, 97 b, 150 a

Micah

- 1 1 145 m
 2 109 k, 135 r, 144 p
 5 23 c, 137 a
 7 . 52 l, 67 y, 117 ii
 8 69 b N., 118 n
 10 113 v
 11 122 s, 131 c, 145 m
 13 110 k
 15 70 k
 2 3 118 q
 4 67 u, 144 d, 148 b
 6 72 dd, 145 o
 7 100 n, 118 n
 8 72 p, 116 h
 12 72 k, 127 i
 3 1 114 l, 150 e
 4 109 k
 6 119 w, 144 c
 12 87 e, 121 d
 4 3 91 n, 145 c
 6 68 h, 84^a s, 122 s
 8 68 f
 9 117 q
 10 . 10 k, 76 g, 145 n
 11 119 dd
 12 90 i
 13 . 44 h, 72 q, 117 ii
 14 119 o
 5 1 135 g, 142 g
 2 106 o, 155 l
 4 . 72 i, 128 l, 134 s
 6 1 138 e
 3 . 53 p, 75 ee, 163 b
 5 117 gg
 8 163 d
 9 146 b
 10 47 b, 118 g
 11 47 b
 13 115 c
 7 1 93 p
 2 117 ff, 119 i, 152 k
 3 135 f
 4 133 e, 133 g
 8 122 s
 10 75 p, 75 w, 75 hh
 145 n

Micah

- 7 11 126 x
 12 126 aa
 14 90 m
 17 116 h
 18 148 c
 19 129 g

Nahum

- 1 2 5 h, 128 u
 3 75 hh, 143 a
 4 69 u
 5 126 k
 12 67 t
 2 4 52 q
 5 55 g, 93 ss
 8 63 p, 91 c
 9 130 d N.
 11 67 t, 133 l
 14 91 l
 3 5 53 p
 7 52 a, 67 cc
 8 70 e, 133 b
 9 91 e
 10 69 u
 11 145 p
 15 110 a, 110 k
 17 20 h

Habakkuk

- 1 5 116 s
 6 13 c, 155 e
 8 67 ee
 11 138 h
 14 152 u
 15 63 p
 16 103 g
 17 114 k, 156 g
 2 1 37 b
 3 72 dd
 6 147 c
 10 116 s, 118 p
 12 112 n
 14 90 n, 116 f N.,
 155 g
 15 90 m, 113 z
 17 . 20 n, 60 d, 67 v
 19 . 100 g N., 152 p
 3 2 75 mm
 6 67 k, 67 ee
 8 131 r
 9 117 q
 10 91 l
 13 22 s, 75 aa, 75 n,
 113 h
 15 144 m
 17 95 f, 145 u
 19 86 i

Zephaniah

1	2 .	72 aa, 113 w N.
	14 .	52 s
2	2 .	152 y
	7 .	135 p
	9 .	8 k
	15 .	152 s
3	1 .	75 rr
	7 .	120 g
	11 .	135 n
	16 .	145 p
	18 .	69 t
	20 .	91 l

Haggai

1	1 .	129 f
	4	126 z, 131 h N., 135 g
	6 .	113 z
	9 .	37 f
2	5 .	44 o, 117 l
	7 .	145 e
	12 .	159 w
	17	72 v, 117 m N., 152 n

Zechariah

1	2 .	117 q
	8 .	132 d
	13 .	131 c
	14 .	117 q
	17 .	72 k
2	8 .	118 r
	10 .	154 b
	11 .	29 o N.
	17 .	72 v, 72 ee
3	1 .	61 b, 115 c
	4 .	113 z
	7 .	53 o
	8 .	126 e
	9 .	88 f, 97 c, 122 n
4	2 .	91 e, 97 c
	7 .	126 z
	10	72 dd, 126 w, 127 h
	12 .	10 g, 145 m
5	2 .	134 n
	3 .	75 mm
	4 .	73 d, 80 i
	7 .	74 i
	9 .	74 k
	10 .	32 n
	11 .	23 k, 72 ee, 103 g
6	7 .	54 k
	10 .	49 l
	12 .	155 e
7	1 .	134 p
	5	59 a, 113 z, 117 z, 135 e, 136 d N.
	7 .	117 l

Zechariah

7	10 .	139 c
	14 .	52 n
8	2 .	117 q
	5 .	132 d
	6 .	150 a
	17 .	117 l
	23 .	157 a
9	5 .	75 p, 75 hh
	9	72 s, 124 o, 154 a N.
	11 .	135 f, 152 u
	12 .	116 s
10	2 .	124 h
	5 .	72 p
	6 .	72 z
11	2 .	126 w
	5 .	19 k
	7	96, 130 g, 132 c, 133 h
	10 .	67 w
	17 .	90 l
12	10 .	138 e N1
	12 .	123 d
13	7 .	72 s, 110 k, 144 a
14	4 .	93 v, 128 w N.
	10 .	72 p
	12 .	67 dd

Malachi

1	2 .	68 f
	6 .	32 c
	10 .	151 a, 153
	13 .	37 c, 147 c
	14 .	80 d N.
2	5 .	67 u
	14 .	95 k
	15 .	144 p
	16 .	116 s, 155 n
3	1 .	150 g
	2 .	126 k
	9 .	67 u, 144 p
	14 .	100 g
	20 .	44 d

Psalms

1	2 .	119 dd, 163 a
	3	16 g, 107 g, 119 cc
	6 .	68 c
2	1 .	106 l
	2 .	126 h
	3 .	91 l, 108 b
	4 .	126 h
	6	135 a, 135 m, 154 b
	7 .	44 d, 69 s
	10 .	126 h, 154 b
	12 .	118 g N., 130 a
3	1 .	129 c
	2 .	67 ee

Psalms

3	3 .	90 g, 152 n N.
	5 .	144 m
	6 .	49 e
	8 .	72 s, 117 ll
4	1 .	124 f
	3 .	37 e, 47 m, 156 d
	4 .	154 b
	7 .	70 b
	8 .	133 e N., 155 l
5	4 .	118 i
	5 .	116 f, 117 bb
	7 .	128 a, 128 t
	8 .	107 s
	9 .	24 f, 70 b
	10	122 q, 124 e, 145 m, 152 o
	11 .	29 e
	12 .	116 g, 156 d
	13 .	117 ee
6	2 .	152 h
	4 .	147 c
	6 .	152 o
	7 .	106 g
	10 .	142 f
7	3 .	152 l
	4 .	159 m
	5 .	49 e
	6 .	63 n
	7	72 s, 119 gg, 156 d
	10	124 g, 132 h, 158 a
	12 .	127 b
	13 .	120 g
	16 .	155 h
	17 .	10 h
8	2 .	66 h
	3 .	128 a
	4 .	159 dd
	5	107 v, 111 m, 150 h
	6 .	117 cc
9	1 .	5 h
	2 .	13 c
	7 .	135 f
	11 .	106 k
	14 .	20 b, 63 l
	15 .	91 l
	16 .	138 g
	19 .	152 z
	21 .	157 a
10	1 .	5 h
	5 .	141 c
	9 .	91 e
	10 .	93 z, 154 N.
	11 .	106 g
	12 .	66 c, 76 b
11	1	118 r, 129 c, 148 b
	2 .	47 m
	4 .	145 u, 155 e
	6 .	109 k
	7 .	103 f
12	2 .	123 b

Psalms		Psalms		Psalms	
12	3 . . . 117 t, 123 f	21	4 . . . 117 ff	34	2 . . . 21 d
4	. . . 122 g	7	. . . 117 ii, 124 e	6	. . . 109 e
7	. . . 109, 97 h	13	. . . 117 ii N., 156 d	9	. . . 155 f
8	. . . 126 y	22	2 . . . 59 h	12	. . . 60 f, 126 o
9	. . . 54 k	3	. . . 152 d	35	1 . . . 73 d
13	4 . . . 117 r N.	4	. . . 117 bb	8	. . . 156 g
5	. . . 44 e, 59 t, 152 z	6	. . . 112 h	10	. . . 9 u
14	1 . . . 154 a N.	7	. . . 116 l	14	. . . 93 hh
3	. . . 152 o	8	. . . 119 q	16	. . . 113 h
5	. . . 117 p	9	. . . 144 p	19	. . . 131 q N.
7	. . . 151 b	14	. . . 118 r	36	6 . . . 35 n
15	2 . . . 118 n	15	. . . 67 t	8	. . . 75 u
16	1 . . . 48 i, 61 f N.	16	. . . 121 c, 122 n	9	. . . 75 u
2	. . . 44 i, 152 t	18	. . . 107 s	13	. . . 64 d
3	. . . 130 d, 143 e	22	. . . 23 f, 119 ff	37	1 . . . 5 h, 35 b, 75 bb
4	93 m, 145 p, 155 f	29	. . . 116 s	5	. . . 67 n
5	. . . 50 e	32	. . . 116 e	9	. . . 20 f
6	. . . 80 g, 122 q	23	2 . . . 124 e, 128 p	14	. . . 45 g
8	. . . 116 s	4	. . . 107 x, 159 bb	15	. . . 20 h
9	. . . 111 r	5	126 m, 141 c, 141 d	16	. . . 129 b
10	. . . 114 m	6	. . . 69 m N.	20	. . . 29 o, 75 m
11	. . . 122 g, 124 e	24	1 . . . 129 c, 130 a	23	. . . 121 f
17	3 . . . 59 h	2	. . . 107 b, 124 e	24	. . . 159 bb
4	. . . 143 e	4	. . . 128 y	31	. . . 145 k
5	. . . 113 gg	10	. . . 136 c	38	11 . . . 55 e
9	. . . 138 g	25	1 . . . 5 h	13	. . . 124 e
10	. . . 91 f	10	. . . 141 c	21	. . . 61 c
12	. . . 126 p	11	. . . 112 nn	39	13 . . . 10 h
13	. . . 144 m	14	. . . 114 i	14	. . . 75 gg
18	1 2 s, 53 l, 130 d, 154 a N.	26	2 . . . 48 i	40	2 . . . 75 aa
3	. . . 93 pp, 155 i	3	. . . 112 qq	5	. . . 93 oo
4	. . . 116 e, 132 b	4	. . . 128 t	6	. . . 108 f
7	. . . 109 N ³ , 107 b	7	. . . 53 q	15	. . . 29 o N.
10	. . . 69 p	10	. . . 20 f	18	. . . 29 q
12	. . . 109 k	12	. . . 93 qq	41	3 . . . 109 e
17	. . . 117 g	27	7 . . . 144 m	5	. . . 74 h
18	. . . 126 z	13	5 n, 159 dd, 167 a	6	. . . 111 t
22	. . . 119 ff	28	1 . . . 119 ff	8	. . . 54 f
26	. . . 93 h, 93 s	7	. . . 53 q	42	2 . . . 122 f, 155 g
28	. . . 132 f	9	. . . 10 g	4	. . . 115 e N.
30	. . . 67 q, 119 o	29	1 . . . 124 q, 128 v	5	. . . 117 x
31	126 c, 140 d, 143 a	4	. . . 141 c N ²	10	. . . 68 g, 102 l
33	116 f, 116 x, 117 cc	10	. . . 111 r	43	1 . . . 72 s
35	. . . 145 k	30	2 . . . 60 f	2	. . . 102 l
38	. . . 107 c	4	. . . 69 m	3	. . . 124 b
40	. . . 116 i	8	. . . 90 n, 93 aa	44	3 . . . 144 m
41	. . . 117 ii N.	31	2 . . . 108 c	6	. . . 119 o
49	. . . 116 i	21	. . . 93 r	18	. . . 156 f
19	3 . . . 20 f	32	1 . . . 75 qq, 116 k	20	. . . 119 q
4	. . . 49 k	2	. . . 155 i	23	. . . 128 g
5	. . . 135 p	6	. . . 143 e, 153	26	. . . 67 k
6	. . . 122 o	8	107 g, 138 g, 150 c	27	. . . 72 s
8	. . . 114 i	9	114 a, 114 k, 114 s	45	1 . . . 124 e
10	. . . 126 b, 141 c	33	5 . . . 116 s	3	. . . 55 e
11	. . . 116 e	7	. . . 118 w	5	131 c, 154 a N.
14	. . . 67 p	8	. . . 145 e	6	. . . 15 o, 29 o N.
20	3 . . . 135 m	10	. . . 67 v	7	. . . 128 d
4	. . . 48 d	12	. . . 155 h	8	. . . 117 ee
21	2 109 k, 126 h, 148 b	15	. . . 126 b	9	. . . 87 f, 141 d
		34	1 . . . 5 h	10	. . . 20 h N ²

Psalms

45	12	75 <i>bb</i> , 109 <i>h</i> , 124 <i>i</i>
16	.	. . . . . 76 <i>g</i>
18	.	. . . . . 53 <i>g</i> , 123 <i>c</i>
46	3	. . . . . 115 <i>g</i>
4	.	. . . . . 132 <i>h</i> N.
5	.	. . . . . 124 <i>b</i> , 132 <i>c</i>
7	.	. . . . . 119 <i>g</i>
6	.	. . . . . 164 <i>b</i> N.
11	.	. . . . . 93 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>a</i>
15	.	. . . . . 120 <i>aa</i>
49	6	. . . . . 102 <i>l</i>
7	.	. . . . . 126 <i>b</i>
8	.	. . . . . 113 <i>v</i>
14	.	. . . . . 155 <i>e</i>
15	10 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>ee</i> , 114 <i>k</i>	N.
50	3	. . . . . 109 <i>e</i> , 144 <i>c</i>
4	.	. . . . . 115 <i>b</i>
10	.	. . . . . 90 <i>n</i>
12	.	. . . . . 159 <i>m</i> , 159 <i>r</i>
17	.	. . . . . 142 <i>d</i>
21	112 <i>cc</i> , 113 <i>x</i> , 157 <i>a</i>	
22	.	. . . . . 116 <i>b</i>
23	.	. . . . . 58 <i>i</i>
51	4	. . . . . 75 <i>gg</i> , 120 <i>g</i>
5	.	. . . . . 142 <i>f</i>
7	.	. . . . . 64 <i>h</i>
9	.	. . . . . 165 <i>a</i>
10	.	. . . . . 155 <i>h</i>
14	.	. . . . . 117 <i>ff</i>
18	.	. . . . . 108 <i>f</i>
19	.	. . . . . 128 <i>h</i>
52	5	. . . . . 119 <i>w</i>
15	.	. . . . . 58 <i>i</i>
53	6	. . . . . 91 <i>e</i> , 116 <i>i</i>
54	6	. . . . . 119 <i>i</i>
55	3	. . . . . 108 <i>g</i>
10	.	. . . . . 52 <i>n</i>
16	.	. . . . . 74 <i>k</i>
18	.	. . . . . 108 <i>g</i>
19	.	. . . . . 119 <i>gg</i>
22	.	. . . . . 10 <i>g</i>
23	.	. . . . . 117 <i>x</i>
56	4	. . . . . 155 <i>l</i>
57	2	. . . . . 75 <i>u</i>
5	.	. . . . . 117 <i>bb</i> , 144 <i>m</i>
58	2	. . . . . 52 <i>n</i>
5	.	. . . . . 63 <i>n</i>
9	.	. . . . . 69 <i>x</i> , 96, 118 <i>r</i>
59	6	125 <i>h</i> , 128 <i>x</i> , 131 <i>s</i>
8	.	. . . . . 151 <i>a</i>
16	.	. . . . . 159 <i>s</i>
60	4	. . . . . 75 <i>pp</i>
5	.	. . . . . 131 <i>c</i>
13	.	. . . . . 80 <i>g</i> , 158 <i>a</i>
61	1	. . . . . 80 <i>f</i>
8	.	. . . . . 75 <i>cc</i>
62	4	. . . . . 52 <i>q</i>
5	.	. . . . . 145 <i>m</i>
8	.	. . . . . 13 <i>c</i>

Psalms

63	2	. . . . . 132 <i>d</i>
4	.	. . . . . 60 <i>e</i>
6	.	. . . . . 117 <i>t</i>
64	5	. . . . . 69 <i>r</i>
7	.	. . . . . 67 <i>e</i>
8	.	. . . . . 117 <i>ff</i>
9	.	. . . . . 130 <i>a</i>
65	6	. . . . . 92 <i>g</i>
10	.	. . . . . 53 <i>n</i> , 60 <i>g</i>
11	.	. . . . . 117 <i>y</i>
66	6	. . . . . 108 <i>g</i>
13	.	. . . . . 119 <i>n</i>
17	.	. . . . . 144 <i>m</i>
68	3	. 19 <i>c</i> , 51 <i>k</i> , 67 <i>t</i>
5	.	. 119 <i>i</i> N ^s , 122 <i>t</i>
7	.	. 117 <i>bb</i> , 124 <i>e</i>
9	.	. 136 <i>d</i> N.
17	.	. . . . . 131 <i>c</i>
18	.	. . . . . 21 <i>c</i> , 97 <i>h</i>
19	.	. . . . . 20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>bb</i>
22	.	. . . . . 128 <i>c</i>
23	.	. . . . . 75 <i>u</i>
24	.	. . . . . 10 <i>g</i> , 103 <i>m</i>
34	.	. . . . . 119 <i>g</i>
69	4	. . . . . 118 <i>p</i>
5	.	. . . . . 131 <i>q</i> N.
9	.	. . . . . 48 <i>i</i>
10	.	. . . . . 95 <i>b</i> N.
11	.	. . . . . 144 <i>l</i> N ^s
24	.	. . . . . 64 <i>h</i>
33	.	. . . . . 69 <i>s</i>
71	1	. . . . . 108 <i>c</i>
7	.	. . . . . 131 <i>r</i>
23	.	. . . . . 44 <i>o</i>
72	2	. . . . . 107 <i>n</i>
13	.	. . . . . 72 <i>r</i>
14	.	. . . . . 69 <i>f</i>
17	.	. . . . . 10 <i>g</i>
20	.	. . . . . 52 <i>q</i>
73	2	. . . . . 75 <i>u</i>
7	.	. . . . . 145 <i>o</i>
9	.	. . . . . 63 <i>n</i> , 69 <i>x</i>
14	.	. . . . . 123 <i>c</i>
16	.	. . . . . 49 <i>e</i> , 108 <i>e</i>
17	.	. . . . . 108 <i>h</i>
20	.	. . . . . 53 <i>q</i> , 119 <i>y</i> N.
27	.	. . . . . 119 <i>ff</i>
28	.	. . . . . 73 <i>d</i>
74	7	. . . . . 119 <i>gg</i>
8	.	. . . . . 76 <i>f</i>
10	.	. . . . . 64 <i>e</i>
19	.	. . . . . 80 <i>f</i>
75	4	. . . . . 116 <i>w</i> , 146 <i>g</i>
76	6	. . . . . 54 <i>a</i> N ²
11	.	. . . . . 124 <i>e</i>
77	2	. . . . . 63 <i>o</i>
4	.	. . . . . 75 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>u</i>
10	.	. . . . . 67 <i>r</i>
11	.	. . . . . 67 <i>r</i>
16	.	. . . . . 20 <i>g</i> , 125 <i>c</i>

Psalms

77	18	. . . . . 55 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>
20	.	. . . . . 20 <i>h</i>
78	6	. . . . . 107 <i>k</i>
15	.	. . . . . 132 <i>h</i> N.
16	.	. . . . . 74 <i>l</i>
21	.	. . . . . 66 <i>e</i>
44	.	. . . . . 75 <i>u</i> , 124 <i>e</i>
54	.	. . . . . 138 <i>g</i>
80	8	. . . . . 131 <i>s</i>
11	.	. . . . . 52 <i>q</i> , 121 <i>d</i>
14	.	. . . . . 5 <i>n</i> , 56
15	.	. . . . . 125 <i>h</i>
19	.	. . . . . 72 <i>t</i>
81	9	. . . . . 109 <i>b</i>
11	.	. . . . . 116 <i>f</i>
83	12	. . . . . 131 <i>o</i>
19	.	. . . . . 144 <i>l</i> N ²
84	9	. . . . . 125 <i>h</i>
86	2	9 <i>v</i> , 48 <i>i</i> N., 61 <i>f</i> N.
17	.	. . . . . 117 <i>n</i>
87	3	121 <i>d</i> N ¹ , 145 <i>u</i>
5	.	. . . . . 123 <i>c</i>
88	5	. . . . . 152 <i>u</i>
6	.	. . . . . 116 <i>h</i>
17	.	. . . . . 55 <i>d</i>
89	7	. . . . . 124 <i>g</i> , 128 <i>v</i>
10	.	. . . . . 76 <i>b</i>
40	.	. . . . . 64 <i>e</i>
48	.	. . . . . 135 <i>f</i>
51	.	. . . . . 132 <i>b</i>
52	.	. . . . . 20 <i>h</i>
90	2	. . . . . 107 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>r</i>
3	.	. . . . . 109 <i>k</i> , 111 <i>t</i>
4	.	. . . . . 118 <i>r</i>
5	.	. . . . . 155 <i>g</i>
6	.	. . . . . 112 <i>m</i>
8	.	. . . . . 73 <i>d</i>
10	.	. . . . . 49 <i>e</i>
13	.	. . . . . 147 <i>c</i>
15	.	. . . . . 87 <i>n</i> , 130 <i>d</i>
91	4	. . . . . 67 <i>p</i> , 109 <i>k</i>
6	.	. . . . . 67 <i>g</i> , 118 <i>i</i>
9	.	. . . . . 117 <i>ii</i>
11	.	. . . . . 20 <i>c</i>
12	.	. . . . . 60 <i>e</i>
92	12	. . . . . 132 <i>b</i>
93	5	. . . . . 75 <i>x</i>
94	1	. . . . . 53 <i>m</i> , 69 <i>v</i>
9	.	. . . . . 93 <i>gg</i>
12	.	. . . . . 20 <i>g</i>
20	.	. . . . . 60 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>m</i>
99	6	. . . . . 74 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i> , 119 <i>i</i>
100	3	. . . . . 103 <i>g</i>
101	5	. . . . . 55 <i>b</i> , 64 <i>i</i> , 90 <i>m</i>
102	4	. . . . . 67 <i>u</i>
9	.	. . . . . 116 <i>i</i>
14	.	. . . . . 67 <i>cc</i>
19	.	. . . . . 106 <i>e</i>
28	.	. . . . . 67 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>a</i> N ¹
103	1	. . . . . 10 <i>g</i>

Psalms

103	3	91 e, 91 l
	4	58 g
	5	145 k, 156 d
	9	117 g
104	1	106 g
	2	20 m N ² , 35 b, 126 b
	8	138 g
	11	90 n
	12	93 s
	18	20 m, 126 x
	20	109 h, 159 d
	21	114 p
	25	136 d
	26	138 g
	28	47 m, 159 c
105	12	118 x
	28	53 n
	43	78 l
107	23	5 n, 17 e
	43	93 m
108	7	144 m
109	2	117 t
	3	57 N ²
	10	64 e
	13	75 y
110	1	164 f
	2	110 c
	3	141 c
	4	90 l
111	1	5 h
112	1	5 h
	8	164 f
	9	120 g
113	5	90 m
	7	90 m
	8	90 n
	9	90 n
114	1	128 a N ²
	8	90 m, 90 n
115	7	143 d, 147 e
116	1	90 n
	4	16 f
	6	53 q
	7	72 s, 91 l
	12	91 l
	15	90 f
118	5	20 g, 59 f, 119 g
	7	119 i
	10	60 d
	13	113 p
	14	80 g
	18	20 g, 59 f
	23	74 g
	25	53 m
	26	59 e
119	1	5 n, 75 oo
	18	75 cc
	28	91 n
117		75 l

Psalms

119	128	130 f N.
	136	155 n
	137	145 r
120	1	90 g, 127 e
	5	117 bb
	6	119 s
	7	141 c N ³
121	1	127 e
	3	107 p, 109 e
	5	124 k
122	6	75 u
123	1	90 m
	4	119 s, 127 g
124	4	90 f
125	1	155 g
126	6	113 p, 113 u
127	1	118 i
	2	23 l, 80 h, 114 n
128	3	75 v, 96
	5	110 i
131	1	72 l
132	1	52 r
	3	128 m
	4	80 g
	12	34 b, 91 n, 138 g
133	2	126 x
135	7	53 o
136	1	2 r
	3	102 m
	6	65 d
137	1	124 c
	3	117 gg
	5	159 m
	6	58 g
	7	75 cc, 116 d
138	2	16 f
	6	69 b N., 69 p
139	1	59 h
	2	73 a N.
	5	91 e
	8	66 e, 159 m
	11	103 d, 111 x, 159 f
	12	133 b N ²
	14	75 q, 118 p
	18	159 c N.
	20	23 i, 68 h, 75 oo
	21	72 cc
	22	117 q, 128 r
140	4	91 l
	10	75 mm
	13	44 i
141	3	20 h, 48 i
	4	96
	5	74 k
	8	75 bb
	10	145 m
142	5	113 bb
143	6	106 g
144	2	87 f
	14	122 e

Psalms

145	1	5 h
	7	132 b
	13	123 c
147	1	52 p
	2	20 m
149	2	124 k

Proverbs

1	9	91 n
	10	68 h, 75 hh
	16	145 u
	19	29 f
	20	47 k, 48 d, 86 l
	21	75 v
	22	63 m, 93 t N.
	23	159 d
	28	60 e
2	8	114 i N.
	10	145 u
	11	58 i
	14	128 w
	19	116 i
	22	144 g
3	3	110 f
	8	22 s
	12	16 b
	25	109 e
	26	119 i
4	4	75 n
	8	60 f, 67 l
	13	20 h
	21	72 ee
	25	70 b
5	2	145 u
	4	96
	6	72 l
	13	75 ee
	16	150 a
	17	152 o
	22	60 e, 131 m N.
6	24	114 i N., 128 w
7	2	75 n
	5	114 i N.
	7	108 h
	8	91 e
	11	94 d
	13	67 d, 68 e
	26	116 l
8	3	47 k
	4	96
	12	117 bb
	13	122 v
	17	68 f
	22	59 f
	25	107 c, 152 r
	26	124 l
	27	67 r
	28	93 v
	30	122 f

Proverbs

8	32	130 d, 155 n
9	1	86 l
	5	119 m
	9	109 h
	10	124 h
	12	159 f
	13	137 c, 152 u N.
	18	116 l
10	4	23 g, 72 p, 117 t
	26	124 k
	31	117 z
11	3	67 n
	14	123 b
	15	67 l
	21	22 s
	25	69 w
12	1	16 f
	10	145 h
	17	159 c
	18	75 q q
	19	108 h
	28	152 g
13	4	131 n
	6	142 f
	10	153
	21	117 c
	23	23 g
	24	117 f
14	1	86 l, 145 k N.
	2	116 k
	3	47 g
	7	152 u N.
	10	22 s
	13	131 n N ¹
	14	72 p
	20	121 f
	30	124 d
	34	72 b b
	35	114 i N.
15	1	20 c, 22 s
	5	63 n
	20	107 f
16	3	124 e
	4	127 i
	11	128 a N.
	30	141 i N.
	33	121 b
17	4	68 i
	10	66 f
	12	113 c c, 133 b N., 152 g
	15	154 a N. (c)
	21	114 i N.
	26	153
18	6	145 u
	16	92 g
	22	159 h
	24	47 b
19	7	9 u
	8	114 i

Proverbs

19	25	63 n, 144 h
20	2	128 h
	9	107 t
	10	123 f
	13	110 h
	16	63 l
	22	22 s
	25	114 i
21	6	128 c
	12	125 c
22	21	10 k, 124 k, 131 c
23	1	73 a, 73 d
	7	152 t
	22	138 g
	24	159 i
	29	131 g
	35	120 c
24	1	5 h
	4	29 o
	14	48 l
	17	51 l
	22	151 a
	31	117 z
25	2	53 k
	3	29 i N.
	5	126 n
	9	75 b b
	11	93 r
	12	161 a N.
	13	124 k
	16	76 h, 91 d
	17	69 v
	19	52 s, 67 s, 92 g
	23	72 b b
	26	53 s
	27	113 b
26	7	75 u
	8	67 c c
	17	155 e
	23	145 u
	28	122 n
27	6	63 c
	7	143 a
	9	146 e
	15	75 x
	24	150 g N.
	25	20 h
28	6	88 e N.
	22	10 h
29	6	67 g
30	1	96
	3	124 h, 166 a
	6	10 k, 69 v
	13	72 l
	14	114 i N.
	17	10 g N., 20 h N.
	18	134 s
	24	133 g
	28	144 h
	30	152 b

Proverbs

30	31	35 m
31	1	128 h
	2	37 f
	3	53 g, 87 e
	4	75 n
	10	2 r, 5 h
	30	54 g

Job

1	1	155 e, 156 b
	3	123 a
	4	97 c, 112 d d
	5	107 e, 112 f, 118 h
		164 d
	6	119 c c, 126 s, 128 v
	7	107 h
	12	136 d
	14	116 r, 119 c c, 122 c, 135 o, 141 i, 145 c
	15	49 e, 122 i, 135 o
	16	116 u, 164 a
	18	116 u
	19	122 g
	21	23 f, 74 k, 118 n
2	1	128 v
	3	111 l
	9	110 f, 150 b
	10	150 a, 153
3	2	68 e
	3	29 e, 68 d, 107 k, 155 f, 155 i
	4	141 c N.
	6	75 r
	8	114 m
	9	109 a N., 152 k
	11	152 z
	13	106 p, 159 d d
	15	155 e
	17	106 l
	19	135 a N.
	20	128 y
	24	145 p
	25	75 u
4	2	28 b, 87 e, 150 m
	3	107 e, 132 f
	5	111 l, 144 b
	6	143 d
	7	136 c
	17	107 f, 133 b N., 150 h
	19	144 g
	20	29 l, 67 g, 67 y
	21	150 m
5	1	61 h, 91 d
	2	117 n
	3	135 a
	5	119 e
	7	128 v, 161 a
	8	107 x

Job		Job		Job	
5	10 126 b	9	29 107 n	15	6 145 u
12	. . . . . 166 a	31	. . . . . 126 r	7	. . . . . 121 d
13	. . . . . 91 e	32	116 s, 152 d, 166 a	10	. . . . . 131 q
14	. . . . . 118 u	33	. . . . . 109 i, 152 d	11	. . . . . 133 c
16	. . . . . 90 g	34	. . . . . 60 d	13	. . . . . 125 c
18	. . . . . 75 qd	10	1 72 dd	15	. . . . . 67 ee
19	. . . . . 134 s	7	. . . . . 119 aa N.	16	. . . . . 116 e
22	. . . . . 109 e	8	. . . . . 111 e	17	75 bb, 138 h, 143 d
24	. . . . . 159 g	15	. . . . . 159 ff	20	. . . . . 146 a
27	. . . . . 20 g	16	. . . . . 109 h, 120 g	21	. . . . . 118 f
6	2 113 w, 144 g	17	. . . . . 154 a N.	22	. . . . . 75 v
5	. . . . . 150 h	18	. . . . . 107 n	23	. . . . . 147 c
7	. . . . . 66 b, 106 g	19	. . . . . 17 n	26	. . . . . 128 r
8	. . . . . 95 h, 151 d	21	. . . . . 107 c	16	3 150 g
9	. . . . . 120 d	22	. . . . . 90 g, 152 a N.	4	103 l, 108 f, 119 g
10	. . . . . 108 f	11	2 128 t	5	. . . . . 60 f
12	. . . . . 141 d, 150 f	3	. . . . . 111 t	6	. 63 f, 108 e, 159 ff
13	. . . . . 150 g N.	5	. . . . . 151 b	7	. 53 p, 75 ee, 144 p
16	. . . . . 126 b	6	. . . . . 110 i, 134 r N.	8	. . . . . 120 c
17	. . . . . 130 d, 155 l	9	. . . . . 91 e	9	. . . . . 118 q, 119 q
19	. . . . . 119 s	11	. . . . . 128 t	10	. . . . . 54 k, 119 g
20	. . . . . 135 p, 145 u	12	. . . . . 51 g, 131 c N.	12	. . . . . 112 tt
21	. . . . . 75 t, 152 a	15	. . . . . 119 w, 159 ee	13	. . . . . 95 h
22	. . . . . 22 p, 64 a, 69 o	17	. 48 d, 108 e, 133 e	14	. . . . . 126 p
25	. . . . . 154 a	144 c		16	. . . . . 44 m, 55 e
26	. . . . . 65 f, 69 v	20	. . . . . 103 m	17	. . . . . 152 a N., 160 a
28	. . . . . 120 g	12	3 152 d	19	. . . . . 124 b
7	2 155 g	4	. . . . . 111 u	22	. 69 x, 75 u, 145 u
3	. . . . . 121 c, 144 g	6	. . . . . 29 t, 75 u, 124 e	17	1 124 c
4	. . . . . 124 f	7	. . . . . 145 k	2	. . . . . 20 h, 73 e, 75 ff
6	. . . . . 133 b	11	. . . . . 135 i, 161 a	4	. . . . . 72 cc
13	. . . . . 112 hh, 119 m	12	. . . . . 141 d	5	. . . . . 75 w
14	. . . . . 58 i, 60 d	14	. . . . . 159 w	7	. . . . . 75 p
15	. . . . . 133 b	15	. . . . . 15 c	9	. . . . . 10 h
18	. . . . . 123 c	17	116 s, 116 x, 118 o	10	. . . . . 120 e, 135 r
20	102 l, 119 aa, 159 h	23	. . . . . 117 n	13	. . . . . 124 b
21	. . . . . 37 f	24	. . . . . 128 a, 152 u	16	. . . . . 47 k
8	5 159 r	13	3 53 k, 113 d	18	2 130 a
7	. . . . . 145 u	7	. . . . . 150 h	3	. . . . . 75 qd
9	. . . . . 141 d	9	. . . . . 53 k	4	. . . . . 51 n, 139 f
10	. . . . . 125 c	13	. . . . . 119 ff, 137 c	7	. . . . . 67 dd, 135 n
11	75 rr, 150 h, 152 a N.	15	. . . . . 153	8	. . . . . 54 k
14	. . . . . 72 r, 93 oo	16	. . . . . 152 e	12	. . . . . 109 k
18	. . . . . 29 g, 64 g	17	. . . . . 113 r	18	. . . . . 144 g
19	. . . . . 145 d	21	. . . . . 29 g, 60 d, 64 h	21	. . . . . 130 d
21	. . . . . 23 e, 75 pp	25	. . . . . 117 c	19	2 21 d, 60 e, 75 gg,
6	. . . . . 54 k	26	. . . . . 124 e	75 oo	
7	. . . . . 109 g, 165 a	27	. . . . . 54 f, 93 r	3	. . . . . 53 n, 120 c
8	. . . . . 87 s	28	. . . . . 144 p, 155 h	7	. . . . . 63 h N., 159 w
11	. . . . . 117 n, 159 w	14	1 116 l	10	. . . . . 69 p, x
15	55 b, 159 n, 160 a	2	. . . . . 111 s	15	. . . . . 60 a
16	. . . . . 111 x	3	. . . . . 150 b, 153	17	. . . . . 67 ee
18	. . . . . 20 h, 114 m	4	. . . . . 151 b	18	. . . . . 159 e
19	. . . . . 147 b	6	. . . . . 109 f, 156 g	19	. . . . . 138 h
20	. . . . . 33 n, 107 x	9	. . . . . 65 e, 112 m	23	53 u, 67 y, 126 s,
22	. . . . . 106 i	10	. . . . . 111 t	151 d	
24	. . . . . 150 l N.	11	. . . . . 161 a	24	. . . . . 51 m
26	. . . . . 155 g, 161 a N.	19	. . . . . 145 k	25	. . . . . 118 n
27	. . . . . 159 u	22	. . . . . 153	26	. . . . . 119 w, 144 g
		15	3 113 h, 119 hh	28	. . . . . 117 n

Job	
20	4 150 e
	9 122 l
	10 72 k
	12 159 q
	17 109 e, 130 e
	19 154 a N.
	22 74 h, 118 e
	23 103 f N.
	24 159 c
	26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f
	29 131 c, 135 m
21	4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,
	150 g
	5 67 v
	7 117 z
	9 . 119 w, 141 c N ^s
	11 52 n
	13 20 i, 66 f
	16 . . 20 f, 106 n N ²
	17 150 h
	21 37 d, 146 a
	22 142 d
	23 139 g
	25 119 m
	27 155 k
	29 44 d, 64 f
	32 124 c
22	2 103 f N ^s
	3 67 y
	7 152 e
	9 121 b
	12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,
	158 a
	16 121 d, 149 a
	18 106 n N.
	20 91 f, 149 e
	21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p
	23 159 ff
	29 23 f
	30 152 q
23	2 119 aa
	3 120 e
	6 100 l
	9 109 k
	11 76 c
	12 143 d
	13 119 i
	16 67 v
24	1 75 m, 121 f
	5 118 r, 145 m
	7 118 o
	10 118 o, 152 u
	14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c
	19 161 a
	21 70 d
	22 87 e, 156 f
	23 91 l
	24 . 51 m, 67 m, 67 y
	25 . 150 l N., 152 a
25	2 116 z

Job	
25	3 91 d
	5 67 ee
26	2 152 a N., 152 u,
	152 v
	4 117 gg
	5 119 c
	7 116 s
	9 56
	14 119 m
27	3 128 e
	5 149 a
	6 119 w N.
	7 118 x
	12 117 q
	19 . . 68 h, 120 d N.
	23 103 f N.
28	1 155 h
	2 121 d, 127 ii
	4 126 b
	5 118 w
	6 124 l
	11 119 x
	12 119 ff
	17 152 z
	25 114 r
	27 60 d
29	2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b
	3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o
	6 23 f
	8 120 g N.
	10 44 c, 146 a
	12 152 u, 155 n
	15 141 d
	16 130 d, 155 n
	21 . . 20 i, 24 e, 67 g
	23 118 w
	25 10 g, 126 p
30	3 126 b, 133 l
	6 114 k, 133 h
	10 106 g
	13 152 u, 155 n
	14 75 u
	15 121 b
	19 59 f, 75 ll
	20 72 bb
	26 49 e, 108 e
	28 118 n, 120 c
31	1 148 a
	5 72 ff
	7 23 c, 108 f
	9 159 m
	10 87 e
	11 32 l, 131 s
	12 155 f
	15 58 k, 72 cc
	18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b
	22 91 e
	26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,
	118 q
	27 75 q

Job	
31	28 159 dd
	29 112 e
	31 151 b
	34 156 f
	35 151 b
32	6 68 e, 69 m
	7 146 a
	11 68 i
	12 103 o
	17 63 f
	18 23 f, 74 k
	22 120 c
33	4 16 h, 75 mm
	5 48 i, 54 k
	21 14 d, 64 e
	25 56
	30 51 l, 72 v
	32 61 d
34	13 90 f
	18 113 ee N.
	22 115 g
	36 159 cc
35	10 124 k
	11 68 k
	15 152 k
36	2 65 e
	7 111 b N.
	18 145 u
	32 122 o
	35 143 d
37	5 118 p
	6 75 hh
	12 90 f
	14 117 w
	16 124 e
	18 150 b
	24 59 i
38	2 136 c
	3 126 p
	5 159 dd
	6 137 b
	7 67 n, 128 v
	12 119 w N.
	13 5 n, 114 r
	14 118 w, 134 r
	16 150 h
	18 122 q, 150 b
	19 155 k
	21 107 c, 146 a
	24 165 a
	26 152 u, 155 e
	27 133 l
	28 150 g
	30 118 w
	32 145 m
39	1 64 d
	2 91 f, 150 b
	3 135 o
	9 22 s
	13 150 f

Job

39	15	135 p
	17	119 m
	24	75 oo
	25	53 n
	30	55 f
40	2	113 ee, 113 gg
	5	134 r, 134 s
	8	150 g
	19	116 g N., 127 l
	22	67 n
	23	159 w
	24	66 f
	25	150 a N ¹
	30	150 b
	32	69 v
41	1	93 ss, 150 a N ¹
	2	72 ee
	4	103 g, 124 e
	7	118 r
	12	154 a N.
	15	156 g
	17	76 b
	20	128 v
	22	133 h
	25	24 b, 75 v, 126 b
	26	16 f, 117 a N ⁴
42	2	44 i
	3	133 d, 156 f
	5	75 mm
	7	164 d
	8	163 d
	10	91 k
	13	97 c
	15	135 o, 145 o
	16	75 t

Canticle

1	1	133 i
	6	60 a, 75 x
	7	36, 75 v
	8	20 h
	10	75 x, 141 c
	15	141 d
2	7	144 a
	12	85 u N.
	13	141 d
	14	69 v, 93 ss
	17	119 s
3	7	131 n
	8	50 f
	11	75 n
5	5	135 b
	8	137 b N.
	9	59 h
	16	85 g N., 141 c
6	8	32 n
	11	67 d
7	1	137 b N.
	2	93 x

Canticle

7	10	126 x, 133 h
8	2	87 f, 131 c N.
	4	137 b N.
	5	59 g N.
	6	93 m
	10	74 i
	14	119 s

Ruth

1	1	49 b N.
	8	135 o, 144 a
	9	46 f, 74 h, 74 k, 110 i
	12	106 p, 107 x
	13	51 m, 103 f N., 152 g
	14	76 b
	16	138 e
	19	91 f
	20	46 f, 80 h
	21	118 n
	22	32 n, 138 k
2	2	10 h, 64 i
	3	129 d
	6	138 k
	8	47 g, 47 o
	9	75 gg, 112 k k
	14	53 n, 66 c, 69 v, 103 g
	15	35 k
	16	67 o
	20	121 f
	21	47 o, 122 g
3	2	91 f, 141 c
	3	44 h, 104 g
	4	47 o, 109 k, 112 z
	6	59 g
	12	163 d
	14	107 c
	15	64 c, 69 o, 134 n
	18	163 c and N.
4	1	69 p, 72 t
	3	129 h, 138 k
	4	29 i N., 152 o
	7	112 h
	15	59 g

Lamentations

1	1	5 h, 90 l
	4	69 i, 87 c
	8	67 y, 72 ee, 117 p
	10	120 c, 155 f
	14	130 d, 155 n
	16	75 v, 117 z
	19	107 g, 165 a
2	7	64 e
	11	51 l
	16	15 c

Lamentations

2	18	80 f
3	1	144 p
	5	53 n
	12	80 h
	14	87 f
	22	20 o
	26	100 g N., 107 q
	33	69 u
	48	29 q, 69 p, 117 z
	50	109 k
	53	69 u
4	1	54 k, 75 rr
	2	75 rr
	5	117 n
	14	51 h, 120 g
	17	100 o
	21	90 n
5	5	72 ee N., 121 a
	10	145 u

Ecclesiastes

1	1	122 r
	4	116 l
	6	113 u
	9	137 c
	12	133 i
	13	112 pp N.
	16	135 b
	17	86 l
2	1	135 b
	5	112 pp N.
	7	145 u
	8	122 v
	13	24 c, 133 b
	15	93 rr, 135 c
	19	150 g
	20	64 e
	21	131 m
	22	36
	26	75 oo
3	2	2 s
	4	114 b
	10	131 n
	11	152 y
	14	165 b
	15	114 i
	18	36, 67 p
	19	93 rr
	21	100 m, 150 i N.
	22	102 k
4	2	113 gg
	3	117 l
	10	124 o
	14	35 d
	17	133 e
5	5	53 q
	6	143 d
	7	124 h
	8	32 l

Ecclesiastes

5	11	. . . . .	69 n
	14	. . . . .	109 i
	15	. . . . .	161 b
	16	. . . . .	147 e
	18	. 112 pp N.,	141 h
7	7	. . . . .	117 c
	16	. 54 c, 54 k,	131 q
	24	. . . . .	133 k
	26	. . . . .	75 oo
	27	. . . . .	122 r
8	1	. . . . .	35 n, 75 rr
	10	. 54 g, 119 ii,	128 w N.
9	1	. . . . .	93 ww
	4	. . . . .	143 e
	12	. . . . .	52 s
	14	. . . . .	112 pp N.
10	5	. . . . .	75 qq, 155 h
	15	. . . . .	145 m
	17	. . . . .	91 l
	18	. . . . .	88 b
	20	. . . . .	53 n
11	2	. . . . .	134 s
	3	. . . . .	23 i, 75 s
12	1	. . . . .	124 k
	4	. . . . .	72 t, 128 v
	5	. . . . .	73 g
	6	. . . . .	67 q, 67 t
	7	. . . . .	109 k
	10	. . . . .	145 h

Esther

1	4	. . . . .	93 ww
	5	. . . . .	74 h
	8	. . . . .	123 c
	17	. . . . .	93 m
2	9	. . . . .	75 v
	11	. . . . .	123 c
3	4	. . . . .	157 c
	8	. . . . .	100 o N.
4	2	. . . . .	114 l
	8	. . . . .	93 ww
6	13	. . . . .	20 g
7	2	. . . . .	109 f
	5	. . . . .	74 g, 137 a
	8	. . . . .	114 i
8	1	. . . . .	137 c
	8	. . . . .	63 c
9	1	. . . . .	135 a N.
	6	. . . . .	113 z
	7	. . . . .	2 s
	23	. . . . .	124 e, 145 o N.

Daniel

1	4	. . . . .	23 c, 128 a N.
	5	. . . . .	135 o
	10	. . . . .	93 ss
	12	. . . . .	75 cc
	13	. . . . .	75 hh

Daniel

1	15	. . . . .	93 ss
2	1	. . . . .	124 o
	4	. . . . .	1 c
3	15	. . . . .	167 a
8	3	. . . . .	93 n
	9	. . . . .	135 o
	11	. . . . .	72 ee
	13	. 125 b, 126 z,	127 f
	22	. 47 k, 87 i,	95 u,
		. 116 w	
9	5	. . . . .	91 n
	13	. . . . .	117 m
	19	. . . . .	48 i
11	6	. 116 f, 127 i,	139 h
	11	. . . . .	131 n
	20	. . . . .	93 dd
	23	. . . . .	53 l, 54 k
	35	. . . . .	53 q
12	2	. . . . .	102 b, 124 e
	7	. . . . .	93 aa N.
	11	. . . . .	134 g
	13	. . . . .	87 e

Ezra

2	62	. . . . .	131 r
	69	. . . . .	97 g
3	3	. . . . .	124 q, 147 a
	6	. . . . .	134 p
	12	. . . . .	126 aa
4	7	. . . . .	55 h
	8	. . . . .	1 c
6	21	. . . . .	8 k
7	12	. . . . .	1 c
	28	. . . . .	49 e
8	1	. . . . .	64 i
	18	. . . . .	14 d
	23	. . . . .	51 n
	25	. . . . .	93 oo, 138 i
	29	. . . . .	127 g
	30	. . . . .	92 g
	36	. . . . .	112 rr
9	6	. . . . .	22 s
10	13	. . . . .	141 d
	14	. . . . .	127 i, 138 i
	16	. . . . .	45 g
	17	. . . . .	127 e N.

Nehemiah

2	3	. . . . .	67 dd
	7	. . . . .	68 g
	12	. . . . .	131 e, 137 c
	13	. . . . .	5 n
3	8	. . . . .	124 o, 128 v
	13	. . . . .	35 d
	31	. . . . .	128 v
4	3	. . . . .	49 e N., 53 n
	4	. . . . .	119 m
	7	. . . . .	20 h

Nehemiah

4	9	. . . . .	49 e N., 67 x
	12	. . . . .	116 k N.
	17	. . . . .	152 n
5	14	. . . . .	91 e
6	6	. . . . .	90 k
	8	. . . . .	23 e, 74 i
	10	. . . . .	144 i
	11	. . . . .	100 m
7	2	. . . . .	118 x
	64	. . . . .	64 i
	66	. . . . .	23 i
8	2	. . . . .	74 l
	8	. . . . .	2 i
	10	. . . . .	85 g N., 128 p,
		. . . . .	152 v, 155 n
	11	. . . . .	105 a
9	13	. . . . .	132 d
	35	. . . . .	126 x
10	37	. . . . .	123 r N.
	39	. . . . .	53 k
11	17	. . . . .	53 q
12	44	. . . . .	95 n
	47	. . . . .	95 n
13	9	. . . . .	165 a
	13	. . . . .	53 g, 53 n
	16	. . . . .	9 b
	21	. . . . .	73 f
	24	. . . . .	2 a, 2 w

1 Chronicles

2	13	. . . . .	47 b
	30	. . . . .	152 u
	48	. . . . .	145 u
3	5	. . . . .	69 t
4	10	. . . . .	61 a, 167 a
	42	. . . . .	131 n
5	1	. . . . .	114 k
	2	. . . . .	141 a
	20	. . . . .	63 c
6	63	. . . . .	90 f
7	5	. . . . .	124 q
8	8	. . . . .	52 o
	38	. . . . .	29 q
9	13	. . . . .	128 c
	22	. . . . .	135 a N ¹ , 155 d
	25	. . . . .	134 m
	27	. . . . .	123 c
	33	. . . . .	147 a
10	2	. . . . .	53 r
	13	. . . . .	114 k
11	6	. . . . .	116 w
	39	. . . . .	23 f
12	2	. . . . .	24 f N., 70 b
	8	. . . . .	114 b
	17	. . . . .	61 c
	23	. . . . .	155 d
	33	. . . . .	123 f
	38	. . . . .	23 f
15	8	. . . . .	127 f

1 Chronicles

15	12	155 <i>n</i>
19	. . . . .	131 <i>a</i>
24	. . . . .	53 ^o , 55 ^e
26	. . . . .	63 <i>i</i>
27	. . . . .	56, 127 <i>g</i>
16	8	2 <i>s</i>
19	8	131 <i>b</i>
20	8	69 <i>t</i>
21	1	125 <i>f</i>
17	. . . . .	141 <i>h N.</i>
22	7	143 <i>a N.</i>
23	6	63 <i>n</i>
26	. . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
24	3	63 <i>n</i>
26	28	138 <i>i</i>
27	12	127 <i>d</i>
28	2	143 <i>a N.</i>
11	. . . . .	96
29	1	155 <i>d</i>
3	. . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
8	. . . . .	138 <i>i</i>
33	. . . . .	65 <i>f</i>

2 Chronicles

1	4	138 <i>i</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
2	12	117 <i>n</i>
3	17	126 <i>k</i>

2 Chronicles

4	3	123 <i>a N.</i>
5	11	114 <i>k</i>
8	18	93 <i>r</i>
11	22	114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
15	3	147 <i>a</i>
16	4	125 <i>k</i>
9	. . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
10	. . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
12	. . . . .	75 <i>m</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
14	. . . . .	124 <i>c</i>
17	11	93 <i>x</i>
18	3	147 <i>a</i>
23	. . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
26	. . . . .	131 <i>c</i>
19	2	114 <i>k</i>
6	. . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
20	1	102 <i>b</i>
19	. . . . .	128 <i>v</i>
22	. . . . .	155 <i>l</i>
34	. . . . .	63 <i>p</i>
35	. . . . .	54 <i>a N.</i>
21	4	119 <i>w N.</i>
17	. . . . .	133 <i>g</i>
22	5	35 <i>d</i>
23	1	117 <i>n</i>
25	17	156 <i>c N.</i>
26	5	114 <i>c</i>
10	. . . . .	22 <i>s</i>

2 Chronicles

26	15	75	rr,	114	n,	126	z		
18	.	.	.	.	.	114	l
28	10	.	.	.	.	142	f N.
21	.	.	.	.	.	147	a
23	.	.	.	.	.	53	o
29	6	.	.	.	.	67	y
10	.	.	.	.	.	165	a
17	.	.	.	.	.	134	p
18	.	.	.	.	.	117	n
27	.	.	.	.	.	155	l
30	9	.	.	114	p,	147	a		
17	.	.	.	.	.	155	d
18	.	.	.	130	d	N	2		
19	.	.	.	.	.	155	n
31	7	69	n,	71,	142	f	N	2	
10	121	d	N	1
17	117	m		
32	9	101	a		
13	8	k		
30	69	u		
34	10	45	g		
11	16	f		
12	10	h		
35	4	93	wo		
21	109	g,	135	g,	147	a			
23	69	r		
36	23	137	c		

76